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dominion, and increased his power. Though this collection is lost, yet its effects and regulations survive to after-ages. In them the general divisions and sub-divisions of the kingdom were provided for. Men of abilities were obliged to give their sons clergy, that is, learning, at school; and excommunicated persons were disabled from suing in courts of justice. Many other regulations likewise were made: but that this body of laws was not, as has been contended for, the same as that published by Mr. Lambart, is certain, from the latter's omitting all those particulars which certainly had their foundation under Alfred. But one of the oldest law-books we have (the *Mirroure of Justice*) tells us, that Alfred's laws were extant in

the time of Edward I. or Edward II. when that author lived. And, from a passage in Harding (1), who lived so late as the reign of Edward IV, some authors are inclined to believe, that they were then extant, and translated into English; but I dare not be positive that these laws were not the same with what have been published by Mr. Lambart, since Harding, who was but a piece of a poet, and followed Geoffrey, might not be accurate enough to distinguish the one from the other. I have given, in the notes, an abstract of some of the principal (2); what I have farther to remark, shall be under the state of the church of this period.

But, to the immortal honour of Alfred,
we

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(1) Kyng Alurede, the lawes of Troye and Brute,
Lawes Moluntynes and Marcians congregate;
With Danishe lawes, that were well constitute;
And Grekishe also, well made and approbate:
In Englishe tongue, he them all translate,
Whiche yet bee called, the lawes of Alurede,
At Westminster, remembred in dede.

(2) The first of his laws requires, as most necessary to all his subjects, That each keep his oath or pledge (i. e. his promise to observe the laws, and keep the peace); and if any should be compelled to swear, or deposite a pledge, whereby he may be bound to betray his lord, or unjustly to assist any person, he ought to break his promise rather than perform it: but in case he hath engaged to perform any thing which might justly be done, and doth it not, his arms and all his personal estate shall be put into the hands of his friends, and he himself kept in the king's prison for forty days, till he undergo that penance which the bishop shall enjoin him, and also his friends (i. e. relations) require of him. But if he have not wherewith to sustain himself in the mean while, if his kindred are not able to provide him victuals, the king's officer shall do it; but if he resist, and be taken by force, he shall forfeit both his arms and his personal estate; and if he be killed, nothing shall be paid as the value of his head. And in case he escape before his time (viz. of forty days) be out, and be retaken, he shall be returned back again to prison for other forty days. If he escape, he shall have no benefit of the laws, but be excommunicated from all Christ's churches; and if any man have been security in his behalf, he shall make satisfaction for it according to right, and do penance till he make such satisfaction as his priest shall appoint.

The second bears the title of the immunity of the church, and we shall speak of it among the ecclesiastical constitutions.

The third is, concerning the breach of the king's suretyship, by the payment of a mulct of five pounds of Mercian (i. e. larger) money; but the violation of suretyship, or the peace, made to an archbishop, by a fine of three pounds. And if any one break or forfeit the king's pledge, or recognizance, he shall make amends according to right; and the breach of the suretyship to a bishop, or eolderman, by two pounds.

The fourth law is, concerning the death of the king, or any other lord. If any one that, either by himself alone, or by any other person, shall attempt against the king's life, he shall lose his life and goods; but if he will purge himself, let him do it according to the valuation of the king's head. The same is also ordained in all judgments concerning other men, whether noble or ignoble. Whosoever conspires against his lord, shall lose both his life and estate, or else pay the valuation of his lord's head.

The seventh law is, against fighters in the king's palace. If any man shall fight or draw a weapon in his house, his life shall lie at the king's mercy, whether he will pardon him or not; but if the offender flee, and be taken, he shall redeem his life with the price of his head, or be fined according to his offence.

The ninth law ordains, what mulct a man shall pay that kills a woman with child, which was to be according to the value of her head; and he was also to pay for the child in her womb half as much as for a living one, according to the quality of its father.

The tenth ordains, what fines or amends every man shall pay to a husband for committing adultery with his wife, which was to be increased according to the estate or quality of him against whom the offence was committed.

The eleventh appoints, what mulct a man shall pay that wantonly handles the breasts of a countryman's wife, or offers her any violence, as by flinging her down, &c. though he does not lie with her.

The twenty-sixth law appoints, what mulcts shall be paid by those who kill in troops or companies, and also to whom these mulcts were to be paid. If the slain and innocent party were an ordinary person (that is, one whose head was valued but at two hundred shillings) he that slew him must pay the value of his head, and a fine besides, to his kindred: also every one that was in the company must pay thirty shillings, which penalty was still to be increased according to the value of the estate of the party slain; so that, as the penalty for the death of a man valued at twelve hundred shillings, every one that was present shall pay a hundred and twenty shillings, and the man-slayer himself the price of his head, and a fine besides: but in case the whole company shall deny that he gave the mortal wound, all of them are to be impeached together, and to pay both the value and the fine besides.

The twenty-seventh appoints, what share of the mulct, or satisfaction, a man's kindred on the mother's side shall receive, in case he has no kindred on his father's side; and what share those of his guild, or fraternity, shall pay, in case he have committed manslaughter in a quarrel, viz. the former shall pay a third part, and the latter one half, of the price of the head of the party slain.

The twenty-eighth law was made against public defamers, or spreaders of false news (whereby is meant, spreaders of false news against the government) and commands, That such a one, being convicted, should suffer no less punishment than the cutting out of his tongue, except he redeem it by paying of the value of his head; and, even then, he was afterwards to be esteemed of no credit.

The thirtieth ordains, That merchants, when they land, shall bring such as come on shore with them before the king's officers in folemote, and there declare their number, that they may be ready to produce them to answer any thing that may be demanded of them in the said folemote; and if it happen that they bring many strangers on shore, that they also certify this to the king's officer in that said assembly, that so they may be forthcoming.

The thirty-first inflicts upon him that shall put a ceorles's man (that is, an ordinary countryman) without any fault, into bonds, viz. a mulct of ten shillings; upon him that beats such a one, twenty shillings; if he hang him up aloft, thirty shillings; if he cut off his hair to expose him like a fool, ten shillings; if he shave his head like a priest, yet bind him not, thirty shillings; and in case he only cut off his beard, twenty shillings; but if he bind him, and shave his hair like a priest, then sixty shillings.

The thirty-fourth law imposes upon him that shall strike or fight in open court, before the king's eolderman, both the value of his own head, and such a fine besides as shall be thought fit; and also a hundred and twenty shillings to be paid to the eolderman by him that, by thus drawing his weapon, shall make any disturbance in the folemote, or county-court: if the eolderman was not present, but the fact was done before his substitute, or the king's priest, then a fine, or amerciamment, of thirty shillings.

The thirty-fifth ordains, what satisfaction shall be made for breach of the peace in any other place; as for example, he that fights in the home-hall of a countryman, shall pay the said countryman six shillings; if he drew his sword, but struck not, half as much; which penalty also was to be increased according to the estate or quality of him upon whose ground the

A. D. 886. we must observe, that to him was owing that privilege peculiar to Englishmen, of being tried by a jury of their own peers. It must be acknowledged, that the seeds of this institution are to be found among our German ancestors; but the multiplicity of the jury-men, which were in number an hundred, rendered this method almost impracticable, when frequency of differences multiplied suits. The Danish historian informs us, that one of their kings, some time before this, had reduced all determinations to the verdict of twelve persons; but as we are to note that those persons were noblemen, either nominated by, or dependent upon, the court, this form of judgment was liable to great perversion and neglects. It was Alfred who improved it into the principal excellency it now enjoys, that the twelve should be summoned and sworn out of the neighbourhood; that they should be of good reputation, and give their verdict on direct evidence: but it was his peculiar glory, that this duodecemviral judgment was, by him, extended to civil, as well as criminal matters, and to all cases of property. To him likewise was owing the finding sureties for good behaviour; and, in default thereof, committing to prison. The original of fairs and markets is likewise referred to this king's reign: "For when the Danes, says Sir John Spelman, were first subdued, and permitted to reside in the kingdom, it was a common practice, between the two nations, to steal not only horses, and oxen, and other cattle, but also men and women, and sell them one to another; and, by this means, owners did not only lose their cattle, but men were wrongfully made bond-slaves; and it was a tedious matter to enquire after him that sold them, and how he came by them. For remedy of which disorders, the king made a law, that whoever sold either man, horse, or ox, should be sure of one to vouch for his right in the things he sold, otherwise the sale was not to bind. Afterward fairs and markets, because they were public, obtained the same authority that vouchers had, till fraud came to be practised in them; especially in selling of horses,

Alfred improves the institution of juries.

Saxo Grammaticus.

The original of sureties owing to him,

and of fairs and markets. Life of Alfred, p. 106, 107.

which, by reason of their speedy carriage, were more readily bargained and sold than other things: And then the statute of 31 Eliz. 12. did, as to horses, revive the express law of Alfred, and tie the seller to produce a vouchee."

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The next great work we find of this king's, was his distribution of civil offices. The several counties, till his time, had been committed to the care of noblemen, who, according to different writers and records, were divided into thanes, ealdermen, dukes, or counts. These, in the main, seem to have acted in a double capacity, as the leaders of their troops, and the judges of their properties. Their attendance in the field being frequent, and often distant from their respective concerns, they were obliged to leave the civil administration to their deputies, or præfects. Those abusing their power, by exercising it rather in the stile of prerogative, than of a duty and trust, put Alfred upon abolishing that office (1), and, in its place, substituted a shire-reeve, or judge of the shire, sometimes called a vice-comes, or deputy of the count, a term more constitutional than a vidome, the denomination under which they went before. This officer, from that institution, has ever since continued, first as a deputy to the earl, and since as an immediate officer of the crown. Besides this officer, justices were ordained in every shire; but with what circumscription of office is uncertain, only their duty seems to have been merely judicial, and more independent upon the crown than the shire-reeves were; and from them we may reasonably date the rise of the other law-courts in England. The administration of justice being thus provided for, equal regard was paid to its forms, consisting in the means of suit, and ready prosecution of right. For this purpose, Alfred, whose highest ambition was, that he and his successors should govern by law, took care that original writs should be, of course, granted by the proper officer, without any special petition to the king, as being matters not of grace, but of duty.

Alfred's distribution of offices.

He instituted shire-reeves.

Sir John Spelman.

As those are the great institutions of Alfred, the nature of my undertaking will not admit my tracing the justice of his govern-

the assault was made: so that if he fought in the house of one worth six hundred shillings; he was to pay three-times as much; if one worth twelve hundred shillings, then the amends was to be twice as much as the former.

The thirty-sixth law of Burhbrice, or breach of the peace in a town, confirms that part of king Ina's law concerning that matter, in imposing upon the offender, for the breach of the peace in the king's town or city, by setting the mulct of a hundred and twenty shillings; but if it be done in the archbishop's town, then ninety shillings; in that of a bishop or ealdorman, sixty shillings; in the town of a man valued at twelve hundred shillings estate, thirty shillings; but half as much, if done in a village of one worth but half the sum.

The thirty-seventh is, That law concerning Beldand, by virtue whereof he that holds lands, left him by his ancestors, was forbid to alienate it from his kindred to others, in case it could be proved, by writing or testimony, before the king or the bishop, his kindred being present, that the man who first granted them forbid him all alienation, and laid on him this condition.

The thirty-eighth law, concerning quarrels or deadly feuds, which, since it gives a strange licence for men to take satisfaction on their enemies, even without the presence of any officer, I shall likewise set down. First, it forbids any man to attack his enemy if he find him in his own house, except he first demand of him satisfaction; but, if he have force enough, he may besiege the house for seven days, yet he shall not assault him if he will stay within; but if he will then surrender himself, and his arms, into the defendant's hands, he may keep him thirty days without hurt; but then shall leave him so to his kindred or friends. In case he fly to a church, the honour of the church is to be preserved. But if the demandant have not strength enough to besiege him in his house, he may desire the assistance of the ealdorman; which, if he cannot obtain, he must appeal to the king before he can assault him. If any one, by chance, light upon his adversary, not knowing that he keeps himself at home, and he will deliver up his arms to him, he shall keep him safe thirty days, and then deliver him to his friends: but in case he will not deliver up his arms, then he may fight with him: but if he be willing to deliver up himself, and his arms, to his enemy, and any other man sets upon him, such a man shall pay the value of his head if he kills him, or give satisfaction for the wounds, if any be given him, according to the fact; besides which he shall be fined, and lose all that may fall to him by reason of kindred.

(1) Those who exercised it were called Vidomes, or Vicedomini.

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Original of
hundred-
courts, &c.
and doomf-
day-book.

ment through all its subordinate channels. It is sufficient, in general, to observe, that to him was owing the original of hundred-courts, county-courts, and leets; and likewise of doomfday-book, so famous in our histories (1).

But, as I have, in another place, observed, it is the actual execution, and not the bare institution, of good laws, that must make a people happy. Alfred's cares were now employed to find proper men, into whose hands the executive part of justice was to be put. The late tumultuous times had broke down all subordination of authority, which appears to have centered entirely in the king's person; intermediate officers, either for their weakness, or partiality, being despised by the people, Alfred, in person, dispatched all suits of appeal with an indefatigable application: but finding it impracticable for himself to preside through all the multiplicity of suits that happened, and knowing the inconveniences that must occur in succeeding times, unless able men filled up the respective offices of the state and constitution, he laboured so effectually with his noblemen, who were the hereditary judges, and gave such weight by his own example, that they applied to the study of the laws; and, in that, were followed by all their inferior officers. This had soon such an effect, that the golden age of justice was, in some measure, restored to England; and, to express it in the strong terms of our historians, when a golden tankard had been hung out in the high-way over night, the owner would have found it safe in the morning.

The feat of the muses was his next care.

The reader may easily conceive the barbarity that must have crept into England, during the long course of such civil and intestine wars. Oxford appears to have been the favourite place which he designed to render the source of arts and learning. I shall not enter into the controversy which has agitated so many learned antiquaries of this nation, whether Oxford was properly an university before this time; I am apt to believe it was, in as strict a sense as any literary institution of that age could admit of. Certain it is, that Alfred spared neither pains nor expence to adorn it with all the learning of the times, by not only inviting the most eminent scholars to render it their residence, but making comfortable provision for their subsistence. As those professors were all of them, or mostly, churchmen, the particulars will be found in the history of the church. Alfred, whose genius was as profound as it was sublime, here too led the way, and his royal pen was employed in several literary labours, which might do honour even to the most learned of the present age.

The manufactures next came under his consideration; and here he appeared as eminent as he had done in arts or arms. No means were wanting to their encouragement; and, in a short time, he drained France, Britany, Germany, the low countries, Scotland and Wales of their principal artists. I have already taken notice of his great application to the marine; and we have, in Mr. Halcuit and Mr. Purchas, a noble monument of his encouragement to navigation, and of his attempt to discover a north-east passage. We likewise find, from the writer

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Alfred renders
Oxford fa-
mous for
learning.

The nobility
apply to the
study of the
law.

His encou-
ragement of
manufactures,

and naviga-
tion.

(1) This great work of the king's, says Sir John Spelman, gave original to two very remarkable things in this land. The one is that famous survey of the kingdom made by William the Conqueror, now called Domefday-book, the circumstance whereof was this: When Ælfred had made the survey that we spake of, he caused it to be ingrossed, and kept at Winchester; and being extant at the Conqueror's coming, it not only gave him occasion of doing the like, but gave him such furtherance in it, as that the survey, which the Conqueror made, was but like the second edition of the same work, (austior et locupletior) but otherwise all one with that of Ælfred's; in which regard it was also, by the same name, called Winchester-book. Afterwards, either by corruption from Dome-book (by which name the Saxons called all books of laws and constitutions) or by affectation for the authenticity and universality of it, it obtained the name, which to this day it holds, of Domefday-book.—The other is the institution of hundred-courts, county-courts, and of those inferior courts of justice in every town, which, at this day, are called by the name of leets; of which we have now not only lost the right use and practice, but even the true knowledge of them and of their rights.—View of frank-pledge (which we, at this day, call the leet) is a liberty properly belonging to none but the crown. The subject can neither, by prescription nor patent, have greater interest in them, than only a liberty, in certain places, to take, in the king's behalf, the view of the frank-pledges by a steward of his own appointment, and by him to take presentment of matters within the jurisdiction of the court, and to have the fines and amerciaments that fall within the same to his own use; but the court still remains the king's. For the institution of frank-pledges, anciently (as we may see in Edward the Confessor's laws, confirmed by the Conqueror) was accounted the great security and establishment of the kingdom, and was the whole and sole administration of justice criminal in inferior matters (as force, trespass and misbehaviour) that was in the kingdom; and the proper judge thereof was the sheriff, or justice, in the hundred-court. But when the lords of manors, for the ease of their tenants, and for the better countenance and backing of their manor-courts, purchased the liberties of the hundred-courts within precinct of their manors, while they advanced thereby the repute of their own, they impaired the authority of the other: and at last, when manors, through alienations, forfeitures, partitions, manumissions, special customs, and the like, became everywhere mangled and dismembered; many half extinguished, and some of them altogether, there growing generally then a great defect in the serving also of the leets, much of their jurisdiction came, by little and little, to be transferred to courts of a superior nature, since then erected, and to the determination of the king's justices, at the assizes and at the sessions; so as the leets now bear little more than a shadow of their first institution. It is not then to be expected that we should describe them according to the first original of their use, neither (if we could) would our present purpose suffer it; but that we may the better conceive of their excellence, we may observe, that, had they been continued in practice according to their ancient use, things, even unto this day, would not have been unprofitable to the common-wealth; and, for instance, the continual trouble and contention that is daily raised, between town and town, about the settling of people chargeable, or feared to be chargeable; the universal complaint of the licentiousness and unruliness of servants, who (for the liberty, which they now have, of changing at their pleasure) will stay in no place, nor serve, but upon such conditions, both for work and wages, as is grievous to masters, and gives trouble to all the justices in the kingdom to regulate; the pester and annoyance of the kingdom with such a surcharge of vagrant and disorderly persons, that more and more now-adays abound, and many other such-like inconveniences had all been avoided, or in a great part remedied, by the observance of the law of frank-pledge. For when one could not leave the freebourg of which he was, without the allowance and testimonial of the borholder; nor enter a new freebourg, that would not warily examine the condition of their new-come decennar whom they were to receive, and might, perhaps, be put to answer for all evils that consequently follow the liberty and facility of shifting up and down, must needs be undoubtedly prevented: besides, that the continual suspect and eye that was upon such people, and the ready prosecution, even at home, of the least offences that could be committed against neighbourhood and good-manners (which was strictly then exercised in those courts) did prevent the very disposition of ill-minded men from the attempt of dissolute courses.

A. D. 893. of his life, that his ships sailed farther than perhaps any European navigation had, as yet, extended to: for though I can scarcely be persuaded that they reached what we now call the East-Indies; yet it is certain they traded with countries, till then, unknown.

I have purposely omitted any account of the assembly of the English states, answering to our parliament, so frequently mentioned by Alfred himself, and the writers of his life, because it will fall more properly into the general view I intend to exhibit of the Anglo-Saxon constitution. To recount the number of his ecclesiastic benefactions, were endless and improper in this place. But we must not forget, that, besides London and Shaftsbury, already mentioned, he rebuilt Winchester, the ancient seat of his ancestors, and fortified his chief towns and castles with stone instead of wood.

He rebuilds Winchester.

In the mean time, he was, in a particular manner, attentive to keeping up the dignity and respect due to his own character, as a monarch. His court was the most splendid and regular of any of his time; a frugal magnificence was conspicuous through all his oeconomy; and some of his institutions, with regard to family affairs, seem to have been transmitted to this day (1).

I have chosen to throw those particulars into this period of Alfred's history, because I know of none other in which he had so much leisure for such regulations. For the Danes, who went over, under Hastings, to France, having laid waste that fine country, finding themselves pressed by the Franks and their auxiliaries, which they had called from Germany, in the year 893 assembled at Boulogne, and going aboard three hundred and thirty vessels, they set sail for England, full of hopes of a complete conquest. Two hundred and fifty of those vessels landed at New Romney, where they surprized and seized an old fort, which was but poorly garrisoned, and, in its place, built a large fortification. The Saxon chronicle tells us, that they drew up their ships almost four miles from the mouth of the river, where they landed, to Appledore, which was the

A body of Danes, in two hundred and fifty vessels, land at Romney.

name of this fort; a precaution which they probably observed, for fear lest Alfred, being master of the sea, should have burnt their vessels. The other eighty sail, of which this great armament was composed, landed, under the conduct of Hastings himself, at the mouth of the Thames, at Middleton upon the Wells, in Kent, where they erected a very strong intrenchment, called Kemsley-castle, on Kemsley-downs, not far from Sittingburn. Here we shall leave them till we review Alfred's domestic transactions, which happened at this time.

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Hastings, with eighty sail, lands at Middleton.

They intrench themselves.

The Northumbrians, ever since the year 883, had been governed by a king, one Guthred, who being redeemed out of slavery, appears, for this act of providence, to have been particularly grateful to the church. His advancement was owing to a stratagem of an abbot, one Edred, who pretending he had a revelation in the young man's favour, had bargained for all that compose the bishopric of Durham to be annexed to the church. The royal slave proved grateful to his benefactor, and held his scepter tributary to Alfred. As Guthred was of Danish extraction, it was therefore a wise precaution in Alfred to oblige both the Danes of Northumberland and East-Anglia to take an oath of fidelity to the English government. Guthrun, the substituted king of East-Anglia, was now dead, and was succeeded by his son, who appears to have been, as was his father, unmindful of the good offices done him and his subjects by Alfred. It seems, however, as if the latter had been in East-Anglia settling some affairs relating to the succession of Guthrun, when he received the account of this descent. His presence, no doubt, facilitated the East-Anglians taking the oath of fidelity; but he was no sooner gone, than many of them joined with their invading countrymen, regardless of their solemn assurance, and the hostages they had given for their performance.

Takes an oath of fidelity to Alfred,

as do the East-Anglians;

but many of them join their invading countrymen.

Alfred, not staying to chastise the revolters, made haste with an army to Kent, to prevent the junction of the two invading armies, which were hastening towards each other. This he effected by encamping at Bavord-

Alfred, marching into Kent, prevents their junction.

(1) And while thus the king was infinite in his works, his workmen grew innumerable, and necessarily put him to advise, by order and good distribution, to dispose of the manner of their working, in which he was very exact. The number of them (whereby we might judge of the greatness of his works) appeareth not; only Florentius saith, they were numero pene infinito; and, for their quality, they were in omni tenero ædificio edocti. Also we find that, in the distribution of the king's revenues, they had a full sixth part of his whole year's income allotted to them; with which, if we consider that, in those times, they had not board-wages, but did eat and drink of the king's allowance, the proportion that was issued for their wages argues a great and magnificent employment for them. His household and domestic attendance being also very greatly increased, he served himself in a way of somewhat an extraordinary kind, and which leaves a note, either of the multitude of those who were his menial servants, or else of the quality of them, or at least of the little choice that was then in the land of loose and independent men, such as being otherwise unengaged were free to bestow themselves in any course of employment. He having, it seems, observed the course that Solomon took, in preparing timber at Lebanon for the temple; where thirty thousand, assigned to the work, went by ten thousand at a time, wrought there a month, and then returning, stayed two months at home, until their turn in the fourth month came about again. He applying this to his own occasions, ordained the like course in his attendance, making a triplicate thereof, inasmuch that he had a threefold shift of all domestic officers, each of which were by themselves under the command of a several major-domo, or master of the household; who coming, with his servants under his charge, to wait at court, stayed there a month, and then returning after two months recess at home, did with the quarter renew their monthly service at the court. I should conjecture, that the king, for his more honourable attendance, took this course in point of royalty and state, there being, as it then stood with the state, very few men of quality fit to stand before the king, who, by their fortunes or dependency, were not otherwise besides engaged; neither was there, in those times, any great assurance to be had of any man, unless he were one of such condition, whose service when the king was fain to use one month in the quarter, it was necessary, for the commonwealth, that he should remit them the other two months unto their own occasions. Neither used he this course with some of his officers only (as there are those that understand it to have been a course taken only with his guard) but with all his whole attendance; neither used he it for a time only, but for his whole life, as Ingulphus expressly tells us: and I little doubt, but that the use at court, at this day, of officers quarter-waiters, had its first beginning even from this invention of the king's. Spelman.

castle,

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castle, opposite to Kemsley, as some think, but, by others, near Boston, upon a plain, from whence he could discern the motion of both armies. The Danes were thereby disappointed in their design of a junction, and the situation of Alfred was such, that he easily curbed their excursions, and cut off their stragglers. The late oath of fealty sworn to by the East-Anglians, was likewise of great service upon this occasion; for though it was not a sufficient curb upon the whole, yet it had such an effect, that the invading Danes were disappointed in their expectations that the whole of that kingdom would join them on their arrival. The invaders thus finding themselves frustrated by the vigilance of Alfred, resolved to do all the mischief they could, and then depart. For this purpose they dispatched their shipping to the island of Mersey, and greatly outnumbering Alfred's forces, leaving their camp, they all at once fell to plundering the country. Alfred, finding it impossible to attack them in any one place so effectually as to do any thing decisive, after cutting off as many as he could, and ordering the neighbouring cities to do the same, he marched, at the head of a strong detachment of his army, to Farnham, where he came up with the main body of the Danes, which had been encamped at Appledore. A battle ensued, in which the English were victorious, and had the good fortune to recover all the booty that had been made by the enemy, who fled towards the Thames, in which many of them perished, while others were obliged to swim over it for their safety. Such of them as had the good fortune to escape, passed the river Coln, in Essex, and took possession of the island of Mersey, which was very strong, where they were besieged by the English army. It is probable that the besieged would have been obliged to surrender; but, as we have already observed, the regulation of Alfred's forces was such, that determined the time appointed for the service of each body. Those besieging Mersey had now served out that time; and their provisions, which were always in proportion to the length of their service, was now spent. Alfred, aware of this, advanced, at the head of a fresh body from another country, to relieve the besiegers; while, fortunately for him, the besieged could not take any advantage of the latter's departure (which appears to have been for some time before they were relieved) because of their leader's being wounded; it being a sacred custom with those barbarians, never to abandon their leader in any distress either of person or fortune.

The Northumbrian and East-Anglian Danes rebel.

While Alfred was advancing against the enemy in Mersey, he received intelligence, that the Danes in Northumberland and East-Anglia, having thrown off their allegiance, had got together a fleet of a hundred and forty ships, which they divided into two squadrons. With one, which consisted of an hundred sail, they cruised upon the southern coasts, while the other forty did the same in the north. The latter besieged

a castle in the north of Devonshire, as the former, after a large compass southward, did Exeter. The news of this so much alarmed Alfred, who was on his march to Mersey, that, after sending off a detachment to carry on that siege, he advanced to relieve Exeter. His march was so expeditious, that the Danes, daunted by his approach, fled to their ships, and sent their booty to Chichester in Sussex, from whence they were bravely repelled by the inhabitants.

But we are now to return to Hastings. This leader, beholding the defeat of his countrymen, had, before this, thought proper to capitulate with Alfred, and delivered him hostages for the observation of the peace; carrying his dissimulation, at the same time, so far, that he consented to have his two sons baptized; Alfred and his son-in-law standing their godfathers at the font. If there is a weakness in the great Alfred's character, it is that of being imposed upon so often by the Pagans, under the pretence of conversion, and the sanction of oaths. Alfred, receiving, as he thought, a certain proof of Hastings's sincerity, made him several presents, and let him depart quietly with his forces, on supposition that he was to settle peaceably in some part of the Danish plantations here; but the Dane, after passing the Thames into Essex, intrenched himself in a strong fortification, which he raised at Bamflete; and from thence issuing with a large force, he ravaged Alfred's lands in Mercia. This success encouraged the Danes, who were in the island of Mersey, to take the opportunity of the absence of the Saxons (Alfred's detachment not having yet come up to them) to join Hastings. Their leader, by this time, was either dead or recovered; and they arrived at Bamflete just at the time when Hastings was plundering Mercia. The forces which had been detached by Alfred when he was obliged to return to Exeter, finding themselves too weak to deal with the Danes at Mersey without farther reinforcements, had, by this time, advanced as far as London, from whence they drew a body of citizens, and some other supplies. The opportunity of Hastings's absence was too favourable for them not to attack the enemy at Bamflete, before he could join them. Accordingly they resolutely forced their intrenchments, put some to the sword, and others to flight, and, among the rest of the prisoners, took the wife and the two sons of Hastings, whom they carried to London. They then seized on all the Danish shipping they could find in the river, and what was not for their purpose they burnt and destroyed, bringing the rest along with them to London. Hastings, returning from his pillaging expedition, gave all over for lost, and again threw himself upon Alfred's mercy, who, with unaccountable clemency, pardoned him, restored him his wife and children, and, after taking fresh hostages for his future fidelity, dismissed him, even with a taste of royal munificence. I have put those transactions together in the most natural order I could

A. D. 894.

They are obliged to fly to their ships.

Hastings's two sons baptized.

Hastings intrenches himself at Bamflete; he ravages Mercia;

is joined by the Danes in Mersey.

Alfred's detachment to Exeter, being joined by a body of Londoners,

attack the Danes,

force their intrenchments,

take Hastings's wife and two sons prisoners. Destroy the Danish shipping.

Alfred's clemency to Hastings.

A. D. 894. could find; though it must be owned, that there is great confusion and discrepancy among our authors at this period, both with regard to facts and chronology (1).

Progress of the Danes.

Opposed by Alfred's generals.

Reduced to extremity of famine.

Dispersed, or killed.

Gather together at Bamflete.

To proceed. The late checks given by Alfred's arms to the Danes could not prevent their rendezvousing, while Alfred was settling his affairs in the west, at Shoebuy in Essex. This body was soon increased by their roving countrymen, whom nothing but the hopes of plunder united; and, after building a fort there, they marched along the Thames, and from thence penetrated into Mercia, as far as the river Severn. It would appear, that Alfred's business in the west, at this time, was very important; and, if the manner of the Saxon chronicle would admit of such a conjecture, I should be inclined to believe, that he had not yet relieved Exeter. Be that as it will, three of Alfred's officers, named Ethelred, Athelme, and Athelnoth, found means to draw together a pretty strong army, which was increased by a body of the Welsh on the other side of the Severn, and obliged the Danes to intrench themselves at Badington, a town in Gloucestershire, situated on a little branch of the Severn, in Cheltenham-hundred, according to Sir John Spelman; but it is more probable, that the Danes had even advanced into Montgomeryshire, and that their ravages had determined the Welsh to join with the English. If this was the case, the place of their intrenchment must appear to be Buttington in Montgomeryshire, some fortifications being still discernable in that place. The English advancing to besiege the enemy in their intrenchments, reduced the latter to such extremity, that they first killed and eat all their horses, and then, finding diseases multiply, through famine, they desperately endeavoured to force their way through the besiegers; but were almost all cut to pieces: some, however, escaped, and the woody wildness of the country befriending them, they reserved themselves for new adventures. The Saxon chronicle informs us, that Ordher, one of Alfred's thanes, was killed in this sally; and that Alfred himself was, at that time, upon the western coast with his fleet.

Such of the Danes as had escaped at Badington recovered the fortifications raised by Hastings at Bamflete, which, having repaired, they were joined by great numbers of their countrymen, from their plantations of Northumberland and East-Anglia. From Essex they took the first opportunity of

marching westward to Chester (2), where they fortified themselves before the king's forces could overtake them. The latter, however, sat down before the town, and had the good fortune to intercept some stragglers and provisions; but Alfred, who appears to have been in person at this expedition, after two days siege, either finding that, to carry the town by storm would cost more men than he could then spare, or being called to another quarter, destroyed all the provision, upon which the Danes might subsist, round the country, and then drew off his army.

The Pagans, upon this deliverance, in the year 895, marched into North Wales, which, in revenge of the Welsh having the year before joined with Alfred, they plundered; but not daring to return through the Mercian dominions, they took a circuit round by the borders of Northumberland, thence into East-Anglia, till they recovered their old fortifications at Mersey. Here being reinforced by new supplies of their countrymen, they went on board their ships, and then they took advantage of the absence of Alfred's navy, which was guarding the western coasts, to sail up the Thames as far as the river Lee, up which they towed their vessels, and began to raise a fortification near the place where Hertford now stands.

Their progress in 896 began now to alarm the Londoners so much, that they marched out to attack the Danes in their intrenchments; but the latter had fortified themselves so strongly, on both sides of the river, that the citizens were beaten off, and Alfred lost three of his thanes in the attack. The danger then required Alfred's presence. It appears that the enemy had found means to fortify themselves so strongly, that the king thought it impracticable to force them; for he contented himself with turning the siege into a kind of a blockade, to prevent the enemy from cutting down, or carrying off, the corn about the country, and to guard the city of London from their insults. He then fell upon a stratagem to distress the Danes, which was worthy his great genius; for going in person to survey the ground and the course of the river, he found that the latter being straitened at the mouth, shut up the stream above, which, at low water, made a great descent of the current. This had obliged the Danes to tow up their vessels; and Alfred soon perceived, that, if the mouth of the river was opened, their ships

A. D. 896.

Alfred destroys the provisions round the country.

The Danes return to Mersey.

Then raise forts upon the river Lee.

Attacked by the Londoners, who are beaten back.

Alfred's stratagem to distress them.

(1) Mr. Rapin's manner of writing the English history, puts me in mind of an ingenious epitaph upon a very indolent fellow, which we meet with, I think, in Camden's remains, and is as follows:

Here lies one who was born and cry'd,
Liv'd several years, and then he dy'd.

He has tacked together a few facts of Alfred's life, by which we understand there was such a man, that he was a great fighter with the Danes, and then he shuts up his history at the period I am now upon; though it is certain, that the transactions I have just given an account of, happened in the year 894, almost seven years before Alfred's death; and that some of the most shining actions of his reign happened in the intermediate time: all which he has very prudently thought fit to drop, after telling us the adventures of Hastings and his pirates abroad, which have no more connection with the English history than the imposture of Mahomet.

(2) By Sir John Spelman mistaken for Leicester, I suppose through the affinity of the English with the Saxon word, which is *Leaga-ceasteren*. By some authors, says the annotator upon Spelman, this place is called Wirheale; by others, Chester, which is most likely; unless we allow there was formerly a distinct city of this name (Wirheale) from whence the hundred of Wirheale was denominated; which yet I do not see how it can well be, since this hundred, as appears from Doomsday's book, was more anciently called Wilaveston.

A. D. 897.

Its success answers.

The Danes obliged to fly into Shropshire.

Pursued by Alfred's forces.

A mortality in England.

Deaths of several great men.

The Danes dispersed.

Infest the coasts of England.

[Tyrrel.]

Alfred's farther improvements in navigation.

must be moored. This he did by erecting a fort on each side of the river's mouth, and then opening three channels for the stream, which laid it so low, that it had the desired effect (3). This great work struck the Danes with astonishment and despair; they saw themselves not only deprived of their ships, but of the means of getting supplies; and terrified at their approaching fate, they marched off towards the Severn. They took up their quarters near Quatford and Bridgnorth, in Shropshire, where they fortified themselves, while the Londoners destroyed or carried off their shipping at Hartford.

Alfred, hearing of their departure from thence, sent a body of horse after them, to observe their motions, and to cut off their stragglers; but the Danes had left all their women with their friends in East-Anglia, so that the detachment gave them but little annoyance. Alfred, hearing how they were disposed of, took no farther concern about them, well knowing that they could not long subsist where they were, and that the damage which was in their power to do, was but inconsiderable.

In the year 897, when the sword began to be sheathed, and the English to recover from the Danish harassments, they were afflicted with a mortality, which at first preyed on beasts, but at last seized men. Of this infection died several of Alfred's ministers and officers, particularly Suithulf and Elheard, the bishops of Rochester and Dorchester, Ceolmond earl of Kent, Beorthulf earl of Essex, and a great many others. This affliction received some alleviation from the news of the Danes having left Bridgenorth, and dispersed themselves into Northumberland and East-Anglia, while others had put themselves on ship-board, to seek their fortunes on foreign shores. But England, unable, after such a course of wars, pestilence, and famine, to feed so many mouths as still remained, great numbers of the Danes from East-Anglia and Northumberland infested the West Saxon coasts. They had a kind of ships peculiarly fitted for those piratical depredations, being long, and drawing little water. But Alfred, ever attentive to the protection of his own subjects, and annoyance of his enemies, soon improved their own invention to their prejudice; for, says the Saxon chronicle, he commanded divers galleys to be made, which were almost twice as long as the others, some whereof had sixty rowers. They were also swifter, higher, and less apt to rowl, than others formerly built; for they were made neither according to the model of the Frisian vessels, nor the Danish, but after such a manner as was thought might prove most useful. Alfred ordered nine of those vessels to block up six Danish ships in the isle of Wight, which

had committed great piracies on the west coast of Devonshire. Three of the pirates ships having run aground, their crews escaped to the shore; but the other three had the courage to attempt to break through the king's squadron. Two of the Danish ships, however, were taken, and their crews put to the sword; while the third, in which only five men were left alive, escaped. But, soon after, some more of the king's ships, running too far up the harbour, were stranded in such a manner, three of them in one place, and three in another, that neither could assist their fellows. In this situation they were attacked by the crews of the three Danish ships, who, perceiving their distress, had, by this time, returned. In this fight, Lucaman, a Frieslander, the king's admiral, was killed, with other three of his foreign sea officers; but the Danes lost one hundred and twenty of their men. Upon the return of the tide, the Danish ships got away before the English could have theirs out at sea; but in so shattered a condition, that two of them ran ashore upon the coast of Suffex. Their crews being brought to the king at Winchester, he ordered them to be hanged along his coasts, as monuments of their infidelity, and his just resentment. The third ship, though likewise much disabled, got to East-Anglia. Nothing now was wanting, to complete the happiness of Alfred and his people, but the ruin of the enemy's piratical force, which likewise happened this year, by their losing twenty ships, in a storm, on the southern coast.

In the year 900, an invasion of the Danes happened in Anglesey, which brings us some years back to consider the state of the Welsh at this period. We have already taken notice of the probability of Alfred's being invested, by his father, of some territories in Wales. Alfred's long wars with the Danes gave them an opportunity of shaking off their obedience; and sometimes they joined the Danes, sometimes they fought against them, as the scale of success turned with Alfred: but, in the end, feeling how violent and cruel the Danes were, they had, for some time, submitted to Alfred, in the same measure of subjection that the Mercians and their earl then were. This step rendered Alfred the most absolute and powerful king that had ever yet reigned in Britain. The Danes in Anglesey were fought by the Welsh, at a place called Moleraine. As the whole chronicle is silent, with regard to the event of this battle, there is reason to believe it was favourable to the Dane; but we have nothing, at this time, of their progress in that country, so that we may presume they were awed by the terror of the English arms.

In the year 900, or 901 according to other authors, died Alfred the Great, the

A. D. 900.

Encounter between the Danish and the English squadrons.

The Danish pirates ruined.

Invasion of the Danes upon Anglesey.

Its success.

Alfred's death.

(3) It is not improbable, says Sir John Spelman, that the cutting of the river Lee, in this fort, might be the first winning of that great meadow and pasture from Hertford unto Bow; concerning which, see more in Sir William Dugdale's history of embanking and draining, p. 74. But the Saxon chronicle and Florence says, though not so probably, that Alfred only straitened the mouth of the river by piers and dams.

A. D. 900. founder of England's constitutions, (1) learning, and liberties. As to his character, both personal and political, to attempt it, after recounting the story of his life, were presumption; but whoever would be informed farther, let him now look on this country, flourishing in arts, arms, commerce, and freedom; these are the monuments of Alfred's glory: for to him are they owing. A. D. 900.

(1) I should be unpardonable did I here omit an account of this great man's works in learning, which I shall give from the best authority I can find, that of Sir John Spelman, and his elaborate editor Mr. Hearne.—Mr. Bale, in his centuries, hath summed up many of his works, as well of those that he translated; as of his own composing or collection, viz.

Breviarium quoddam collectum ex legibus Trojanorum, Græcorum, Britannorum, Saxonum, et Danorum, lib. i.—Vissi Saxonum leges, lib. i.—Instituta quædam, lib. i.—Contra judices iniquos, lib. i.—Dicta sapientum, lib. i.—Regum fortunæ variæ, lib. i.—Parabola et falis, lib. i.—Acta magistratuum, lib. i.—Collectiones chronicorum, lib. i.—Manuale meditationum, lib. i.—A certain anonymous author (which I have seen in a miscellaneous collection of Sir Kenelm Digby's, num. 196) fixes the time for composing these books by king Ælfred, and for his making laws, to the year 893. The above ten books were all of his own composing or collection; of his translation into Saxon were these that follow, viz.

Hormestarii Pauli Orosii, lib. i. There is a fair copy of this among Mr. Junius's MSS. in the Bodleian library, transcribed by Junius himself. Dr. Talbot, who writ annotations upon Antoninus's itinerary, had a good MS. of it (in which he put some notes) which he formerly lent to Mr. Leland the antiquary. [Vide Lelandi Coll. MSS. vol. III. f. 193, a.] Some are of opinion, that Ælfred was not author of this translation (or rather paraphrase) of Orosius, as you may see in Mr. Somner's preface to his Saxon glossary.

Pastorale D. Gregorii, lib. ii.—Dialogus ejusdem Gregorii, lib. i. But this was rather done, at his command, by Wenefred, bishop of Worcester, as we have shewed before.

Gesta Anglorum Bedæ, lib. v. Of this translation there is yet a MS. copy in the university library at Cambridge, vol. CCXLI. with this distich upon it, as saith Mr. James in his catalogue:

Historicus quondam fecit me Beda Latinum,
Ælfred rex Saxo transtulit ille prius.

It was published by Mr. Wheloc, who made use of this copy, mentioned by Sir John as well as others, of which he has given an account in his preface, and withal observes, that it is rather a paraphrase than a translation. Three or four years since, there were some of our Bodleian MSS. collated by procurement of a certain divine, in order to a new edition of Bede.

Boëtius de consolatione, lib. i. This was the same which the authors of the times tell us greatly affected the hearers. Ælfred himself was so much delighted with this author, that he always carried it about with him in his bosom. This translation was published at Oxford, an. 1698, 8vo, from Mr. Junius's transcript, by Mr. Christopher Rawlinson, then gentleman-commoner of Queen's-college in this university. Some are of opinion, that Wenefrith, bishop of Worcester, was author of this translation; others say, it was done by Afferman; as I also find it noted by Dr. Gerard Langbain (from a MS.) in the margin of a copy of Florence of Worcester, of the 4to edition, shewed me about three years since by the reverend and worthy Dr. Charlett, master of University-college. Dr. Plot (in his history of Oxfordshire, c. x. §. 118.) tells us, that this translation was made by king Ælfred at Woodstock, for which he quotes a MS. in the Cottonian library.

Molmutinæ leges, lib. i. Concerning king Ælfred's translation of the Molmutian and Martian laws, see Sherringham de Anglor. orig. p. 125.

Martianæ leges, lib. i.—Afferii sententiæ, lib. i.—Psalterium Davidicum, lib. i. This translation was the last, and that which shut up all his studies, he being surprized by death, when (as Malmesbury tells us) he had not gone above half way through with it. It was published by our author, Sir John Spelman, at London, 1640, 4to, from four MSS. The latter part of it was done by another hand. There had been a Saxon version before, by Adhelmus, bishop of Sherburn, as is mentioned by Bale in his life, and confirmed by Mr. Wharton from an epistle which he has published of Adhelmus. [Vide Whartoni Auctarium historiæ dogmatæ J. Ufferii, &c. p. 351.] Which is likewise mentioned by Mr. Leland, [de script. Brit.] which he says he saw himself; in which, however, I believe he is mistaken, and rather believe it was this version of king Ælfred's, Adhelm's having been lost before Ælfred's time, as is observed by Sir John Spelman in his preface to his edition of the Saxon psalter.

These were the king's works, as Mr. Bale hath collected them; but Malmesbury [de Gest. reg. Angl. lib. ii.] tells us of many more, [among which must not be passed by his translating Æsop's fables out of Greek into Latin and Saxon, as I find it mentioned from a MS. by Mr. Richard James, in the eighth volume of his MS. collections in Bibl. Bodl. p. 23.] though he nameth but few of them, and those already set down: for he saith, Plurimam partem Romanæ bibliothecæ Anglorum auribus dedit. And the old MS. history of Ely, lib. ii. cited by archbishop Parker in his preface to Affer, saith, that the king translated all the Old and New Testament. The words of the book, as they are there cited, are thus: Aluredus, acerrimi ingenii princeps, per Grimbaldum et Joannem, doctissimos monachos, tantum instructus est, ut in brevi librorum omnium notitiam habuerit, totumque Novum et Vetus Testamentum in eulogiam Angliæ gentis transmutaverit. Neither doth that which Malmesbury saith, any whit cross the book of Ely: for it should seem, even by the order of the words, that the king began with the most principal, and translated the New Testament first, and that done he set upon the Old Testament; and so, as his time served him, he went on, till, as he was going through the Psalms, his work was interrupted by his death. Boston of Bury saith, Totum fere Testamentum in linguam Anglicanum transtulit; which words, I suppose, are to be understood of the New Testament. I find them cited by archbishop Usher, in a book of MS. collections in the custody of James Tyrrel, Esq; But whether Ælfred really translated the whole Bible, is somewhat to be doubted, notwithstanding what is said in this history of Ely: for, if he had translated all, there would have been no need for Ælfric, abbot of Winchester, and afterwards archbishop of York, (and different from Ælfric, archbishop of Canterbury, as is evidently proved by Mr. Wharton, in his dissertation de duobus Ælfricis, in Angl. sacra, t. i. p. 125. which had been also hinted before, with an argument or two to confirm it, by the learned Mr. John Josselin, in his preface to a Testimony of Antiquity, &c. I say, there would have been no need for Ælfric) to have translated any part anew afterwards, as it is certain he did; and, I believe, was induced to the task to supply and compleat the version of king Ælfred. Nor can it be objected, that the king's translation at that time was lost, since he had taken special care to prevent that, by sending copies of it, [See Mr. Lisle's preface to Ælfric's treatise concerning the Old and New Testament, c. 2.] with others of his translation of Gregory's pastoral, and certain mancusses or marks of gold, the fairest of his coin, to the several cathedral churches, where the books were kept till about the time of the reformation by king Henry VIII. [See more of the Saxon version of the Old and New Testament, at the beginning of Dr. Marshal's Observationes in versionem Anglo-Sax. of the New Testament, where he mentions several versions of parts of the scripture in this language.] Besides all these, it seemeth that he himself, like Cæsar, writ a commentary of his own actions: for Mr. Fox saith, that he compiled a story in Saxon, which was called the Story of Ælfred; and that he himself hath seen both that story and his translation of Bede. That he writ a history, I find the chronicle called Brute of England.

7. E D W A R D the E L D E R.

A. D. 901.

The succession of Edward.

I Shall not enter into any dispute, with regard to the right of succession vested in the person of this prince; I will only observe, that if, by the feudal, or any other, law, his father and uncles had a right to the crown, the same right devolved upon him. But it must be ingenuously owned, that this matter is very perplexed; and that Edward's being the son of so great a man as Alfred, was, perhaps, the surest prop on which his title rested.

Ethelwald rebels.

The beginning of his reign, however, was disturbed by a competition with his cousin-german Ethelwald, the son of his uncle Ethelbert, elder brother to Alfred. This prince, upon pretences of blood obvious enough to the reader, found means to draw together an inconsiderable party. With this he seized upon Winburn in Dorsetshire, and Tweoneham in Hampshire. Edward, in the mean time, appears to have been unsuspectful of any such commotion.

Edward reviews his fortifications.

After being solemnly inaugurated at Kingston, his first care was to review the state of the national fortifications. He appears to have been employed in this when an account was brought him of his cousin's rebellion. Though the latter was unsupported by the nobles or leading men of the kingdom; yet a competition of this kind, if backed by the Danish power, might have been very fatal. Gathering together, therefore, a considerable army, he advanced against the rebels, and pitched his camp at Badenbyrig, now Badbury, in Dorsetshire, near Winburn. Ethelwald, expecting to be joined in a short time by more considerable forces, had fortified himself in Winburn, with great shew of resolution either to conquer or die.

Edward advances against the rebels.

But this only proved a feint to impose on the vigilance of Edward; for Ethelwald, in a short time, made his escape from Winburn, and threw himself into the arms of the Danes in Northumberland, leaving behind him his wife, whom he had taken out of a monastery, and who now fell into the hands of Edward. The Danes received this pretender with open arms; but it appears they thought themselves too weak to attempt any thing in his favour at that juncture. From the Saxon chronicle we learn, that they acknowledged him as king, and submitted themselves to his authority; by which can only be meant the feudal superiority which Egbert and his successors had ever claimed over the Danes in England. This recognition, however, seems to have given Edward great uneasiness. As he himself was a brave warrior, he still continued to take all possible precautions, by fortifying his strong places, to provide against any insurrection; nor was it long before he found reason for his precaution: for Ethelwald fled

Ethelwald flies to the Danes,

who receive him as their king.

Edward fortifies himself.

from Northumberland into France (1), expecting, no doubt, some assistance there, either from the Danes and Normans, who were, at this time, very numerous in that country, or from the Franks themselves, on account of the alliance between his own and their royal family. It is not certain whether he had success in this expedition or not; but he probably brought some forces from thence, because of the stand he was afterwards able to make. We dare not pronounce, from the Saxon chronicles, that the battle, which they mention to have been fought at Holm, in the year 902, was on account of Ethelwald. Florence of Worcester places it two years later; but, by comparing both accounts, it would appear, that the battle fought at Holm, whether in the year 902, or 904, was between the Kentishmen and some Danish pirates, who had invaded Kent. Florence expressly mentions the Danes as pirates, and Ethelwald's return to England, as posterior to that battle. We must not here forget the mention of an English Amazon, Elfreda, wife to Ethered, earl of Mercia. This lady, born with the soul of the bravest of men, not subject to the infirmities of weak woman, grew so much out of humour with the latter, through the pangs she felt in child-bearing, that, renouncing Lucina, she devoted herself to Mars, and was, through the noble example she gave, of great use to Edward.

A. D. 901.

A battle at Holm.

The gallantry of Elfreda.

Brompton informs us, that Ethelwald had got great advantages in Essex; and that, in the fourth of Edward's reign, he invaded Mercia, committing ravages all the way to Cricklade; that afterwards, passing the Thames, he took Bredon in Wiltshire, and from thence returned to East-Anglia. We have no lights from history that inform us why Edward did not more early check these insults; all we know is, that he no sooner got a sufficient army together, than he pursued the enemy, laying waste all the borders of East-Anglia, after taking Brithenden, and marching as far as Bradenstoke, in Wiltshire. As no enemy had appeared, Edward wisely conceived, that his best course was to march his troops all in a body, for fear of ambuscades, or any sudden attack. He soon found, that he had but too good grounds for this precaution; for the Kentishmen, who had but lately suffered severely from the Danes, stayed behind; and though Edward sent no less than seven messengers to quicken their march to the main body of his army, yet they found themselves surrounded by the enemy. A very sharp dispute ensued, in which Eadwald, the king's thane, and Cenwulf, the abbot, with many more of the English nobility, were killed; and, on the part of the Danes, Eoni, their king,

Ethelwald ravages Mercia.

Edward pursues him to East-Anglia.

The Kentishmen surprised by Ethelwald's party.

(1) Mr. Rapin, by his creative power, makes Edward to have pursued Ethelwald into Northumberland, and that his flying to France was occasioned by the terror of his arms: but all this is so gross, that even his translator has observed, that the Saxon chronicles and Florence do not warrant it; I will add, nor any of our ancient historians.

A. D. 907. Ethelwald, who had stirred up the rebellion, Birtfig, the son of Beornoth, and Yfopa, the general of their army: but, though this slaughter of the Danes fell so much among their men of eminence, yet the Kentishmen lost the battle. There is some doubt who this Eoric, the king of the Danes, was. It is most probable that he was the Danish prince of East-Anglia, and acted as a general in this expedition, since William of Malmesbury places his death, about this time, to the account of the English, who were exasperated with his government; but without being bettered by a change. In this year, which was 905, the queen mother of England died. The death of Ethelwald seems to have extinguished the hopes of the Danes; for in the year 907, we find a treaty concluded between king Edward and the Danes of East-Anglia and Northumberland. But we are not to imagine, that this was a national peace, and between two powers, each of which had proper authority for that purpose; for the Danes, who knew no law but the sword, and no interest but plunder, were never longer bound by treaties than they had the power of breaking them. Their government was military, and every transaction of that kind was carried on by their soldiers, who, under a new general, or a fresh king, looked upon themselves as absolved of their former engagements. Besides, each different body thought themselves free from all obligations which any other body of their countrymen had entered into. Hence happened so many breaches of faith on their part, in the late reign, every succeeding leader, not deeming himself tied down by any transaction, but as expediency dictated. The late peace was made at a town called Itengaford, a place probably seated in the new forest in Hampshire, which, in the Anglo-Saxon, was called Itene. The terms of this peace seem to have been prescribed by Edward, who, in that same year, repaired the town of Lei-

Ethelwald's death.

A treaty concluded between Edward and the Danes.

Why the Danes thought themselves not obliged by treaties.

cester (1); though Florence of Worcester says, that this was done by order of Ethe-red, earl of Mercia, and his consort the gallant Elfleda, in the year 908. The same authority tells us, that, in the year 910, the Danes broke the league they had made with Edward, who thereupon sent an army of his West Saxons and Mercians into Northumberland, where they laid all waste for forty days, killing and taking prisoners a great many Danes, till he forced their leaders to renew their engagements with him; but next year, the enemy, as usual, breaking the late treaty, in their turn invaded Mercia. Edward was, at this time, in Kent, and had ordered his fleet, consisting of a hundred ships, to put to sea, and to sail to the south-east. The Danes, seeing so formidable a naval armament, immediately concluded, that the main body of the English had gone aboard this navy, and resolved to make use of the opportunity for plundering the country. Their excursion was so sudden, that they partly put their design in execution before Edward's army, which consisted of Mercians and West Saxons, could come up to them. At last, the Danes, being loaded with plunder, were overtaken at Woodnesfield, where they were cut in pieces and routed by the English, as they were returning home. In this battle, which was very bloody, the Danes lost two of their kings, with many of their principal leaders; and it was some years before the English Danes could make any head against Edward. The manuscript annals of Winchester, in the Cottonian library, inform us, that the name of the next Danish king was Reginald; and Florence of Worcester tells us of another battle, which was fought the same year (but before that at Wodnesburg) at Teotfanhele in Staffordshire, between the English and the Danes, in which the former had the victory.

A. D. 912.

The Danes break the league.

Edward ravages Northumberland.

Saxon chron. The Danes invade Mercia.

are cut in pieces by Edward.

In the year 912, Edward lost his brother-in-law Ethered (2), prince of the Mercians, the faithful friend of his and his father Alfred's

(1) Mr. Tyrrel here tells us, that this town, probably, was not Leicester, but Westchester; because Florence calls it Caerlegion, a name, says he, which never was given to Leicester. But the Saxon annals spell the place here mentioned differently, calling it Lig-ceaster, from Lege-ceaster, the Saxon name for Westchester. Camden likewise is of opinion, that Leicester is here mentioned: I shall give his own words. "In the year 680, when Sexwulph, by king Ethelred's order, divided the kingdom of the Mercians into dioceses, he placed here a bishop's seat, and was himself the first bishop of the see: but, after a few years, the see being translated to another place, that dignity determined, and the wealth and reputation of the town decayed by little and little; till Edelfleda, a noble lady, in the year of our Lord 914, repaired and fortified the place with new walls." Camd. p. 535.

(2) It may be here proper to throw in some particulars of this prince's life, as they give great lights to the Welsh history of those times. These we have in Mr. Vaughan's notes upon Caradoc's chronicle, who informs us, that, after the death of Roderic the Great, the northern Britons of Stræclwyd and Cumberland were (as Hector Boëtius and Buchanan relate) much infested and weakened with the daily incursions of the Danes, Saxons, and Scots; which made many of them (that is, all that would not submit their necks to that yoke) to quit their country, and seek out more quiet habitations: so that, under the conduct of one Hobert, they came to Gwyneth (i. e. North Wales) in the beginning of Anarawd's reign, who, commiserating their distressed condition, gave them the country from Chester to the river Conway to inhabit, if they could beat out the Saxons who had lately possessed themselves thereof. These Britons, having returned thanks to prince Anarawd, as was meet, fell upon the Saxons; and necessity giving edge to their valour, they soon drove them out thence, being yet scarce warm in their seats; and Edred, or Ethered, earl of Mercia, made great preparations for the regaining of the said country: but the northern Britons, who had settled themselves there, having intelligence thereof, for the better security of their cattle and goods, removed them over the river Conway. In the mean time, Anarawd was not idle; but gathering together all the strength he could make, his army encamped near the town of Conway, at a place called Cymryt, where his men, making a gallant resistance against the assaults of the Saxon forces, at length, after a bloody fight, obtained a complete victory over them. This battle was called Gwaeth-Cymryt-Conway, because it was fought in the township of Cymryt, hard by Conway; but Anarawd called it Dial-Rodri, because he had there revenged the death of his father Rodri. In this battle Tudwall, the son of Rodri Mawr, received a hurt in the knee, which made him be called Tudwall Gloff, or the lame, ever after. His brethren, to reward his valour and service, gave him the lands of Unchello gaed Gwynned; and then the Britons, pursuing their victory, chased the Saxons quite out of Wales into Mercia, where, having burnt and destroyed the borders, they returned home laden with rich spoils. And Anarawd, to express his thankfulness to God for this great victory, gave lands and possessions to the church of Bangor, as the records of that see do testify; and likewise to the collegiate church of Clynnoc in Arvon, as we read in the extent of North Wales. After this, the northern Britons came back from beyond the river Conway, and possessed again the lands assigned to them between Conway and Chester, Numb. XX.

A. D. 913.

Elfreda fortifies her country.

Alfred's fortunes. This nobleman, either by the particular favour of the English monarch, or in right of his wife, seems to have had a kind of a palatine superiority over Mercia. Upon his death, Elfreda, his gallant widow, took possession of all his estate, excepting London and Oxford, which, perhaps, by some particular convention, fell into the hands of Edward. As military fortification, by reason of the Danish inroads, was in high request in this reign. Elfreda was no sooner mistress of her own fortune, than she built and fortified the most important places in her possession; particularly she built a castle at a place called Sceargeate, now unknown, and another at Bridgenorth. And Florence adds, that, about this time, she built the town of Bremesbyrig; besides a great many other important places, which she repaired and fortified, upon the frontiers. To pursue the history of this Amazon more particularly; we are told, that, the year after, she marched, with all her Mercians, to Tamworth in Staffordshire, and there built a castle; and, before the feast of All-saints, did the like at Steford; the year following, she built another at Eadesbury in Cheshire; the same year, she built another at Warwick; and next year, another at Cherbury in Shropshire; another at Wearbyrig in Staffordshire; and, before Christmas, another at Bunckhow in Cheshire: but Florence places all these actions, more rightly, three years after. Those forts served to repel the incroaching Danes, and proved a strong barrier to the English Mercians. We shall have occasion, after this, to note some other warlike achievements of the same lady.

Edward rebuilds Hertford.

In the year 913, king Edward rebuilt the town of Hertford, which probably had suffered greatly from the Danes, in the foregoing wars; though, from the Saxon chronicle, it would seem as if he had built it from the ground. About this time Edward began to be sensible, that the dread of the Danish power over-awed a great many

of his subjects, who would willingly return to their allegiance to his family, could they have been secure of sufficient protection. For this purpose, in the year 914, between Lent and Midsummer, he marched as far as Maldon in Essex with his army, where he built and fortified a town at Witham, to which a great many of the English, who had been hitherto under the Danes, resorted and put themselves under his protection.

A. D. 916.

and builds and fortifies Witham.

The year 915 seems to have been spent without any disturbances from the Danes; and Edward, in imitation of his illustrious father, used this interval from arms in the propagation of arts: for it was about this time he distinguished Cambridge (1), much in the same manner as Alfred had done Oxford. It is true, some ignorant zealots have been guilty of several forgeries, to enhance the dignity and antiquity of this university; but we may, upon the whole, reasonably believe, that it was a seat of learning, though perhaps not reduced to the form it now has, under this prince; and that he spared no cost or pains to adorn it with the ablest men in different professions.

Edward distinguishes Cambridge.

In the year 916, we find the brave Elfreda carrying her arms into Wales, in revenge for the loss her husband had sustained from that people. Her first exploit was against Brecknock-castle, which she took, with upwards of thirty prisoners, among whom was the wife of a Welsh king. She afterwards marched to Derby, to which she likewise laid siege. The town was provided in a strong garrison; but such was the terror of Elfreda's arms, that, notwithstanding the great numbers of the enemy, they durst not make one sally to raise the siege. Our Amazon, therefore, was obliged to attempt it by storm; but the enemy making a strong resistance, a very bloody dispute happened, after Elfreda had forced the gates of the town. The enemy, as acting on the defensive, and possessed of all the strong posts, had great advantages; but nothing could resist the courage of our heroine: she entered and Derby.

Elfreda takes Brecknock-castle.

which, for a long time after, they peaceably enjoyed. Some English writers, as Matthew of Westminster, &c. not considering that the Britons had lands in Loegria and Albania after king Cadwalader's time, mistake those of Cumberland and Strætclwyd for the Britons of Wales; but Asser Meneva, who lived about the year 875, saith, that Halden the Dane marched into Northumberland, which he subdued, having before conquered the Picts and Britons of Strætclwyd in Northumberland.

(1) There is extant, in an old MS. belonging to Clare-hall in Cambridge, the copy of a charter of this king Edward's, dated at Crantabridge, in the year 915, and directed to one Frithelsten, then chancellor and doctor of the place; but, as the original of this charter is not to be found, the pedantic bombast Latin in which the king makes a confirmation of its privileges, [Stabili jure grata et rata decerno durare quamdiu vertigo poli circa terras atque æquora æthera siderum, justo moderamine volvet] with other circumstances of improbability, gives just reason to suspect its authenticity. But John Rouse (says Mr. Tyrrel, cent. viii. num. 53, in his manuscript history, *De regibus Angliæ*, cited by Bale) relates, from an ancient table and chronicle of the abbey of Hyde, near Winchester, (which himself, by the favour of the abbot, had perused) the restoration of the university of Cambridge by king Edward, as follows: "Therefore, for the augmentation of clerk-like learning, as his father had done to Oxford, so he again raised up Cambridge to her first glory, which, for a long time, with other general schools, had lain desolate and destroyed; as also, like a most loving nourisher of scholars, he commanded that halls for students, chairs and seats of doctors and masters, should there be erected and built at his own proper charges: for he sent from Oxford university (which his noble father, the king, had founded) masters of those arts which we call liberal, together with doctors in divinity, and invited them there formally to read and teach." But, since the author here cited is but of modern times, in comparison to this famous university; and also that passage he hath cited out of the annals of Hyde, is not now to be found in the copies we have of them, I shall give the reader a much more ancient testimony out of Thomas Rudburne's larger history of the church of Winchester, where he cites an epistle of one Bonagratia de villa Dei, to the black monks of England; wherein there is this passage, which I shall here translate, viz. "That whilst he was banished from his country into England, and sojourned with the most holy and religious monks in the city of Winchester, Helmeftan, abbot of the said cathedral church, and the venerable Swithune, præpositus (i. e. bishop of the same) who had been before in professione sacre theologie in studio Canterbriggienfi cathedratus (i. e. professor of divinity in the university of Cambridge) had often relieved him during the many hardships he suffered in his banishment, which special favour he desired always should be acknowledged." If we were assured that this epistle was genuine, it would advance the antiquity of this university far higher than the time we are now treating of, and would make it ancients than the time of king Alfred, in the latter-end of whose reign St. Swithune succeeded as bishop of Winchester; but, since we have not the originals, but only citations from those ancient pieces, I shall not take upon me to determine of their validity.

A. D. 918. and took the place, sword in hand; but not without the loss of four of her best officers.

The Danes march into Oxfordshire,

In the year 917, a strong body of Danish cavalry marched from Northampton and Leicester into Oxfordshire, where they surprised a body of Edward's forces at Hokenorton, and cutting them in pieces, returned to their own seats with the plunder. Their success encouraged another squadron to follow their example. Accordingly they marched to Leighton in Bedfordshire; but the country, by this time, had taken the alarm, and were provided to receive them, which they did so warmly, that most part of the Danes were cut in pieces; and all the plunder they were masters of, with their horses, fell into the hands of the English.

and Bedfordshire.

More Danes arrive from the continent.

The year 918 threatened to renew to England all the miseries she had experienced from the Danes in the late reign. The continent, which was a wider scene for their ravages and conquests than Britain, was, by this time, overburdened with their numbers. Rollo, whom we have already seen leaving England, had, by this time, laid the foundation of an hereditary power in Normandy, one of the finest provinces of France; while other leaders, at the head of other parties, had done, or were attempting to do, the like in several parts of the continent. Their views of ambition leading them to independency, rendered them jealous of any fresh invaders, under whatsoever denomination they came; so that there remained now very little hopes of success or settlement to any new body. This was the reason why, in this year, a large embarkation of their troops was made from the southern parts of Brittany, and under the command of two leaders, Otar and Rohault, and cruising eastward, they at last entered the mouth of the Severn. Their first exploit was against the Welsh (for all were equally enemies who had aught to lose;) then they plundered wherever, says my authority, they could conveniently do it, and had the good fortune to carry off prisoner Cumeleac, the bishop of Erchenfield in Herefordshire. This prelate, who was a favourite with Edward, was ransomed, by him, for forty pounds. I mention this circumstance only as a probable ground to believe, that Edward, about this time, was looked upon as the sovereign, or rather superior, of that part of Wales. The Danish exploits in this quarter, however, appear hitherto to have been only carried on by roving detachments from their ships; but, at last, they landed their whole force, encouraged by the little resistance they had hitherto found, and again marched towards Erchenfield. This invasion alarmed Edward, and he ordered the inhabitants of Herefordshire and Gloucestershire, and those of the neighbouring towns and counties round, to oppose it. This they did with so much valour, that the Danes, in a general engagement, were routed; and, after leaving dead on the spot Rohault, and a brother of Otar, their other leader, they were obliged to retire, with the remains of their

Invalidate the Welsh.

Saxon chron.

Their progress.

shattered army, into a neighbouring wood, where they were so strongly besieged by Edward's forces, that they were, at last, forced to capitulate, and give hostages that they would, in a fixed time, depart the kingdom.

A. D. 918.

This invasion put Edward upon his guard. The doubtful fidelity of the Welsh made him apprehensive, that, some time or other, they might, on a disgust, invite and join with the invaders. He, therefore, cantoned a strong body of forces from the south of the Severn's mouth, and from the west of Wales towards the east, as far as the river Avon, to prevent any future invasions from that quarter. But the Danes, who had been lately defeated, and had, by this time, departed to their ships, unmindful of the late agreement, stole ashore, with all their national perfidy, from their ships, in the night-time. They then divided themselves into two bodies, the one advancing to Watchet in Somersetshire, and the other to Portlochbey, in the same county, to plunder; but the precautions which Edward had taken proved so effectual, that they were defeated in both places; none escaping but those who swam back to their ships. From the manner of those barbarians making war, it is evident, that their frequent breaches of faith were, in some sort, owing to necessity. Trusting to plunder for subsistence, when disappointed of that, they were reduced to starve: and though, by this late capitulation, they had saved themselves from immediate slaughter; yet the few who remained alive on ship-board, had now famine to encounter; an enemy more dreadful than those they had escaped. These difficulties pushed them to attack a little island, supposed to be Shipholm, in the mouth of the Severn; but either the poverty of the place, or the courage of the inhabitants, disappointing them in their expectations, many of them died of hunger, and they who survived, went to South Wales, from whence they passed over to Ireland.

The precautions of Edward for the defence of his dominions.

The Danes defeated.

In the same year Edward marched his army to Buckingham, about the beginning of winter. Remaining there for a month, in order to over-awe the neighbouring Danes, he raised two forts, one on each side of the river Ouse. These had so good an effect, that Thurkytel, the Danish earl, of greatest property in the country, together with the principal noblemen of that nation, submitted to Edward. By this submission all the country round Bedford and Northampton was quieted, and recognized Edward's right; but in this year, to counterbalance all those acquisitions, Edward lost his sister, the renowned Elfeda. But, in the collections of Mr. Lambart, which he presented to the Cottonian library, we are told of a chronicle which once belonged to the monastery of Rochester, which mentions, that this year, that heroine, by the assistance of her brother, besieged Canterbury, which she took, after making great slaughter of the Danes. But in this there appears to be some mistake. I am apt to think, that the author was deceived

Edward marches to Buckingham.

The Danes submit.

Death of Elfeda.

A. D. 919.

ceived by the word Deoraby, which certainly means Derby, as if it had been put for Canterbury the old Dorobernia, from whence it is sometimes called Doraby. But whatever may be in this, it is certain, that before her death she reduced Leicester, and a great part of the Northumbrian Danes, to the allegiance of her brother.

Edward's policy.

In the year 919, Edward marched his army to Bedford, being invited, it is probable, by the dispositions of the people in his favour: for he no sooner appeared before the gates, than the town surrendered to him. His policy, as was that of his father, seems to have been, to intermix the Danes and the English so as that they might forget their national animosities: for Edward was no sooner master of the place, than he repeopled it with his own subjects, but without obliging any of the Danes to be gone. He likewise stayed there a month; and before he departed, he added a little town to the former, on the south-side of the river, which was called Mikesgate, which afterwards proved of great service to the country.

He rebuilds Maldon.

The next expedition of Edward, was his rebuilding Maldon in Essex, which he likewise fortified. Those precautions made the Danes despair of being able to recover their footing in England, or to form any independent state. Edward, with a right policy, gave all that nation leave to depart quietly, with their effects, who did not chuse to live under his government; but between those who submitted, and his own natural subjects, he knew no difference. Thurkytel, whom we have already mentioned, taking advantage of this indulgence, sought leave this year from Edward to pass over to France. Edward not only granted this, but gave him a convoy for their safe conduct. By this departure of Thurkytel, who was attended by all the Danes who were unwilling to submit to the English government, Edward's sceptre was strengthened, because he had the less to fear within his own territories. But a great event, which now happened, made him still more powerful; so that, according to the observation of all our old historians, though he fell short of his father in genius and learning, yet he surpassed him in success and dominion. For the brave Elfleda, at her death, left only a daughter, whose name was Elfwinna. This lady, succeeding to the great estate of her father-in-law, was, in fact, possessed of almost as much property as the crown itself. This gave her an ambition to be a queen. No prince was so fit for her purpose as Reginald, the chief king of the Danes in England, who could both increase her dignity and defend her property. There is justly great doubts with regard to the right which Ethered and his wife had to this last estate. From the manner of the succession, it appears to have been a feof, descending in both lines. In whatever manner this was obtained from the crown, it is certain that the alienation of so great an estate was now become very inconvenient, nay, dangerous, to the government. Elfwinna could not but be sensible that Edward

Gives leave to the Danes to depart.

History of Elfleda's daughter.

would take advantage of the weakness of her sex and years to endeavour to reannex it to the crown, and therefore it was natural in her to seek to strengthen her possession by her match with the Dane. The only way to have prevented all inconveniences, would have been by marrying her to his own successor; but this appears never to have been thought of; and besides, the degrees of consanguinity required a dispensation from the pope to make the marriage valid. Elfleda had left her brother the guardian of her daughter; therefore Edward, with good reason, was greatly incensed when he came to the knowledge of the treaty carrying on between Elfwinna and Reginald. Had it been carried into execution, it must have re-established the Danes more firmly than ever in England, and have again overthrown the establishment. He therefore resolutely marched an army into Mercia, and, without resistance, seizing, as the guardian of the kingdom, its principal cities, obliged the inhabitants to take an oath of allegiance to himself, and carried the young lady back with him to his own dominions. But the Danes were, it seems, not the only people whom Edward had reason to be apprehensive of at this time; for we are told, that

A. D. 920.

An invasion from Ireland.

Leofred, a Dane, and Griffith-ap-Madoc, brother-in-law to the prince of West Wales, landed, in the year 920, with an Irish army, in Wales. Their design was to have subdued all that country, and their success was such, that they advanced as far as Chester before Edward was in a condition to oppose them. It appears, from a circumstance that is come to our knowledge upon this occasion, that the Saxon kings had a great personal estate of their own, out of which they raised a body of troops, which served, in some measure, as a standing army. For my author tells us, that Edward, not chusing to lay any fresh impositions upon his people, or to oblige them to so fatiguing a march as that into Wales, made a vow to be revenged upon the invaders, by the assistance of his sons, and the immediate dependants upon his own family. Accordingly he retook Chester, and then divided his army into two bodies; the one led by himself and his son Athelstan, the other by his generals. He then advanced against the invaders, whom he overtook at Sherwood. A battle ensued, which was bravely fought on both hands. The valour and conduct of princes, in those days, were not confined to matters of direction, but were personal and active. It appears, that every king, however great, fought at the head of his own army; since we find few defeats, given to princes, that were not attended with the death of the vanquished party. Leofred and Griffith dividing their forces in like manner, the former advanced against the royal standard, and charged Edward's division so furiously, that the king was in danger of being taken or killed by the vigorous Dane: but the brave Athelstan

Defeated by Edward,

who is in great danger.

took

A. D. 921.

A. D. 921.

The Irish and
Danish princes
beheaded.The Danes
again submit;The terms of
their submis-
sion.A general in-
surrection of
the Danes.

Its progress.

View of af-
fairs in the
north.

took him prisoner. The historian from whom I take this relation says, that prince Edmund and Edred were at the head of Edward's other division; but if this battle happened, as he has placed it, about the year 920, that is impossible to be true, because prince Edmund, at this time, could not be above four years of age; unless we should suppose that his father had initiated him, even thus young, into the school of arms, a circumstance not at all probable. We are told, however, that the other division of Edward's army was equally successful against Griffith, the Welsh, or rather the Irish, prince, who fell in the battle. It is very probable that Edward, looking upon the Danes as no better than pirates, on account of the convention subsisting between him, and their princes, and the Welsh as rebels to the allegiance they owed him, thought that they had no right to be treated as prisoners of war; for we find, that Griffith's head being brought to Edward, Athelstan ordered Leofred to be beheaded likewise, and both their heads were set upon the top of the tower at Chester.

Edward returning in great triumph from his Welsh expedition, next year rebuilt Tocester in Northamptonshire, and Wigmore in Herefordshire. This being a great eye-sore to the Danes, they suddenly broke the peace, and attempted to surprize Tocester; but being repulsed with loss, they laid the country under contribution, and plundered it, carrying off, say the Saxon annals, a great many men and cattle between Barnwood and Eglebyrig, the former of which is Barnwood forest, near Bury-hill, and the latter Ailesbury, both in Buckinghamshire. This was followed by a more general insurrection of the Danes round Huntingdon, and inhabiting East-Anglia. These, in imitation of Edward, built a fort at Thamesford in Bedfordshire, at the conflux of the rivers Ival and Ouse. From thence they made excursions into the country, and at last they marched in a body to Bedford, from whence they were repulsed with great loss. Soon after they had a general rendezvous near Wigmore, which they endeavoured to take; but being repulsed by the bravery of the inhabitants, they fell to their common practice of plundering the country. In the mean time, Edward ordered their new fort at Thamesford to be besieged; and having taken it, put all within it, whom he found in arms, to the sword: and the annals, upon this occasion, mention a Danish king and two counts, father and son, among the slain. The loss of this fort gave a fatal blow to the Danish affairs in England, and so much spirit to the English, that they took Colchester, which was then in the hands of the enemy, that same season, putting all the Danes they found in it to the sword, none escaping but those who jumped over the walls. This rigor, in treating the invaders as rebels and robbers, exasperated them so much, that the insurrection that same year became general. At last, having got together a great body, composed of land forces, pirates, and their East-Anglian countrymen,

they advanced to besiege Maldon, in hopes to retrieve their honour and interest, which had greatly suffered by the late defeats; but here too they were repulsed, and, in their retreat, were attacked by the garrison, who killed great numbers of them. Such repeated losses, at last, so greatly discouraged them, that their principal leaders resolved to throw themselves upon the mercy of the English government. Accordingly, Edward, advancing with an army to Pacham in Buckinghamshire, put the last hand to the fortification at Tocester. The fort of Pacham was of great service in curbing the plundering Danes; and the fortifying Tocester was an additional security to the country. Those wise precautions at last brought the earl Thurfeth, and the chief commander of the Danish forces that belonged to Southampton, with all towards the north as far as Weolade, to accept Edward as their lord and protector. Edward then repaired and rebuilt Huntingdon, where all the inhabitants thereabouts submitted to his protection. He next covered Colchester with an army, and then he raised it from the late ruins it had suffered by the siege: and, soon after, the East-Angles, who, the reader may remember, had been for thirty years under Danish government, took an oath of allegiance to Edward; in which they were followed by the Danish army lying in that country. The terms of their allegiance were, the promising to do whatever he thought good, and to defend his subjects as well by land as sea. Another body of Danes, who lay at Cambridge, did the like; but with more explicit obedience, for they chose Edward for their king and protector.

But it is now time to turn our eyes northwards, where the Danes had still strong footing, especially in Northumberland, and a great way into Scotland. The Scots had been governed by two princes, Gregory and Donald, who understood the interest of their own country too well ever to be seduced into an alliance with the Danes. Gregory proved an useful ally to the English, and was of great service to Alfred in Northumberland; while Alfred, on the other hand, gave him leave to recover some lands, which had been taken from his predecessors by the Britons: though I am rather apt to think, that they were originally possessed by the Britons, whom the Scots, invited by the conveniency of possession, drove out. Donald, the successor of Gregory, had likewise furnished Alfred with an army, which did him considerable service in his wars with the Danes. But those two princes being succeeded by Constantine III, unequal to them in resolution and conduct, he was debauched into an alliance with the Danes. This alliance continued for two years, and then the Danes, abandoning the Scots, made peace with the English. It was about this period I am now treating of, viz. the year 921, that Edward, having subdued all the southern Danes, became so formidable to those in the north, that they again applied to the Scots, representing the necessity of their joining to

A. D. 921.

Buchanan corrected.

The Scots invade England;

but are defeated with great slaughter by Athelstan.

Edward in great glory.

oppose the English power. Buchanan, it is true, has fixed this application to the tenth year of Constantine III's reign, which is about eight years more early than our period. But the complexion of the English history but ill agrees with this supputation; and if it happened in the same year, as Buchanan says it did, that Cumberland was given to the prince royal of Scotland, we have the authority of Fordun for bringing it to the sixteenth year of Constantine, which is pretty near the date I have assigned to this transaction.

The Scotch king, inveigled by the representations of the Danes, and, as was believed, corrupted by their money, agreed to their terms; and Constantine sent Malcolm, the prince royal of Scotland, at the head of an army, to assist the Pagans. The brave Athelstan, at that time, commanded his father's forces in the north of England; but finding himself in no condition to oppose the invaders, was obliged to act upon the defensive, till an opportunity might present of engaging them with advantage. The young Malcolm, interpreting this caution as cowardice, behaved with great insolence, and thought not of fighting, but of plundering. Athelstan, dreading the consequences, made a shew of offering them battle, which, for some time, suspended their ravages. The prince of the Scots attacking the English with great fury, the latter, as had been disposed by Athelstan, gave way; upon which the Danes and Scots, instead of pursuing their enemy, fell to plundering their camp. Athelstan, suspecting this, ordered it so, that, at a certain signal, his forces rallied, and charged the allies, now loaded with plunder, and in that disorder which all-grasping avarice generally produces in an army. The event was answerable; for the Scots and Danes were butchered, say their historians, like so many brutes, their nobility cut off, and their prince carried wounded from the field. Athelstan, upon this, marched into Cumberland and Westmoreland, which he reduced, and then returned to Northumberland. This defeat of the Scots has given occasion to the English writers to say, that the king of Scotland did homage, for his kingdom, to the king of England; but this is what the Scots are far from admitting, as we shall see in another place. It is certain, however, that about this time Edward was in the height of his glory; and that all the

princes in Britain, of whatever denomination, either submitted to his allegiance, or courted his alliance.

In the year 922, Edward marched to Stamford, and building a castle on the south-side of the river Welland, reduced all the inhabitants on the north-side of that river to his obedience. In the same year, according to the Saxon annals, three princes, Howel, Clitwic, and Jeothwel, with all the northern Britons, put themselves under Edward's protection. He then marched to Nottingham, which he took, fortified and peopled promiscuously with Danes and English; a conduct which had so good an effect with the former, that all the Mercian Danes now made an absolute submission to the English government.

In the year 923, Edward marched into Cheshire, where he repaired the town of Thelwal, upon the river Mersey; and did the like to Manchester in Northumberland. But it appears that this year Reginald, the Danish king, took York; though the particulars of the action are not mentioned. But Simeon of Durham places this event in the year 919, and ascribes it to a Danish prince, one Ingwal. Towards Midsummer, next year, Edward returned to Nottingham, round which he raised a wall, some remains of which are still discernable at the west-side of that town; and ordered a new town to be built, now called Bridgeford, on the other side of the Trent, over which he drew a bridge. From thence he marched into Derbyshire, where he built a town, the name of which is not mentioned. In this year the Saxon chronicles mention the submission of the Scots to Edward, together with Reginald, king of the Northumbrian Danes, with all the inhabitants of Northumberland, and the Britons of Strathclyde, by which we are to understand the kingdom of Ayclute.

Edward was in the height of his glory and reputation when he died, in the year 925, at Farnton in Berkshire, after reigning four and twenty years. When we consider the character of this prince, it must be owned, that he was far inferior to his father in personal and political qualifications; but that he extremely well seconded the principles of policy and government, which had been laid down by Alfred (1). That great prince had established the civil government, and retrieved the independency of the nation;

(1) We have still, in Mr. Lambart's collections, an account of this prince's laws, of which I shall here give an abstract. In the preface he strictly charges and commands his officers, "That, as much as in them lies, they do justice according as it stands in the judicial book (supposed to be some book of precedents or judgments); and, without all fear, boldly dispense common right to all men; and that they set and appoint certain days for determination of the several causes depending before them."

The first law is concerning traffic, and, in way of confirmation of the fourth article of the league made between his father and the Danish king Guthrun, ordains, "That if a man will sell any thing, he shall have one to vouch and make good the sale; and that no man buy any thing without the man, unless he have the port-reeve for witness, or some other man worthy of credit; otherwise he shall undergo the penalty of contumacy against the king. This vouching, or warranty, shall also proceed from one to another, till it end with him who first sold it." The rest of this law (containing in what cases the buyer, and likewise the demandant, shall find sufficient testimony, or oaths, of the true buying of the goods so bought) being long, I refer the reader to the law itself.

The second of king Edward's laws ordains, "That whosoever denies another man his right, either in bocland or folcland, demanding it before the king's sheriff, whereas he hath no right in either, shall pay to the king for the first offence thirty shillings, and as much more for the second; and if he offend the third time, then to pay an hundred and twenty shillings for his contumacy against the king."

The third adjudges, "That for one who had forsworn himself, or borne false witness, no credit should be given to him for the time to come; but that he be put to ordeal in all cases where his oath is required."

The fourth declares, "That king Edward, lying at Exeter, once consulting with his wise men by what means he might best provide for the public peace and tranquility, it then seemed to them that what he had commanded was too remissly executed:

A. D. 925.

The Well submit.

York taken by the Danes.

Edward's death.

Reflections on his character and conduct.

A. D. 925. nation; but nature allowed him too short time for perfecting the great work of the constitution, by bringing his subjects into a perfect state of security and safety. While he lived, his virtue indeed awed the Danes into obedience; but a short time soon proved that they were still very powerful, that they had all the means, and wanted only the resolution to rebel. Edward so effectually humbled them, that had his successors followed the same wise maxims, things could never have taken such a turn as they afterwards did. But still it must be owned, that Edward seems to have neglected the great point which his illustrious father had ever in his eye, which was the fortifying this island by a strong naval power. Instead of that, he appears to have entirely applied himself to the military architecture of those times, which, though extremely commendable, was far from being so effectual for his purpose of suppressing the Danes, as if he had improved his father's maritime schemes.

The defect of his government.

As to this prince's private character, the story we have of his amours, sufficiently prove him to have been susceptible of the tenderest of passions; for the mother of Athelstan (1), though a lady of great beauty, was of so mean an extraction, that he never would venture to own his marriage; from whence our historians have generally mentioned her as the concubine of Edward. But I think it is very improbable that, if this prince had been a natural son, he could have so quietly succeeded to his father's dominions. The humble virtues of Edward (2) were likewise conspicuous; and there is a story related of him, which proves how well he knew to suit himself to circumstances. In short, allowing for the oversight I have just now mentioned, he was such a king as England, in her then dangerous situation, wanted; and had he possessed a greater measure of enterprising genius, he might not, perhaps, have proved so successful, nor his people so happy.

A. D. 925. His private character.

8. A T H E L S T A N.

A. D. 925. ALL the scruples with regard to the legitimacy of this prince were lost in the splendour of his merit: he had proved both the sword and the shield of England during his father's life; and he was crowned, by Ethelin, archbishop of Canterbury, at

Athelstan succeeds.

Kingston upon Thames, the favourite residence of the Saxon government. William of Malmesbury has, upon this occasion, a remarkable expression; for he says, that, "after being chosen by a majority of nobles, he was crowned at Kingston." But I am

A. D. 925.

"executed; therefore he now required all that will amend and reform these things, and would with him enjoy common society, that they would prosecute, with their utmost hatred, the same persons as he did, both by sea and land; and that they would take care not to do wrong or injury to any man. He that doth contrary, let him (as was formerly ordained) pay thirty shillings to the king; and if he offend the second time, as much more; if the third, a hundred and twenty shillings."

The fifth commands, "That that reeve, or judge, who doth not justice according to the testimony of such as are summoned, pay a hundred and twenty shillings for his contumacy against the king."

The sixth wills, "That if a servant be accused of theft, he that recommended him to his master, or other of his friends if he have any, be sureties for him, that he discharge himself of what is deposed against him; and if he have none to interpose on his behalf, those that are concerned may seize his goods; but if he have neither goods nor friends, let him be taken into custody."

The eighth law enjoins, "That no man, knowingly and voluntarily, have peace with, or harbour, one that is condemned for any crime. He that acts contrary, and thereby breaks his oath, and the faith given by him and all the people, let him undergo the mulct prescribed in the judiciary-book; which, if he refuse to pay, he is to be deprived of the king's favour, and all other men's friendship; and farther, forfeit all his estate. And if any afterwards relieve him, let him also incur the penalty expressed in the said book; and farther, whosoever shall relieve a fugitive, either in this country or in the eastern or northern parts of the kingdom (i. e. in East-England and Northumberland) let him be punished as by the articles of peace is ordained."

The ninth provides, "That if one, deprived of his liberty for stealing, steal again, so that all his kindred forsake him, and none will engage for him, he is to be set to servile and hard labour, as opportunity shall offer; and his kindred shall lose the valuation of his head."

The tenth law forbids any man to receive another man's servant without his leave, and that he hath fully satisfied his master; he that doth otherwise, shall be punished as contumacious against the king.

The eleventh and last commands, "That, about every fourth week, every sheriff, or judge, hold the gemot, or assembly, and administer justice to every man, and determine all causes at the days appointed; if he do otherwise, he is to be punished, as was before said."

(1) The story of Edward and this lady is thus told by Bromton:—In the reign of king Ælfred, when his son Edward was young, there was, in a village of the West-Saxons, the daughter of a certain shepherd, called Egwinna, who, falling asleep, dreamed that the moon shone out of her womb so bright, that all England was enlightened by its splendour. This dream she told a grave matron, that had been nurse to several of the king's children. Upon this she takes her into her house, and educates her as carefully as if she had been her own daughter, instructing her so to demean herself as might become a person both of birth and breeding. In process of time, it happened that prince Edward, the king's eldest son, passing upon some occasion through this town, thought himself obliged, in honour and good-nature, to visit his nurse; by which means he got sight of this maid, and, she being exceeding beautiful, fell passionately in love with her, and by his violent importunity he got her consent to lie with him, and by one night's lodging she proved with child; and being afterwards delivered of a son, in respect to the mother's dream, the father gave him the name of Athelstan, which signifies, The most noble.

(2) This king seems, by his history, to have been a prince of great mildness and humility, as well as courage, which appears by this story; but though it be not found in any of our historians, is yet related by Walter Map, in his *Nugis Curialium*, in MS. as follows:—That when king Edward the Elder came to Austelin, (I suppose that which we now call Aust, where is a ferry to pass out of Somersetshire into Wales) Lewelyn, prince of North-Wales, came to Bethesley about a treaty of peace, he refused first to cross the Severn; but when king Edward heard it, he took boat and rowed towards him; but the prince, being then by the water-side, when he saw him and knew who he was, he cast off the rich robe he then had on (which he had provided for that meeting) and entering the river breast-high, taking hold of the end of the boat, submissively said, "Most sage king, thy humility hath overcome my insolence, and thy wisdom triumphed over my folly: come, pray Sir, get upon this neck which I (like a fool as I am) have lifted up against thee, and thus enter that land which thy benign clemency hath made this day thine own." So taking the king upon his shoulders, and setting him on shore, he made him to sit down upon his own royal robe, and, putting his own hands between the king's, there did him homage.

A. D. 926.

A. D. 926.

Reflection
upon his title
to the English
crown,

far from laying upon this expression the stress that some writers do. The expressions even of this great historian are not to be critically canvassed; and if there was any election, it could be no other than that of the Mercians. For this we have the authority of the Saxon chronicle, which tells us expressly, that he was chosen by the Mercians. And indeed we may very well account for this people having such a privilege, when we consider the great probability there is of Edward's giving them the right of electing their own sovereigns, to quiet them upon his reannexing their dominions to his crown. Upon the whole, no argument against the hereditary right of English kings ought to be drawn from this circumstance.

and his legiti-
macy.

The obscurity of his mother's family raising some doubts with regard to his legitimacy, a conspiracy was soon formed, at the head of which was one Alfred, a nobleman of some consideration. Our historians, it is true, particularly William of Malmesbury, speak but doubtfully of Athelstan's legitimacy; but it must be fairly owned, that in history there are no certain grounds, nor no positive proof of his illegitimacy; nay, all presumptions are against it. Alfred, who was himself a prince of great piety, and jealous with regard to the honour of his family, looked upon him, when a boy, as his successor, and invested him with the dignity of knighthood in a solemn manner; an honour we can scarce suppose he would have conferred on one of illegitimate race, especially as other children of less questionable birth were then alive (1). But to proceed in our history.

A conspiracy
formed against
Athelstan, and
by whom.

We have a charter of Athelstan's to the abbey of Malmesbury, which mentions, that the conspiracy in which this Alfred was engaged was of a very black nature, and no less than a design to seize the person of Athelstan, and put out his eyes. It does not appear, however, that this charge was well supported at home; for the head of the conspiracy was sent to Rome to purge himself by oath: but remorse, the fatigue of the journey, or some other cause, either divine or human, had such an effect upon him, that he fell down as he was walking up to the altar, and not being able to proceed farther, he was carried to the English school, where he died. The pope was so well convinced that this was a judgment inflicted upon him for his rebellion, and his intended murder and perjury, that he paid Athelstan the compliment of consulting him whether he should allow the traitor Christian burial. To this Athelstan, by the advice of his council, consented; but the estate of the deceased was forfeited.

Fate of the
chief conspi-
rator.

This dangerous conspiracy being happily suppressed, Athelstan proceeded to the most proper means of confirming and continuing that tranquility which his own arms and those of his father had established. His

principal apprehension arose from the kingdom of Northumberland; but here our historians are very confused. What seems most probable is, that the Danes, looking upon the conspiracy formed against Athelstan as a favourable juncture for recovering their independency, had seized upon York and Davenport, and were threatening a farther progress, when Athelstan opposed them. They were headed by one Sithric; but whether with the title of a king, is, I think, justly questionable. An old chronicle, left by John Wallingford, of no contemptible authority, gives us reason to believe that he was not. However it is certain that a treaty was set on foot between him and Athelstan, who gave him his sister in marriage, and a large extent of territory. This lady's name was Edgitha, and was eminent for her virtue. Sithric, by this marriage, became a powerful prince; and, as the same author remarks, his subjects began now to make a considerable figure, and to cultivate a settled manner of living, their northerly situation, and the commodiousness of their harbours, giving them great opportunities of receiving daily accessions of their countrymen from the continent. Sithric declaring himself a Christian, Athelstan had, no doubt, flattered himself with the hopes of living, for some time, without any disturbance from that quarter. As to the nature of the government he possessed, I should be inclined to think his tenure of holding it the same with what had been before bestowed upon the famous Elfreda and her husband. Sithric appears at this time to have been an old man, he having sons of adult age, and the inequality of his match with a young lady in the bloom of her youth, perhaps precipitated his fate; for he died within a few months after his marriage. The Scotch writers, with that malevolence so peculiar to them towards every prince who had the spirit to oppose their encroachments, and the good fortune to humble their power, have attributed the death of Sithric to poison, given him by his young wife, of whose very name they are ignorant, at the instigation of her brother Athelstan. The same writers, with the like inhuman prepossession, have accused Athelstan of the murder of his father, whom, on that account, they ignorantly suppose to have been termed the martyr. But of this enough.

Athelstan
makes peace
with the
Northum-
brian Danes;
History of
Sithric,
who marries
Athelstan's
sister.

The nature of
his govern-
ment.

Mistakes of
the Scotch
historians.

Sithric left a son, one Guthred, by a former marriage. This young man, full of spirit, disdaining to hold a precarious scepter, but ill considering the inequality of his forces, resolved to shake off the dependency of his countrymen upon Athelstan. With this view he seized upon most of the forts in that kingdom, expelling the garrisons, and prohibiting any farther payment of tribute to the English court. This rebellion alarming Athelstan, he got together, with all expedition, a brave

Guthred re-
bels.

(1) Mr. Speed, from the chronicle of Hyde, informs us of a very extraordinary circumstance: he tells us, that Athelstan's mother had another son by Edward, whose name was Ælfred; and "that he was loved of his father above all his other children; that he caused him, in his own life-time, to be crowned king, and to sit with him, in his seat of estate, as his partner in the kingdom; and that he enjoyed that great honour but for a small time, deceasing shortly after his creation, and long before his father's death, and was buried in the new monastery at Winchester, which was after removed to Hyde."

A. D. 927- army, which, according to the author I have quoted, consisted not only of his own natural-born subjects, but of others. This, if true, was an unusual measure; and, I should imagine, it must have been occasioned by the great scarcity of hands then in England, through the long continuance of the wars; and that Athelstan resolved to people his northern dominions with a mixture of other nations besides the Danes. However, one should have thought that, by the foreigners here mentioned, had been meant only the other nations in England besides the West Saxons, did not the chronicles of Normandy expressly mention aids sent from thence upon this occasion.

Guthred flies.

Guthred, unable to make head against Athelstan, sought safety in flight, and retired into Scotland. Athelstan, advancing to Northumberland, made himself master of it all, excepting the castle of York, which still held out for Reginald, another Danish prince, who had seized it some time before. It is not at all unlikely, that, by the marriage-articles between Sithric and Editha, the children of that marriage, if there had been any, were to succeed to the kingdom of Northumberland; but that this provision being disliked by the Northumbrians, the former sons of Sithric had a strong interest among their countrymen. Athelstan, greatly dreading the effects of this, after laying siege to the castle of York, which he took, advanced against the Scots, and required their king to deliver up into his hands Guthred, and his brother Anlaff. The Scots, at this time, had great connections with the Danes and the Welsh, and they all looked upon the opposing the progress of the English power as their common interest. The Scotch king, however, being terrified by the power of Athelstan, was afraid of provoking him; but the rights of hospitality and protection pleading in behalf of the fugitive prince, a conference was agreed upon, by both kings, at Dakers in Northumberland. Some writers, I know, have been fond of making Athelstan, upon this occasion, invade Scotland, and have here fixed the battle I have already taken notice of between Athelstan and the Scots; but neither the circumstances of Athelstan's army, nor the relation of our most approved authors, give the least encouragement to this opinion. It is therefore much more probable, that the king of the Scots, meeting him at Dakers in Northumberland, represented the injustice of his delivering up two princes who had taken refuge in his dominions, and that Athelstan was generous enough to be satisfied with an assurance of their meeting with no farther protection or assistance from Scotland. It is true, that the English historians have made Constantine, the king of the Scots, surrender into the hands of Athelstan all his territories, and to give his son as a hostage for his fidelity; but this is very unlikely, when we consider, that Constantine had no son. Another circumstance of this submission, as told by Malmesbury, and which carries upon it a high face of improbability, is, that Athelstan, upon

Athelstan takes York, and requires the Scots to deliver up Guthred and Anlaff;

but they are protected by the king of the Scots.

Mistakes of the English historians.

this occasion, stood godfather to the son of Constantine who was baptized. The reader, if he pleases, may consult the Scotch historians, where he will find many arguments against this submission, which, with the unprejudiced part of the English, have always had great weight: but, for my own part, admitting it to be true, I can look upon it in no other light than the act of fear in a timorous, mean-spirited prince, in order to avert an immediate calamity; but no way affecting the independency of his people, or the rights of his successors; neither, as we shall presently see, can this submission, had it been real, be referred to this interview.

A. D. 936.

In the mean time, the two Danish princes were suffered to escape; Guthred, the one, to Northumberland; and Anlaff, the other, into Ireland. Guthred was attended by Turfred, a faithful servant, and, upon making himself known, got together a few forces, with which he attempted to seize York; but failing in this, he was taken prisoner, and soon after escaping, he wandered about a miserable exile, being forced to deliver himself up to Athelstan's mercy, who received him with more indulgence, and entertained him with more kindness, than was due to a pretender, and a rival in so considerable a part of his kingdom. Athelstan, however, demolished a fort which had been raised by the Danes at York, and served as a kind of receptacle for their riches, which he distributed among his soldiers, his servants, and the monks. But the Scots and Welsh, ever restless, were, at this time, meditating a fresh and more formidable attempt upon Athelstan's dominions. For this purpose a confederacy seems to have been entered into between the Scots, the Irish (whose king was son-in-law to Constantine) the English Danes, and the Welsh. The name of the Irish prince was Anlaff; but whether we are to understand him to be the same who was son to Sithric, or another, the son to the king of Dublin, is uncertain. The first of the confederates who moved, was the king of Wales. Him Athelstan defeated, and advancing into his territories, he forced him to renew his homage, and he obliged him to promise the payment of a larger tribute than hitherto he had ever done. After which, taking an oath of fidelity, he left him in possession of his dominions.

Guthred reduced to fly,

and then he delivers himself up to Athelstan,

who demolishes a fort at York.

A conspiracy formed by Athelstan's enemies.

He marches against the Scots.

He then advanced against the Scots, who, not receiving their auxiliaries from Ireland, had not yet broken out into open war; nor does it appear, that Athelstan was very fond of provoking them, since we know of no decisive battle fought before the year 937 (or, according to the Saxon chronicles, 938) though it is certain, that Athelstan's second expedition into Scotland happened about the year 934. I have taken notice of this, that we may, if possible, amidst all the confusion of historians, reduce the periods of this great prince's life to some certainty. For his first expedition against Guthred, and the accommodation at Dakers, happened in the year 927; his second therefore must have been as I have placed it. But our authors, who

A. D. 936.

have made this prince's reign only one career of rapid successes, ought to have taken care to have ascertained the order of his transactions, instead of leaving posterity quite in the dark as to his history for eight years of the sixteen he reigned, or filling it up with matters quite foreign to their purpose. An historian, therefore, meeting with such a mass of unconnected matter, where every guide he is to follow differs from the other, but none of decisive authority, has a right to range the facts according to the measures of probability arising from their nature.

Difficulty of
conquering
the Scots.

We are not therefore to imagine, that the conquest of the Scots was so easy a matter as our monkish historians have represented it; and there is great reason for believing, that, after the conquest of the Welsh, Athelstan passed three or four years of his reign in the northern parts: for, while he was at York, we find that the fame of his exploits had reached foreign parts; and Harold, king of Norway, sent him a solemn embassy, with a noble present of a ship with gilded stern and purple sails. Athelstan receiving the ambassadors with equal politeness, they departed with a high opinion of his power and magnificence.

History of
prince Edwin,
brother to
Athelstan.

But in this interval of Athelstan's arms from war, we are to place the story of his brother Edwin; though our historians have generally put it more early by (1) some months. Notwithstanding the suppression of Alfred's conspiracy, it is certain the minds of the people were not quite satisfied, with regard to Athelstan's legitimacy. He had a brother, Edwin, of an unquestionable birth, and adorned with every noble accomplishment. The Saxon princes seem to have possessed the maxim (2) of Cæsar, of cultivating piety and good faith in all matters but those of regal ambition. Athelstan, in this prince's great qualities, found the poison of his rest; and court sycophants were not wanting, who, discovering his disease, were base enough to contrive how to remove its cause. The English dominions were now threatened by a powerful invasion, both from Ireland and Scotland; nor did Athelstan know what secret remains of Alfred's conspiracy might lurk within his own dominions. The virtues of Edwin, and all his professions of innocence, rather fed than allayed his jealousy. To have imprisoned this young prince, would have but encouraged his abettors to have attempted new matters; to have banished him, might have stirred the compassion of foreign powers; and to have put him to death, was inconsistent with the dictates of humanity and justice. We shall, in honour to the many royal virtues which Athelstan, on all other occasions, displayed, suppose, that he maintained a struggle for a long time within his own breast, between the dictates of affection,

He is accused
of treason,

as a brother, and the motives of safety, as a king. We shall even suppose that the former must have got the better, had it not been for the practices of his courtiers, representing, that not only his own welfare, but that of his people, was endangered by the impunity of Edwin, whom they accused of being accessory to Alfred's conspiracy. The prince was tried, and condemned to be put on board an old rotten vessel, without pilot, sailor, or other attendant than his esquire, and thus committed to the mercy of the winds and waves. Conscious innocence was not enough to support the spirits of the unfortunate Edwin under so much misery; he therefore desperately threw himself into the sea, while his esquire, less susceptible of despair, found means to work the vessel, so as to arrive on the coast of Picardy, almost over-against Dover. It happened that the principal adviser of this fratricide was cup-bearer to Athelstan; and, soon after, one foot chancing, upon some occasion, to slip, he recovered himself by the nimbleness of the other, with this remarkable saying, "See how one brother helps another." As trifles light as air rankle the guilty breast, fore with perpetrated crimes, so this incident awakened Athelstan to all the horror of murder. The dreaded object being now removed, he saw his crime, not as before, through the medium of jealousy, but in all its black unnatural colours. The first tribute he paid to the memory of his brother, was the life of his wicked counsellor; and then he sought to appease his wounded conscience by a profusion of penances, and benefactions to the church (3). It is pity a veil cannot be drawn over this detestable action; but the prepossession of all the historians who have delivered it either as fact or tradition, is, in other respects, so strong in favour of Athelstan, that I am afraid all the apologies that have been made will not be able to clear him from at least conniving at the action. I must, however, observe, that Huntingdon, though he mentions the death and the virtues of this prince, yet is silent as to its occasion.

A. D. 937.

and condemn-
ed.

He is drown-
ed.

Remarkable
judgments
upon his chief
enemy.

Athelstan's re-
pentance and
remorse.

His alliances
with the
princes on the
continent.

Athelstan being thus rid of his brother, had nothing more to fear from family commotions, and his fame still extending itself, his alliance was courted by the greatest princes of Europe: for we find, that, about this time, Hugh, king of France, sent Anwulf, son to the earl of Flanders, with a splendid equipage, as his ambassador, to demand in marriage the sister of Athelstan. As the embassy was splendid, and its occasion public, Athelstan resolved to do it public honour. It is remarkable that the ambassador's audience was at Abingdon, where, in an assembly of the states, he demanded the royal maid in behalf of his master (4).

(1) It happened, according to the Saxon chronicle, in 933.

(2) Si violandum est jus, regnandi gratia

Violandum est: cæteris rebus pietatem colas.

Sueton. in vita Cæsar.

(3) He did seven years penance, and built the monasteries of Middleton and Michelness, in the county of Dorset, in expiation of his offence.

(4) Princeps hujusce legationis fuit Adulphus filius Baldewini comitis Flandriæ, ex filia regis Edwardi Ethelswitha. Is cum in conventu procerum apud Abbandunam proci postulata exposuisset, protulit munera sane amplissima. Malinesbury.

A. D. 938.

This demand was backed by a display of many rich presents, sent by the French king, consisting of aromatics, precious stones, fine emeralds, and beautiful horses, richly equipped. Mention is made, upon this occasion, of a vessel made of an onyx, on which were curiously carved vines, and the figures of men; of a gold crown, set with diamonds; of the sword of Constantine the Great, the hilt of which was curiously overlaid with plates of gold, and adorned with one of the nails of our Saviour's passion; the lance of Charles the Great, with several other relics, matters rather of veneration than value. I mention these circumstances only to give the reader an idea of the high reputation and esteem our English prince was in with foreigners, and the politeness of that age, now so commonly deemed barbarous.

Presents sent
to Athelstan
by the king of
France.

A great confederacy against
Athelstan.

The adventure of Anlaff.

But Athelstan's days became now to be clouded by an invasion from the allies confederated against him. The terror of his arms, and the difficulty of making proper dispositions, had hitherto suspended the operations both of the Scots and Irish; but in the year 938, the Irish, under Anlaff, passing over to Scotland, were joined by a great body of the Scots; and all of them embarking in such vessels as the rude navigation of the age afforded, they invaded England, landing at the mouth of the river Humber, where, advancing a little up the country, they were joined by the petty prince of Cumberland. As both parties had long been making preparations for this event, the appearance on both sides was very terrible. For some time, like two expert gladiators, they lay watching each other's motions, as if afraid that the first in action might thereby give the other an advantage. The brave Anlaff, copying the example of Alfred, resolved to make himself an ocular judge of the force and situation of his enemy. Like him he attired himself in the habit of a musician, and taking in his hand the pensive lyre, had ready admission into the English camp. His excellency in his personated profession, got him admission to the royal presence; and Athelstan, bountiful to merit of every denomination, dismissed him with a liberal reward. But Anlaff, disdainful of mechanical wages, or to carry off the money of an enemy given on the foot of a patron, hid it in the earth before he left the English camp. A soldier, who had formerly served under himself, or his father, knowing him under his disguise, and narrowly observing his actions, saw this, but without discovering who he was till Anlaff was gone. He then repaired to the royal tent, where he informed Athelstan of his musician's quality; told him, that, through gratitude, he had forbore to discover him in his disguise; but that his duty now led him to put his royal master on his guard; for that he well knew the enterprising spirit of Anlaff, and therefore earnestly entreated Athelstan to change his tent. The sincerity which was easily discernable in the soldier, prevailed with the king; and a bi-

shop lodging in his tent, upon the spot which he had left, was, that very night, killed by Anlaff, who, with a chosen band, breaking into the camp, was in hopes to have dispatched Athelstan.

A. D. 939.

Next day both armies came to a general engagement, at a place called Bruneford, or Brumford, which probably lay near the Humber, though the place is now uncertain. The English army was headed by Athelstan, his brother Edmund, and Turketil, general and first minister to Athelstan. The Scots were commanded by Constantine, their king, the Irish by Anlaff, the Cumbrians by their petty prince, and the auxiliary Danes by one Froda. Anlaff's nocturnal expedition, and the vigorous resistance he had met with, had greatly fatigued his men. Athelstan, therefore, at the head of his trusty West Saxons, wisely attacked them in their intrenchments, which he entered, sword in hand, with a great slaughter. At the same time Turketil led up the Londoners and the Mercians against the Scots, where the dispute was long, bloody, and obstinate. The gallant behaviour of the English, on this occasion, has even thawed the spirit of their annalists into a kind of an enthusiasm, when they describe this battle. It is enough if we observe, that Constantine himself was in great danger of being taken prisoner by Turketil and his Londoners, had it not been for the great efforts the Scots made to rescue him. Victory, however, declared absolutely in favour of Athelstan. The combined army, as we are told, that day lost no less than five princes, and seven generals. Constantine, according to the English historians, was in the number of the slain; but as the most unquestionable Scotch authorities contradict this fact, in which they are countenanced by the best of the English annals, we must therefore suppose that he escaped. Historians mention this battle as the most bloody that had ever been fought in Britain; but it must be owned that the victory cost Athelstan likewise very dear, having lost, besides many soldiers, Edwin and Ethelwin, the two sons of his uncle Ethelward, whose bodies he ordered to be buried in the church of Malmesbury.

Battle between Athelstan and the confederates.

[Sax. annals.]

The latter defeated,

but with loss to the English.

It appears, by the Scots and Irish landing at the mouth of the Humber, that the western coasts of England had been strongly guarded by Athelstan's fleet, otherwise the invaders might have promised themselves much more success, had they landed where they could have been more readily joined by the Welsh. As the latter had given many evident signs of their disaffection to Athelstan, he had now leisure to turn his arms against them; therefore, after reducing all the northern countries to an absolute submission, and over-running the southern parts of Scotland, he returned in great triumph to England. The Saxon chronicles are silent, with regard to his transactions during the two following years; we must, therefore, supply this interval from the best of our other writers. Soon after his triumphant return he attacked the Northern Welsh, who stood

Athelstan reduces the Welsh,

A. D. 940.
and forces
them to pay
him tribute.

stood out for some time; but William of Malmesbury tells us, that he forced them to meet him at Hereford, and not only to submit to his authority, but to agree to pay him twenty pounds in gold, three hundred pounds in silver, and twenty-five thousand head of cattle, with a large number of hawks and hounds. We are not, however, to suppose that this tribute was to be continued annually, because, in the laws of Howel Dhah, or Howel the Good, we find no more tribute due to the king of London than sixty-six pounds, besides hawks and hounds.

He reduces
Exeter,

and Scilly.

Athelstan next advanced to Exeter, from whence he expelled all the Britons who had hitherto inhabited it in common with the English. About this time, likewise, we are to fix his expedition to the island of Scilly, which he conquered, or rather took possession of. Mr. Camden mentions a monument, formed of nineteen stones, at a place called Biscawwoune in Cornwall (1), which he thinks, perhaps, was a trophy erected by Athelstan. If so, I should be inclined to imagine, from the manner of their position, somewhat resembling the situation of the Scilly islands, that it was erected upon this

occasion. But whatever may be in this, it is certain, that he made the river Tamar the boundary between the Cornish Britons and the English; from whence we may, with our historians, conclude, that he removed all the Britons out of Devonshire into Cornwall. A. D. 941.

The year 941 was the last of this great prince's life; he died at Gloucester, but was pompously buried at his favourite church of Malmesbury, in the forty-sixth year of his age, and the sixteenth of his reign; his life, says our elegant historian, being but short in years, but great in glory. His death, [William of Malmesbury.]

I have already taken notice of the only blemish with which this prince's memory is stained, I mean the death of his brother Edwin. His natural parts, if we are to believe William of Malmesbury, were inferior in no respect to those of his greatest predecessors, though the toils of war gave him but little leisure for study. Military history, therefore, takes up the most of what our historians have delivered of this prince; but he was far from being deficient in civil polity, witness his laws, of which I have given an abstract from Mr. Tyrrel in the notes (2). His victories and great successes have given occasion and character.

(1) Not far from hence, in a place called Bixowwoune, are nineteen stones placed in a circle, about twelve foot distant one from another, and in the center there stands one much larger than any of the rest. We may probably conjecture this to have been some trophy of the Romans, under the later emperors; or, if the Romans never passed the Tamar, as indeed there are neither ways nor coins to prove that they did, the trophy of Athelstan the Saxon, after he had subdued the Danmonii.

(2) After a religious preface, the first law is against thieves, requiring, "That if a thief be taken in the fact, no man shall spare him, if he be above twenty years old, and had stole any thing above the value of eight-pence. If any one do contrarily thereunto, he shall pay the value of the thief's head, or make amends for the fault; and yet the thief himself shall not be spared, who, if he contumaciously make resistance, or fly for it, shall find no favour. A thief cast into prison, shall stay there forty days, and then, after the payment of a hundred and twenty shillings, be discharged; but his kindred must give security for his future good behaviour; after which, if he steal again, they must either pay the value of his head, or bring him back to prison; and in case any one resist, he shall pay to the king, or to any other whom it concerns, the value of his own head; and if any stand by him (i. e. defend him) he shall pay to the king a hundred and twenty shillings."

The sixth law is against witchcrafts, enchantments, and such-like deeds that procure death: "That if any one by them be made away, and the thing cannot be denied, such practicers shall be put to death; but if they endeavour to purge themselves, and be cast by the three-fold ordeal, they shall lie in prison a hundred and twenty days; which ended, then their kindred may redeem them by the payment of a hundred and twenty shillings to the king; and farther, pay to the kindred of the slain the full valuation of the party's head; and then the criminals shall also procure sureties for their good behaviour for the time to come. The same punishment shall be inflicted on incendiaries, and such as rescue thieves; nay, such as endeavour to rescue them, though no man be wounded in the attempt, shall pay a hundred and twenty shillings to the king." As for enchantments mentioned in this law, the Saxon word is *liblacum*, which signifies the art of conjuration or witchcraft; yet not all in general, but that sort of it properly called fascination, or enchantment used by certain ligatures, fasciæ, or bands.

The seventh ordains, concerning simple ordeal, "That if one, accused several times of theft, be cast by it, and have no body to be surety for him, he shall be sent to prison, and thence freed by his kindred, as was before said."

The tenth forbids any commutation of goods, unless in the presence of the king's reeve, the priest of the town, or the lord of the soil, or some other creditable person, under the penalty of thirty shillings, and the forfeiture of the thing changed to the lord of the soil; and if any shall bear false witness, he shall be infamous, and no credit given to him ever after, and also shall forfeit thirty shillings.

The twelfth confirms the first part of the law of king Edward the Elder, decreeing, "That no man buy any thing out of a town, which exceeds the value of twenty-pence; and within the town, unless in the presence of the port-reeve, or some other creditable person, or else in the presence of the king's sheriff or justice in folemate."

The fourteenth appoints, through all the king's dominions, "That one and the same money be current, and that it shall not be coined out of some town; and if any minter or coiner shall embase the coin, he shall lose his hand, which, being cut off, shall be affixed to the work-house. If any be accused of adulterating money, and will purge himself, he shall, by the ordeal of hot iron, cleanse his hands of such wickedness; but if, by ordeal, he be cast, then he shall be punished as now was said." Then follow the places appointed for public mints, viz. "At Canterbury there shall be seven minters or coiners, whereof four for the king, two for the bishop, and one for the abbot; at Rochester there shall be three, whereof two for the king, and the third for the bishop; at London eight; at Winchester six; at Lewes two; at Hastings one; at Chichester one; at Hampton two; at Werham two; at Excester two; at Salisbury as many, and in every other great town one."

That which follows commands, "That, for every plough, a man shall keep two well-furnished horsemen."

The eighteenth forbids horses to be transported, except such as are sent abroad as free gifts or presents.

The twentieth law enacts, "That if any one absent himself from folemate thrice, he shall be punished as contumacious against the king, if so be that the holding of the assembly was declared a sevenninght before; in such case, if he refuse to do right, and pays not his mulct to the king, the ancient men of the country are to go and seize upon all that he hath, and take security for his appearance."

The twenty-second, in confirmation of a former law, requires, "That no person receive another man's man (as this law words it) into his family, without leave first obtained of his master; he that doth otherwise, shall restore the man, and pay the mulct of contumacy against the king; and no man is to put away his men, accused of any crime, till they have first made satisfaction."

The twenty-fourth is concerning traffic, and, in confirmation of former laws, ordains, "That if a man buy any thing with witness, which another man challenges for his own, the seller shall make it good, and secure the bargain, whether he be bond or free; but on the Lord's day no market shall be held, under penalty or forfeiture of the wares, and a mulct of thirty shillings beside."

A. D. 941. occasion to many fables, which have gone under his name (1): that relating to his expedition to the shrine of St. John de Beverly, carries with it its own confutation; and the Scots, though very unjust to his high reputation, have exploded the romance of his mighty progress in their country. His reputation abroad was so great, that, after marrying one sister to the emperor Otho, and the other to Hugh the Great, king of France, he gave refuge to a third, widow to Charles the Simple, another king of France; and she not only found shelter, but an honourable support, in his kingdom: nay, if we are to believe some historians, his credit and interest even restored the exiled prince to

the throne of his ancestors. Athelstan was, so far as we know, the first king of England who had ever ruled it, exclusive of Wales, without having any subordinate prince under him, or any independent upon him; though his modesty was such, that we do not find that he ever assumed the title of king of all England.

A. D. 941.

William of Malmesbury informs us, that Athelstan was of a middling stature, stooping a little in his gait, his hair of a bright yellow, and beautifully plaited. Among his noblemen he was serious, but to his inferiors affable; and he was as much beloved by his subjects for his courtesy, as he was dreaded by his enemies for his courage.

Description of Athelstan's person.

9. E D M U N D I.

A. D. 941. **T**HIS prince was but eighteen years of age when he succeeded his father Athelstan. However successful the latter had been against the Danes, yet their interest in England was still very powerful; and the youth or inexperience of Edmund gave them hopes of again erecting an independent government here. Though our historians all make Athelstan to have died full of glory, and in the arms of victorious peace; yet, when we consider the complexion of the history of the times, we shall find too good reason for believing, that, even towards the close of his reign, the practices or arms of the Danes had gone far towards opening a road to their repossessing all their influence in England.

State of England at Edmund's accession to the crown.

Anlaff, the brave prince of Northumberland, was still alive in Ireland. He seems to have been the darling of the English Danes; and, either from ties of blood, or pre-eminence of merit, or both, he had at his command the assistance of the Irish and Norwegians. Thus much is certain, that before Edmund had reigned a full year, he

was stripped by this English Dane (for Anlaff seems to have been born in England) of all Northumberland. Malmesbury, whose accounts are more consonant to those of Fordun and the most creditable of our English historians, says, that the Northumbrians recalled him from banishment, and made him their king. Our other writers, entering more minutely into particulars, tell us, that Anlaff first made himself master of York; and marching southward, he besieged Northampton, where failing of success, he wasted the country as far as Tamworth; then coming to Westchester, he was met by Edmund, at the head of a great army. But notwithstanding all that those writers have done, by their imperfect relations, to disguise the true state of England at this period, we find, in the year 942, that the Danes of Anlaff's party had been successful enough to make themselves masters of Leicester, Lincoln, Nottingham, Stamford, and Darley, in the kingdom of Mercia. Our historians generally agree in saying, that Anlaff's ambition led him to endeavour the subjection of all

A. D. 942.

Hoveden, Matthew of Westminster.

His great progress in Mercia.

Takes five towns,

[Saxon chronicle.]

Anlaff seizes Northumberland.

The next thing that follows at the end of these laws, relating to the civil state, is the valuation of mens heads; which we have often heard mentioned by these laws, but never yet to what it particularly amounted. "First then, saith the text, the valuation of the king's head, according to the English common laws, is thirty thousand thrymses, whereof fifteen thousand are properly the value of his head, the rest being due to the kingdom; so that the latter fifteen belonged to the nation, the former to his kindred. An archbishop's and earl's weregild (as the Saxons called the valuation of his head) is fifteen thousand thrymses. A bishop's and colderman's, eight thousand. A general's of an army, or an high marshal's, four thousand thrymses. The valuation of a spiritual thane or priest, as also of a temporal thane, was two thousand thrymses. That of a countryman or ceorl, by the Danish law, was two hundred and sixty-seven thrymses. But if a Welshman grow so rich as to maintain a family, have land, and pay a yearly rent to the king, he shall be valued at a hundred and twenty shillings; if he possess half a hide of land, and pay a yearly rent to the king, he shall be valued as a freeman, the value of his head shall be seventy shillings. If a ceorl or countryman be so wealthy as to possess five hides of land, in case he be killed, the price or value of his life shall be two thousand thrymses; but if he come to have a corslet, an helmet, and a gilt sword, though he have no land, he shall be accounted a sithcundman; and if his children or grand-children shall grow so rich as to possess five hides of land, all their posterity shall be reckoned as so many sithcundmen, and be valued at two thousand thrymses. The Mercians value a countryman at two hundred shillings, a thane at twelve hundred. They are wont to equal the single value of the king's head with six thousand thrymses, that is, thirty thousand sceats; for so much is the value of the king's head, and as much more must be paid as a recompence for his death: the value of his head belongs to his kindred, and the compensation of his death to the people. He that is valued at twelve hundred shillings, his oath shall be of the same esteem as those of six countrymen; for where such an one is slain, six countrymen would satisfy over and above for the value; therefore the value of him, and all them, shall be the same. By the English law, the oaths of a priest and a thane are of the like esteem."

The reader is here to observe, that Sir Henry Spelman makes the value of a thrymsa to be three shillings, while Selden thinks it to be about a groat.

(1) Brompton, and our other historians, from a legend of St. John de Beverly, tells us, that king Athelstan, going to make war against the Scots, and by the way paying a visit to the tomb of that saint, there pawned his knife at the altar, promising to redeem it at his return: but when they had thus fought against the Scots, he begged of God a sign, whereby it might appear to future ages that they were justly vanquished by the English; and thereupon the king striking a certain rock with his sword, near the castle of Dunbar, he made a gap in it an ell deep. It seems king Athelstan made good his promise, and, upon his return with victory, enriched the church of St. John with great possessions, and so, I suppose, got his knife again. There is another miracle related also by the monks, of Athelstan's sword being lost out of the scabbard just when he was ready to fight, and another was by miracle put in the place, at the prayer of archbishop Odo; which sword, they pretend, was kept in the king's treasury. It is no less a wonder than the former; and one, such as these, is enough at one time.

A. D. 942.
which Ed-
mund retakes.

A peace con-
cluded ;

but the terms
are doubtful.

Conjecture
with regard
to another
Anlaff.

Rapin.

England ; but Edmund, alarmed at his progress, young as he was, marched into Mercia, and soon retook the above places, leaving them strongly garrisoned with his English subjects. He next advanced against the invaders, and, as I have just now observed, came up with them at Westchester. Both armies then joining battle, fought, according to Matthew of Westminster, with great loss on both sides, most part of the day ; but neither party prevailing over the other, the archbishops of Canterbury and York laboured so effectually to prevent the farther effusion of blood, that a peace was agreed upon. The terms were, that Anlaff should enjoy all that part of England lying north of Watlingstreet, and Edmund all that lies south of the same, the survivor to possess the whole ; but the authority upon which this relation is founded appears justly questionable. Malmesbury gives no hint of it ; and it is utterly inconsistent with the general strain of the events, which, according to the very authors from whom we have this treaty, immediately followed. Nor are persons better ascertained than facts ; for we are told, that Anlaff, being under great obligations to an English nobleman, one Orme, married his daughter ; that he became Christian, Edmund standing his godfather at the font ; and having, soon after, violated the faith he had plighted to Edmund, by several devastations he had committed, he miserably ended his days (1).

All the latter part of this relation is in nothing dissonant to our best authorities ; but our historians are greatly at a loss how to account for Anlaff's being alive long after this event. This difficulty, which has greatly embarrassed all our late historians but one, to whose narrative a happy ignorance gives tranquillity, may, I believe, be removed by observing the words of Wallingford : for this author acquaints us, that the latter Anlaff, or rather Onlaff, was nephew to Edmund, being the son of Sithric and his aunt : nor is the chronology repugnant, since this young prince might, at this time, have been seventeen years of age. If this conjecture is admitted, we may easily account for the great party the Danes had now in the kingdom ; and I should be apt to believe, that Anlaff the Elder acted only as guardian to his brother, who, by the marriage-settlement, might have been entitled to this succession, however kept out of it by views of policy. It probably, therefore, was the elder Anlaff who was baptized upon the conclusion of the late peace, since the mother of the younger was a zealous Christian, and survived her husband. At the same time we read of one Reginald, who, we are given to

understand, was the son of the expelled Guthred, and who, some time after the conversion of the elder Anlaff, was baptized likewise. If this is fact, Reginald had the priority of birthright over his uncle ; and the preference of the younger Anlaff must have been owing to his West-Saxon blood, and the marriage-settlement of his parents.

Edmund, as would appear, had been very much distressed when he made the late peace, if any such was made. It is true, our historians have related the fact as I have given it ; but I am apt to believe, that Edmund either was beaten or betrayed. The character of the two mediating archbishops favours the latter, since he of Canterbury was little better than a madman, and Wulfhelm of York a traitor. It is more than probable, that Edmund, in a short time, perceived how he had been imposed upon ; for we find him, in the year 944, invading Northumberland, and expelling from thence both Anlaff and Reginald : but this was far from quieting that inconstant race, as shall be seen in the sequel.

The Northumbrians, in their late insurrections, had been greatly assisted by the inhabitants of Cumberland ; Edmund, therefore, resolved to chastise the latter. Accordingly, marching with an army into their country, he dispossessed their petty prince, whom they had set up, of his dominions ; but finding it too distant from the center of his own power for him to be able to maintain the possession of it ; and being sensible of the great advantages the Danes might draw from thence, in case of fresh commotions, he entered into a treaty with the king of the Scots, to whom he granted it. The tenure by which the latter held this acquisition was, that he and his successors should ever be ready, both by sea and land, to assist the king of England, and own him as the lord paramount of those lands ; but how fruitless this precaution was, will soon appear by many melancholy proofs. Matthew of Westminster informs us, that Edmund made this conquest by the assistance of Lewellyn, king of Wales ; and that he put out the eyes of the two sons of Dunmail, king of Cumberland ; a very unlikely circumstance ! But the same author restricts the service, which was to be paid by the Scot, to the defence of the northern border ; and Brompton informs us, that he was to attend the king of England personally at certain feasts in the year, having several houses allotted him for his accommodation.

This is all the lame account we can give of this excellent young prince, who lost his life, in the year 946, in the following manner. Having determined to hold the feast

A. D. 946.

Saxon chronicle.
Edmund again invades Northumberland ;

conquers Cumberland ;

which he bestows upon the king of the Scots,

upon conditions of fealty,

Edmund murdered.

(1) I shall, as usual, beg my reader's indulgence for a remark or two upon Mr. Rapin's history of this reign. To prevent multiplying quotations, I have stated the order of facts in my text as I find them in the Saxon chronicle, where it is very nearly, if not altogether, the same as in Hoveden, Simeon, Florence, Wallingford, Fordun, and, in short, all our historians who have any degree of authority. Mr. Rapin, without making any scruples, gives the treaty, as related in my text, as an undoubted matter of fact : he takes no notice of a double Anlaff : he relates the taking the four towns by Edmund, as happening the latter-end of 944 : he tells us, without any manner of authority I can find out, of a heavy tax imposed by Anlaff upon his subjects, to defray the expence of his Danish mercenaries ; of a rebellion which this produced ; of a war it occasioned in Northumberland between Anlaff and Reginald, and of the advantages which Edmund thereby gained. Now, if every one of these facts are unsupported by our, or any other, historians, if they are purely the fictions of the Frenchman's brain, what is it else but writing an historical romance ? is it not enough to make even Geoffrey himself, were he alive, to blush ?

A. D. 946. of Augustin, archbishop of Canterbury, at a place called Pukelkirk, while he was at table, he singled out with his eye a notorious robber, one Leof, whom he had before banished. The guests having drank hard, no doubt gave the thief encouragement, and hopes of booty; but the king, cooler than the rest of the company, commanded his sewer to seize and secure him. Leof, knowing that ignominious death must be the consequence of his being taken, sought to escape, by killing the officer, which he had well nigh effected, when the king observing the disability, through drink, his nobles were under to assist his sewer, and considering, that, unless timely assistance was given, the robber must escape, jumped from his seat, seized him by the hair, and threw him upon the ground; but he himself being held fast by the robber, fell above him. In this posture the latter found means to draw a short dagger, with which he stabbed the king, who instantly expired, while the more distant attendants, now taking the alarm, ran in, and cut the murderer in pieces.

The character of Edmund.

Thus, by an ignoble hand, fell Edmund, in the very bloom of life, having lived but twenty-five years, and reigned six and a half. So tender an age scarcely gives room for drawing a character; but we may, in general, observe, that this prince appears to have

been endowed with the valour which was hereditary in the blood of Cerdic. Perhaps if his treaties with the Northumbrians, and their Danish princes, were fully understood at this day, it might be found that he acted upon principles, which, however politic, were not entirely agreeable to sincerity and good faith; but as we can only judge from the surface of facts, we dare pronounce nothing particularly decisive. There seems to have been one oversight in policy committed by the successors of Alfred, and that was their not removing the seat of their government, for some months in the year at least, to Northumberland, or the northern counties. This would have proved a more successful expedient, for keeping both that turbulent race and the encroaching Scots in awe, than the frequent defeats they received, and all their generous donations to the king of Scotland. As to the latter transaction, I think it a strong evidence of the great power of the Danes in those counties, and an acknowledgment of the English being unable to check them; otherwise we can never suppose that Edmund would have resigned so considerable a portion of territory to a prince, from whom his own subjects had so much to fear, and for a consideration, the performance of which lay entirely in the breast of the obliged party (1).

Observations on a failure in policy.

(1) It is proper that we should here, as usual, give some account of this prince's laws, translated from Brompton and Lambart.—In the preface we are told, that at the solemn feast of Easter the king had held a great council at London, as well of ecclesiastics as laics; where were present Odo and Wulfstan, archbishops, with many other bishops, to consult for the good of their own souls, and of those that were committed to their care and government. At which synod, or council, were enacted several laws, viz. but they being six in number, of mere ecclesiastical concernment (as for paying tythes, and against fornication with nuns, and perjury) I omit them. Then follow, in Brompton's copy, seven other constitutions, of civil concernment, said to have been made by the king, his bishops and wise men, at Cullington, not extant in the Saxon edition.

The first of these requires an oath of fidelity to be taken by all to king Edmund, in like manner as a man ought to bear faith to his Lord, without any controversy or sedition, both in public and private; to love whom the king should love, and to hate whom he should hate; and before the oath be given, that no man should conceal a crime in his brother or neighbour, more than in a stranger.

The second, concerning the apprehension of thieves, enjoins, "That if it be known for certain where a thief is, the twelfthind and twiwind men (i. e. the former worth twelve hundred, and the latter two hundred, shillings of estate) should combine together, and take him either alive or dead; but in case any man take up a mortal feud against another for so doing, he is to be esteemed as the enemy of the king, and all his friends; and if any refuse to assist in his apprehension, he shall forfeit to the king a hundred and twenty shillings, and to the hundred thirty shillings."

The fourth enjoins, "That if several thieves do steal, the eldest of them shall be hanged, and each of the rest be whipped thrice, and, for an example, have his little finger cut off." This I take notice of, because it is the first law whereby thieves are expressly ordered to be hanged, without being admitted to pay their wergild, or price of their heads.

The fifth and sixth, being against buying and receiving strangers cattle, I pass by.

The seventh enjoins, "That every person make his servants, and all that live within his peace (i. e. his district) and on his lands, to give security; and also, that all others of ill fame, who lie under accusations, should have security given for them; and what officer, thane, eolderman, or countryman soever he be, that refuseth to do according thereunto, shall forfeit a hundred and twenty shillings, and further, be deemed worthy of such punishments as have been before-mentioned."

After these follow seven other of king Edmund's laws, found both in Brompton and Lambart's copies; before which we also find a preface, wherein the king signifies to all his subjects, both old and young, that he had most studiously enquired, in a solemn assembly of ecclesiastics and laics, by what means the Christian life might best be maintained; and that it seemed most convenient to them all, that he should cherish and procure love and mutual friendship through all his dominions, for they were much troubled at the unjust divisions and contentions among them; therefore the king and they did now ordain,

First, "That if, hereafter, one man kill another, he alone should bear the deadly feud or enmity of the kindred of the party slain, unless within twelve months, by the assistance of his own kindred, he should pay the wergild, or value of the slain man's head, of what condition soever he was; and then they should not be taken for enemies. In the mean time, they shall not relieve him, nor have peace with him; and if they do or have, they shall forfeit all their estate to the king. And he that shall kill any man, shall be taken as an enemy by all the kindred of the slain, and they may maintain deadly feud against him; and if any shall revenge himself upon, or prosecute, any other of his kindred, besides the manslayer himself, he shall forfeit all he hath, and be taken as an enemy both by the king and all that love him." Which law was made, because, before this, if one man killed another, the kindred of the slain had a mortal feud, and revenged his death, upon any of the relations of the murderer, as they do among the Indians even to this day.

The second denounces, "That if a man fly to a church, or to the king's town, and there any one set upon him, or do him harm, he shall be punished in the same manner."

By the third, the king expressly forbids, "That any fyhtwile or manbote (that is, any fine for fighting or killing) be remitted."

By the fourth, the king openly declares, "That his house shall afford no shelter to him that hath shed blood, except he hath first made satisfaction to God, and the kindred of the party slain, and done whatsoever was enjoined him by the bishop in whose diocese the fact was committed."

The sixth enjoins, "That he that breaks the peace, and sets upon a man in his own house, shall forfeit all he hath, and his life to be at the king's mercy."

The seventh and last of these laws is also concerning enmities or deadly feuds, declaring, "That it is the duty of all wise men to suppress them, and prescribing the ways and means of doing it; as, first, that an indifferent friend be sent before to the kindred of him that is slain, to signify to them, that he that killed him will make all due satisfaction; upon which the manslayer shall be delivered into his hands, that he may safely appear, and give caution for the payment of the value of the dead man's head; which, as soon as he hath done, the king's peace is next to be made between them. Then, after the end of one and twenty days, he shall pay halsfage (according to Brompton's copy, or, as the Saxon text has it, healfange) that is (as Mr. Lambart interprets it) that which was paid in commutation for the punishment of hanging by the neck, to the king or lord."

10. E D R E D.

A. D. 954.

Edred made king.

Makes an expedition into Northumberland.

EDMUND left behind him two sons by his wife Algiva, the oldest, Edwy, not four years of age at the time of his father's death. As the times demanded a stronger sway, his brother Edred mounted the throne with the approbation of the states of the kingdom. His first cares were directed to the quarter from whence he expected his greatest danger, I mean Northumberland and the northern counties. He knew the weakness of their fidelity, and they had actually broken into some acts of rebellion when he marched into their country with a strong army. But unwilling to provoke them by severity, he sent the trusty Turketil, as his commissioner, to receive their allegiance; and this minister, with great prudence, broke all their intended schemes, and prevailed with the archbishop I have mentioned, and their principal noblemen, to renew their allegiance to the English government, by taking an oath of fidelity at York. The king of the Scots followed the example of the Northumbrians, and the peace of the north seemed for some time to be provided for; upon which Edred withdrew his army southwards.

Anlaff again invades Northumberland.

Conjecture upon the causes of Edred's weakness.

In the year 949, according to the Saxon annals, Anlaff again invaded Northumberland, and was joined by the treacherous archbishop of York and a strong body of the inhabitants; who, with the Danes he brought along with him, formed a force too considerable for Edred to oppose. If one durst here hazard a conjecture, he might account for this inability in the English government, by what our historians tell us of this prince's profusion to the famous abbot Dunstan, whom he made his treasurer, and who lavished all the ready money, which gives strength and execution to arms, upon religious buildings and monastic endowments. But whatever may be in this, we find Anlaff in quiet possession of Northumberland for some time, till the natural inconstancy of the people expelled him in favour of one Eric, a Dane, in the year 952. This revolution gave Edred hopes of recovering Northumberland; and, upon his appearing on the confines of the kingdom with an army, in 954 Eric was expelled, and the Northumbrians renewed their allegiance to Edred, who, according to William of Malmesbury, to punish their infidelity, laid waste their

Edred attacks the Northumbrians, and expels their king.

country with fire and sword. Among the other monuments of his severity was the faithless archbishop of York, whose repeated breaches of loyalty incensed Edred to that degree, that he shut him up a close prisoner, till reverence to his function procured his pardon. Florence informs us, that the Northumbrians sallied from York, and attacked Edred's rear, at a place called Casterford, and the whole army was in danger of being cut off: but, after losing a great many men, Edred was so much incensed, that he was determined to destroy their country; but that the Northumbrians appeased him, by expelling Eric, and by large presents in money, and assurances of obedience. By this circumstance it appears, as if Eric had been left king by Edred, and that he had made this sally; for we are told, it was upon Edred's march back to Wessex.

A. D. 955.

In danger of being cut off.

In the year 955, Edred, who had been, for some time, afflicted by a disease, which, from its effects, seems to have been a quinsy, prepared for his approaching dissolution, which he knew must soon happen, through the extremity of his pain, and the emaciated state of his body. His behaviour under his affliction was noble, edifying, and patient. Dunstan, who served both as his ghostly and temporal counsellor, happening to be absent from court about this time, Edred sent for him, that he might settle his affairs, and dispose of the money which was in that abbot's hands. But Dunstan, not understanding the doctrine of refunding, took care, by a pious juggle, to keep out of the way till the king was dead, and then the transactions between them being secret, no body could call him to account. Thus he impiously made himself master of great sums, and was enabled to carry on works surpassing even royal magnificence.

The death of Edred.

Little can be said, by way of character, as to this prince. It is sufficient that we observe he did not degenerate from his predecessor's virtues; and that the English government had suffered no diminution at his death. That he had issue is certain, since we find two of his sons, Bertfrid and Elfred, witnesses to two deeds, one in 948, the other in 952; so that they must have been born before Edred came to the crown. He was buried at Winchester in 955.

His character.

11. E D W Y.

A. D. 955.

NO true son of the church can take it amiss, when I inform my readers, that the immediate predecessors to this prince, who was the son of Edmund, had warmed in their bosom a snake, which not only stung their generous successor, but shed the poison of disaffection and rebellion all over the face of the land. Dunstan,

whose merits, as a churchman, were great; as a Christian, none; and, as an Englishman, execrable; was now too overgrown for a subject: his zeal was furious, and his power was great; his understanding shallow, his ambition deep, his malice invincible by kindness, his spirit unsubmitting to authority; not possessed of genius enough even for

A. D. 955. Character of Dunstan.

A. D. 956. for artful dissimulation; his profusion without elegance, his bluntness without sincerity, and his cunning without wisdom.

and of Edwy. Edwy, on the other hand, had in his temper all the gallant openness that becomes a man and a prince; too noble to dissemble under an injury, too brave to put up an affront, and too pious to be a bigot. In his person the loveliest youth of his time; susceptible indeed of the tender passions, but by prudent management reclaimable and tractable; his years not exceeding fourteen. This prince, at the time of his accession, was passionately fond of a young lady; but whether the conversation between them was criminal or not, his bitterest enemies have not ventured decisively to pronounce. A young man of the dispositions I have described, may easily be supposed to have been tired of the fatigue of going through all the solemnity of a coronation, performed by heavy priests and formal statesmen.

His amours. Catching, therefore, an unincumbered minute, he stole to his favourite fair. No sooner was the king missed, than the furious Dunstan, making a merit of unmannerly freedom, rushed into the room, attended by another priest, and tearing his master by force from the lovely Athelgiva (for so the lady was named) carried him back into the company, and into all the farce of greatness. Edwy had sense enough to know, that his retiring perhaps was not polite; that, through the representation of the churchmen, it might receive an indecent construction; and that the juncture was very improper for resentment: he, therefore, deferred it till a farther opportunity, when he banished the insolent Dunstan, and forced him to retire into a monastery in Flanders.

His adventure on the day of his coronation. The trade of priesthood being now endangered, Odo, the frantic archbishop of Canterbury, imagining that Edwy was influenced in his resentment by his fair mistress, or wife (as some authorities call her) interposed the thunder of the church. It appears (though monkish writers have done all they can to stifle it) that the lady was of royal extraction, and related to Edwy, perhaps his first or second cousin. This was a favourable circumstance to the priests, as it gave them an opportunity of fixing upon the conversation of the young pair the imputation either of consanguinity, or concubinage, both affording equal matter to provoke ecclesiastical censures. These were too powerful even for a monarch to resist. Edwy was forced to part with his fair one; and the archbishop, resolving on her to revenge the disgrace of Dunstan, having by some means got her into his power, branded her in the face, and forced her to fly to Ireland.

Dunstan banished. Though Edwy was unable to prevent this indecent violence, yet he soon repented it upon the whole order of monks, whom he banished from his territories, giving the monasteries of Glaffenbury and Abingdon (the only two they possessed in England) and all their religious houses, to secular clergymen, many of whom were married. This pushed

the outed monks into a conspiracy, at the head of which was Dunstan, his violent airs of devotion giving him great interest with the people in that ignorant age. The first step of the conspirators was to blacken the character of Edwy, which they did with all the virulence of disappointed malice. They next underhand applied to young Edgar, the brother of Edwy. This prince, whose character will be best learned from his story, had ambition, virtues, and vices which extremely well suited the views of the rebels; great regularity, gentleness of manners, and dexterity of address made him popular; while courage, policy, and good sense rendered him esteemed.

We need not imagine that the conspirators had much trouble to persuade Edgar to enter into their schemes. As provinces the most distant from the seat of government are generally the most subject to disaffection, the rebels first essayed their strength in Mercia. Finding here great encouragement, they spread their practices all over Northumberland; and at last, their designs being ripe for execution, they openly threw off their allegiance to their lawful sovereign.

The historians of the times have given us no other particulars of Edwy's political misconduct, other than the deprivation of the monks; and it appears, from the writings of a secular clergyman, that his merits, as a prince, in all other respects, were unexceptionable. This I am inclinable to believe, the rather because, had he been guilty of any gross errors in government, the monkish writers, his inveterate enemies, and almost the only historians of his reign, would not have failed to have delivered them down with aggravating severity.

He enters into the schemes of the conspirators; Edgar thus heading the rebels, Edwy found himself abandoned by all his subjects, excepting his trusty West Saxons, whose pride and glory it was to support the primogeniture in the house of Cerdic. Being, however, unable to make head against the rebels, he was obliged to retire into Gloucester, where he shut himself up. This gave Edgar an opportunity of strengthening his party by a meeting of the states of Mercia, who seem to have considered themselves as an elective and an independent people: for we find, that about this time a formal deprivation of Edwy, and the election of Edgar in his room, passed in the common council of that kingdom. So violent and unjust a revolution, however, produced great disturbances; the election was far from reconciling the people in general to Edgar's title. A kind of anarchy ensued, which lasted for about a year; and no pains were spared to distress Edwy, or to delude the people into an esteem, nay, reverence, for his brother.

Both parties being at last tired out, we are told, that a treaty was set on foot, in which Edgar's acquisitions were secured to him, with the title of king; while Edwy was obliged to be contented with Wessex.

EDWY in Wesssex, and EDGAR in Mercia.

A. D. 958.

Dunstan re-
called.

THE first fruits of the late partition was the recalling Dunstan from his exile. But some writers have greatly doubted, whether this partition was made by consent of Edwy, or whether it was not the effect of a force, to which he was obliged to submit. Dunstan, however, being recalled, went to Edgar's court, where he recovered all the ascendancy he had possessed under the late reigns. We have no particulars of any civil transactions, during the joint lives of those two brothers, as monarchs. It is probable that each was too jealous of the other, for either to undertake any affair of importance; though the kingdom of Northumberland being included in the title of Mercia, Edgar was much superior to Edwy in power. The Savilian fasts have taken no notice of this division

of territory, and have placed the accession of Edgar to the year 959, at which time it is most reasonable to fix the death of Edwy, who survived the loss of his territory only two years. The fate of this prince is an alarming example to all sovereigns, that they ought to be vigilant in checking the first growth of a power, which may, if encouraged, some time or other overtop their own; and how dangerous even virtue itself becomes in a prince, when of an unpopular nature. The minds of Edwy's subjects had been poisoned by the monks; and though every man of sense must, from their own account of the matter, be of opinion, that they merited all that they suffered; yet justice, though itself the queen of political virtues, because unpopular, became fatal to Edwy.

A. D. 959.
Edwy dies.Reflection on
his history.

12. EDGAR Alone.

A. D. 959.

Edgar aug-
ments his na-
val power.

Its number,

[Campbell's
lives of
English ad-
mirals, vol.
i. p. 64.]

EDGAR, now succeeding to the undivided dominions of his family, opened his reign by a profusion of honours and preferments heaped upon Dunstan, which shall be taken notice of in our history of the church. Having thereby secured the peace of his dominions at home, he next thought of preventing all invasions from abroad. The Danes, at this time, were too much weakened by their late losses, to attempt any revolution; and their frequent intermarriages with the natives had pretty much reconciled them to the English government. Edgar, however, was sensible that a fresh invasion would infallibly revive their slumbering ambition, and renew all their national animosities, and therefore thought of surrounding his dominions by a fleet stronger than ever had been known under any of his predecessors. I have chosen to place this undertaking at the beginning of Edgar's reign, both because it was well worthy the most early attention of a great English king, and because such a fleet as Edgar had must have employed him from his very first accession in preparing. The number of the vessels of which it consisted, is hardly credible to a modern reader. Some authors have mounted it up to four thousand eight hundred; but none make it fewer than three thousand six hundred. But the greatness of the number is far from destroying the credibility of the fact, since we must suppose, that in this account is comprehended the whole of his sea forces; and every little pinace and cockboat is thrown in, by the adulation of his admirers, to swell the magnificence of the relation. Notwithstanding this, we may, with our best naval historian, conclude this marine to have greatly exceeded that of all the princes then in Europe put together. This fleet was far from serving the purposes of useless parade

alone. Soon as the season after the vernal equinox rendered navigation safe, Edgar ordered a general rendezvous of all his ships; he then divided his force into three squadrons, each consisting of at least twelve hundred vessels. With one, the eastern, he sailed in person to the western parts of his dominions; he then sent that squadron back, and sailed with the western fleet to the northern parts; where going on board the northern squadron, he sailed round till he again arrived at the eastern parts. Those naval exercises rendered his seamen such complete sailors, that the peace of England was fully secured from all foreign invasion, and the Danes were now no longer the plagues and terrors of the island.

But as Edgar's cares extended to the safety of the whole island, it was but reasonable that a proper consideration should be paid by each prince who found the benefit of this valuable protection. The behaviour and ravages of the Danes had made the Scots, Cumbrians, and Welsh (in short, all the inhabitants of Great Britain, or the isles round it) sensible that their subjection must follow any footing which so restless and barbarous an enemy should get here. To repel them, therefore, became a common cause, and was to be supported by a common expence, which would be amply reimbursed by tranquillity and the sweets of peace, after so many harassments as the island had suffered under the late reigns. Edgar, therefore, wisely bethought him how to unite all the princes of the island in the same principle of safety, and upon a new foundation of security. For this purpose he seems to have laid down a plan of union and dependency, partaking of the political confederacy which Cæsar found among the Britons; of that which afterwards took place among the Saxons; and that which his late predecessors had insti-

A. D. 959.

and cruising.

Edgar's method of maintaining his navy.

Edgar's plan of confederacy and dependency among the British princes.

A. D. 961. instituted, with regard to the Danish and Cumbrian possessions in Britain.

Reflection thereupon.

Mistakes of writers.

Cujacius in Pref. Spelman of feuds and tenures, l. i. t. 1.

Error of Craig the lawyer.

The feudal law in use with the Anglo-Saxons.

Writers have greatly erred in not observing the difference that subsisted among those several constitutions; and how the different nations, now inhabiting the island, were, at this very juncture, affected by them. They have run into particular systems of their own; each has advanced specious arguments for what he has espoused; while all of them are insensible that there was a great and material difference in the dependency (which I use as a general word, the most expressive of the whole) which prevailed in one period, from that which prevailed in another. That among the Britons appears to have been, as I have already described it, determinable with the exigency; for then the head or chief was reduced to his former rank. That among the Saxons partook more of a fee, and had this material difference, that the dependency was determinable only with the life of the paramount. That instituted by the late kings of England over the Danes and the Cumbrians, was properly a feudal subjection: it was a perpetual enjoyment, of use and advantage upon another's estate, the donor still reserving certain rights and services, to be performed by his substitute. Whoever considers, that Egbert looked upon all England as his heritage, that his successors still retained, and often made good, the same claim, will easily discern with what propriety the Danish tenors, of holding their territories in England, may be said to have been feudal. Craig, the Scotch feodist, though eminent in that learning, yet ignorant in English antiquities, and deeply tinged with the epidemical vanity of the Scotch antiquaries, has denied to the Anglo-Saxons all knowledge of the feudal law; while English writers, too partial to their now-prevailing municipal law, and neglectful of this useful study, were long unable to set that matter in a clear light. But we are to observe, that, at the period I now treat of, viz. about the year 961, the feudal law was almost in its highest perfection upon the continent; that it began to be in use about the time of the Saxon invasion; and that it took its rise from the Saxons themselves, in the more unlimited sense of the word Saxony. Hence we have express reservations of services, and other duties, which are actually feudal, in Edgar's time, among the Anglo-Saxons. But though it is highly worthy the pains of the greatest antiquary, to descend into a minute discussion of the variation and improvement of certain modes of holding, after the time of the Norman conquest; yet our intention is to observe, that the superiority of Edgar over Cumberland was, strictly speaking, feudal; but whether that over Scotland was the same, has given rise to many altercations. As to those over Mercia, Northumberland, and the other Danish possessions in England, they were, strictly speaking, feudal likewise; but the feofs were then, through treasons, nonperformance of services, and default of succession, reannexed to the crown, and by it disposed of by different tenures. The sub-

jection of the Welsh could not, from the nature of a fief, be said to be feudal, because the English kings seem never to have claimed the signory of that soil. Upon the whole, we are told by the English historians, that Edgar had under him the following kings and princes, who all of them contributed to defray the great expence of his navy, viz. Kenneth king of the Scots, Malcolm king of Cumberland, Maccuse lord of the Isles; with Dinnal, Griffith, Hunald, Jacob, and Jude-thil, Welsh princes. We are told likewise, that, after appointing all those princes to meet him at Chester, he went on board his barge, and each of those princes handling an oar, he himself holding the helm, he was rowed up the river Dee by this royal crew.

This fact is strongly disputed by the Scotch historians, upon principles which are not easily got over; but as it has been almost universally delivered by the English, we are not to despise it. For my own part, I am apt to believe, that all the princes of Britain were united, as I have said before, in the common cause, of resisting the Danish invasions; that each contributed a proportion of the expence of keeping up this great fleet; but it is highly probable, that the king of the Scots did it rather as an ally or party in the political confederacy of which Edgar was the head, than as a tributary.

Edgar, about the beginning of his reign, met with some difficulty from the Welsh, who refused to pay the tribute imposed upon them by his ancestors; but, after invading their country, he changed the nature of that tribute in a very laudable manner. For both England and Wales, about this time, receiving great detriment from the vast numbers of wolves then abounding, Edgar abolished the pecuniary tribute of the Welsh, and substituted in its room a yearly tribute of wolves heads. This had so good an effect, that in a few years the very species of those creatures was destroyed in England.

Edgar's excessive indulgence for the monks has rendered the story of his life, as it has come to our hands, a panegyric, rather than a history. I know no reign, so late, so long, and so glorious, in which so little care has been taken to ascertain the chronology; and the account we have is rather of his person than of his government. We are, however, given to understand, that he succeeded to his brother Edwy in his failings, as well as his dominions; but in Edgar what was meritorious, to Edwy proved fatal, through the adulation of the monks. His passion for the fair-sex carried him so far, that casting his eyes upon a young lady of great beauty, but greater virtue, he pursued her even to a cloister, in which she took refuge to avoid his criminal addresses. The sanctity of a cloister itself had no effect upon Edgar's passion; for before Willefride (for so the lady was named) had time to profess herself a nun, the amorous monarch found means to win her to his arms. But this invasion upon the privileges of the church, rather than the crime itself, exasperated Dunstan so much, that he put Edgar upon

A. D. 961.

The Welsh not feodatory to the kings of England.

The princes who were dependent on Edgar.

The fact disputed by the Scots.

Conjecture upon the nature of the dependency of the Scots.

Edgar changes the tribute of money, paid by the Welsh, into a tribute of Wolves heads.

His history very imperfect.

His passion for the fair-sex.

He takes a young lady out of a monastery.

a seven

A. D. 961.

a seven years penance, while he ordered him, at the same time, to compensate for the scandal he had given; but we know nothing of his measure of repentance reaching to a forbearance of the crime; for we hear of a daughter begot upon this lady, who was afterwards a nun in the same convent from whence her mother was taken.

This prince's other acts of munificence to the church, and the intrigues of his loves, form the largest part of what has been delivered to us of his history. As to the first, such of them as are material shall be taken notice of in the history of the church. With regard to the second, it may be proper to give an instance or two more; since it is from the emotions of the heart, and the conduct of the passions, that the man is best known; and the unguarded behaviour gives us often a more just idea of the true character of the greatest men than the most refined strokes of policy, perhaps suggested by ministers, or successful through accident.

The first wife of Edgar was Elfleda the Fair (so surnamed by the English) daughter to one of the greatest noblemen in England, and mother to Edward, his son and successor; but this lady's death soon made room in Edgar's heart for another object of his ruling passion. The beautiful Elfrida, daughter to Ordgar, duke of Devon, had got a regular and virtuous education; and licentiousness of manners, in matters of love, now prevailing through the royal example, she lived so retired, that the fame of her beauty was as yet greater than its effects, but inferior to its power. Edgar, who appears to have been pretty absolute in his temper, not caring to start a game which he was not sure was worthy of being pursued, resolved to be determined according to the report of her beauty made him by a secretary, one Ethelwold, the approved companion of his pleasures, as well as the first minister of his state. Not imagining that a subject, how great soever, durst lift his eyes to an object, for which his master had once hinted the most distant inclination, he informed this favourite, how lavishly fame had talked in the praises of the fair Elfrida; but that, as she often magnifies whatever is rare or difficult, he was resolved to learn from him how far her report, in this instance, was to be trusted. In short, he acquainted him, that if Elfrida answered the description he had of her, he was resolved to make her the companion of his bed and his royalty.

He is betrayed by his secretary,

Ethelwold was himself of an amorous complexion, susceptible of like passions with his master; and repairing to the house of Ordgar, his great quality and character proved his passport to the presence of Elfrida. He soon found, that fame, instead of being lavish, had been too scanty, in her report. His duty gave way to his passion; and her great fortune (she being the heiress of her father's estate) soon determined him in risking all to enjoy her as his wife. On the other hand, Ethelwold's known interest both in the power and affections of his ma-

ster, his amiable character, fair demeanour and graceful personage recommended his address to the favour of Ordgar, who was now old; but years adding caution to experience, he refused to give consent to the match without Edgar's approbation. Ethelwold, not despairing to be able to procure that, took his leave, and returned to court. The impatient monarch then examined him as to the report he had to make; and Ethelwold, with artful address, informed him, that true it was the girl had a pretty face, but that was all; because, in her person, she was both deformed and scrophulous. Edgar, not mistrusting the veracity of the report, then seemed to lay aside all thoughts of the match; when Ethelwold, taking him in an easy hour, acquainted him, that his visit to Elfrida, and conversation he had with her father, had put into his head the thoughts of a project which might be of great service to his majesty, which was his proposing marriage to Elfrida, who being the heiress of her father's estate, his own would be so much increased by the match, upon the death of her father, that it must be for the advantage of his majesty to have a subject master of so considerable a property, whom he knew to be so inviolably attached to his person and government as he himself was.

Ethelwold, putting his proposal entirely upon the footing of interest, prevented in the mind of Edgar all suspicion of his amorous deceit; and glad to have an opportunity of so easily obliging his favourite, he gave his consent. The lover then took the first opportunity of signifying this to the father of his mistress, who knowing no will but that of her parents, resigned herself before the priest to Ethelwold. Her beauties, however, increasing with her years, and her fame with her beauties, it was not long before Edgar received some intimation of the jewel which his easy faith had unwittingly resigned to another. The monarch, versed in the arts of dissimulation, and the treachery of the friend being aggravated by those of the subject, he resolved upon a deep and bloody revenge. But willing to try whether he might not be a second time imposed upon by his minister's enemies, he resolved to have ocular proof of his infidelity before he would punish his presumption. Accordingly he informed Ethelwold, in a loose undesigning manner, that he intended to go a hunting to the country where his estate lay, and to take that opportunity of spending a night at his house. Ethelwold, finding no decent pretext for avoiding this visit, under pretence of making preparations for his majesty's reception, set out for his house, where pouring forth all his soul to his fair wife, he ingenuously informed her of the deceit he had practised in order to get possession of her person and estate. This declaration awakened in the mind of Elfleda sentiments to which she might otherwise have been for ever a stranger. The sweets of mutual and conjugal affection, the calm content of private life and virtuous retirement, now lost

A. D. 961.

who marries Elfrida.

Edgar discovers the treachery.

A. D. 961. all their charms in the single reflection, that she might have been a queen. She had, however, command enough, both of face and tongue, to dissemble what she thought; and her husband, encouraged by her resignation, begged, for one proof more of her regard for his quiet and safety, that she would not put forth all her charms, but check the effect of her beauties, lest they should excite in the heart of the monarch the same emotions he had felt in his own. For this she gave him her promise, that she might be under less restraint in breaking it. The day appointed for the royal visit now arrived: Edgar came, saw, and loved; while Elfrida knew so well how to play off the artillery of beauty, and to teach her eyes the language of her heart, that Edgar in them read every sentiment of her ambitious soul. He now considered Ethelwold as the former robber of what was dearer than life itself, as the present obstacle that interposed between him and his happiness, and, consequently, as the future object of his merited vengeance. But love, the most artful master of dissimulation, cleared his brow from every cloud, and instructed him in the language due to hospitality and esteem. This had the effect of making his revenge the more secure: for having, upon pretext of hunting, carried Ethelwold with him into Harwood, he took an opportunity, while none was near, to run him through with a lance. A son (Malmesbury says a bastard) of Ethelwold's by a former marriage, happening to pass by just while his father's blood reeked upon the point of the weapon, Edgar asked him, how he liked that game? To which the degenerate youth, with true courtly complaisance, answered, "Excellently well; for whatever pleases your majesty ought never to displease me." This reply, extremely well adapted to the nature of a prince arbitrarily disposed, so much won upon Edgar, that he ever after wore him next his heart, and preferred him to all his father's employments.

Ethelwold deceived by his wife, who is beloved by Edgar.

Edgar kills Ethelwold.

Unnatural reply of Ethelwold's son.

Reflection upon the conduct of the monks.

Had the unfortunate Edwy been guilty of such a murder, the faithful monks would have marked it, through every page, in bloody characters; but, as if Edgar had been another David, eminent in repenting as well as sinning, they have transmitted it not as an instance of corruption in human nature, but of justice in an injured king. His wife, it is true, built an expiatory monastery, after her marriage to Edgar; while both of them, however they might mourn for their offences, still retained all their effects. The reader will be apt enough, of himself, to compare the behaviour of the clergy in those days, in the two instances I have given of Edgar's amours. The one was a simple intrigue with a girl, who could not properly be said to have been a nun; but was atoned for by severe penance, and costly retributions. While, for the other, which was founded in blood, he passes not only unpenanced, but uncensured. But we shall now view this hero through another light of his amorous disposition, in the following instance:

Edgar happening to come to Andover, where hearing great commendations of a young lady's beauty who lived near that place, he, without any ceremony of introduction, courtship, or consent, ordered the mother of the fair to bring her daughter to his arms. The mother, whose husband was a man of quality, disdaining an office which in her was both ignoble and unnatural, yet dreading the impetuous resentment of Edgar, sought how to gratify the king without ruining her own and her daughter's honour. For this purpose she managed it so, that one of her own servants (a young virgin who, says Malmesbury, was neither without wit nor beauty) was introduced to the arms of the monarch, who expected her in bed. Next morning, by break of day, as she was stealing from thence, the king asked why she was in such haste to be gone? upon which she acquainted him that she was going about her mistress's work. This startled Edgar, and he soon perceived the innocent imposture, which at first filled him with rage and resentment; but, after a little reflecting upon the merit of the girl in her way, he began to think he had not lost by the change: for he not only obliged her mistress to set her at liberty, which was all the maid required in return for what she had lost; but gave her the first place in his affections, till she was removed from thence by Elfrida.

A. D. 964. Another amour of Edgar's.

Edgar imposed upon in an amour.

Such were his failings, as a man; but his merits were great and extraordinary, as a king. The peace he cultivated was without inactivity; and the familiarities, to which he sometimes descended, were without meanness. His political conduct is the first and the noblest proof we have, that a king of England may be ever great and happy, while he retains the dominion of the seas; and the almost uninterrupted tranquility of his reign is sufficient evidence of the justice and moderation of his government.

Reflection upon Edgar's character.

In the same year, which was 961, and the fifth of his reign, in which he reduced Wales, a grievous plague broke out in England, which swept off a great many, and some persons of high distinction. Odo, archbishop of Canterbury was of this number, and was succeeded (after two other nominations, neither of which took place) by the famous Dunstan, who now was at the top of his ambition. In the same year the cathedral of London was burnt down; but soon after rebuilt. In the year 964, according to Florence of Worcester, happened Edgar's affair with Elfrida; and the next year was remarkable for the expulsion of the secular clergy from the old and new monasteries of Winchester, Chertsey and Middleton, for reasons and upon grounds which shall be displayed in the history of the church during Edgar's reign.

Death of Odo, archbishop of Canterbury.

Succeeded by Dunstan.

We know of no part which Edgar took in the invasion of Wales by the Irish; but we are told, that, in 964, they took Aberfraw, and slew Roderic, one of their late king's sons. The Welsh chronicles likewise inform us, that a great many civil broils happened in Wales about the same time;

Comotions in Wales.

A. D. 971.

time; and Edgar, perhaps, was not displeased to see the hereditary enemies of his crown and people weakened by intestine commotions.

Edgar lays waste the isle of Thanet.

In the year 969, information came to Edgar's court, that some merchants from York happening to touch at the isle of Thanet, the inhabitants had abused and plundered them of their effects. It is possible this was not the first outrage of this kind they had committed; for Brompton mentions them as a race refractory to civil government. Edgar's resentment, however, was pretty severe, if not barbarous; for he marched into their country, which he laid waste: nor have we any mention of any particular acts of justice which attended so general a devastation.

Edgar crowned at Axminster.

Conjectures thereupon.

In the year 971, Edgar lost his son Edmund; and the third year after, he was crowned, with great solemnity, at Axminster, by the hands of Dunstan. A general assembly of the states, both spiritual and temporal, was held upon this occasion; but it has given great matter of speculation why his coronation was thus long deferred. Some have attributed it to the penance imposed upon him by Dunstan, for the violation of the monastery; but this year seems rather too late, the term of the penance being before expired. Some have thought, that he was crowned in the beginning of his reign, though neglected to be mentioned by our monkish historians. But the repeating this ceremony of inauguration was no new thing in England, even before this time. Perhaps our princes thought it sufficient if they were at first crowned as succeeding to their own paternal inheritance; but that afterwards, making new acquisitions of dignity, either by election, conquest, or succession, they chose to be crowned anew. Now though it was unusual for them to assume the title of king before they had gone through this ceremony; yet, as Edgar's right to Mercia was elective, or at least nominally so, and his title of superiority to the other people in Britain was founded upon other claims, it is very reasonable to suppose, that, after being crowned the hereditary king of Wessex, he chose to give his dignity a more solemn and august sanction by a second coronation.

Edgar affronted by Keneth, king of the Scots,

Edgar, after the solemnity of his inauguration was over, had the congress at Westchester with the six kings I have mentioned, and which make so glorious a figure in the English annals; and it is at this time, probably, that we are to place his famous adventure with Keneth, king of Scotland. This last prince, who was strong and robust in his person, and apt to be a little boastful in his cups, happened, in an unguarded hour, to vilify Edgar, who was of a diminutive stature, expressing his surprise, that so many brave men, and such an extent of territory, should be awed into so much reverence and subjection by such a pigmy. This unmannerly insult was carried to the ears of Edgar, who immediately sent for Keneth, and, under some pretext, drew him

aside from all company into a wood. He then began to expostulate with the Scot about the freedom he had used; and drawing from beneath his garment two swords, bade him take his choice; telling him, that personal courage did not depend upon the strength of the muscles, or the advantage of nature. Keneth, abashed at the justness of the reproach, and ashamed of his own behaviour, in the most submissive manner owned his fault; and all the excuse he made, was the effect of the liquor he had drank. Edgar, generous as he was brave, accepted of the apology, and left him with this caution, that the figure of the body was but a very fallible index to the courage of the mind. Whatever may be in this story (which is denied by the Scots) it is certain that it does honour both to their king and country. To the first, as he thought it no disgrace to retract, by submission, what he had spoken through inadvertency; a truer mark of courage in a brave man, as Keneth is universally allowed to be, than if, by killing his antagonist, he had justified a foolish thing by a wicked one. It does honour to their country, as Edgar, the haughtiest prince of his time, thought it no discredit to his dignity to put himself upon an equal footing with a king of Scotland; which he never would have done, had he considered Keneth, as such, to have been his tributary.

A. D. 975. and challenges him to single combat,

which is declined by Keneth.

One of the greatest events of this prince's reign, was the dispossessing the secular clergy, and introducing the monks in their room; but as this requires a particular consideration, we must reserve it to the history of the church. We know of no other particular civil transactions of this king than I have given; into so scanty limits is his history reduced, while his praises run through whole volumes. His death is placed in 975, after living no more than two and thirty, and reigning sixteen years.

The secular clergy dispossessed.

To draw a character of this prince is extremely difficult through the strong prepossession in his favour, that runs through all our historians. But as I have ever made it a rule to establish characters upon facts, I never shall be either afraid or ashamed to make those my guides, without going into the prejudices arising from personal obligations or injuries. That Edgar in his first step to royalty trod upon the neck of justice and duty to his lawful sovereign is, I think, very evident. That he was arbitrary in his conduct, lascivious in his amours, and bloody in his revenge, is, I think, likewise more than probable. His dispossession of the secular clergy proves how much, either through weakness or policy, but most probably the latter, he was under the direction of Dunstan and his confederates; and the circumstances of his parade when rowed by a royal crew is not quite void of a barbarous vanity.

Edgar's death and character.

But on the other hand it must be owned, that other facts speak him to have been possessed of great political virtues. The peace which England enjoyed during his reign was of great advantage to her after the great effusion of blood she had some time before suffered;

A. D. 975. suffered; and his great naval armaments are evidences of his understanding perfectly well the true natural interests of his country. His love of the arts appears from his encouraging foreigners to come and reside in England; but Malmesbury observes with great justice, that those foreigners imported among the English a great degeneracy of manners. From the Flemish they learned effeminacy, from the Germans rudeness, and from the Danes drinking; but this is not to be put to Edgar's account: though had the English retained the same dispositions they had under his predecessors, the invaders never could have made so quick a progress as they did in the times of his immediate successors. In his person, as we have already hinted, he was but small and slender, but so active, and had such command of strength, that he exceeded most of his court in all manly exer-

His love of the arts, how detrimental to England.

Description of Edgar's person.

cises; nor could he be more affronted than by sparing his person from any tenderness for it, or regard to his quality. By his first wife Elfreda he had issue Edward, who succeeded him; and by his second Edmund, who died in the fourth year of his age, and Ethelred, who was afterwards king of England. By the lady whom he took out of the nunnery, Edgar had Edgitha, who came afterwards to be abbess of Wilton. This abbess is celebrated for her chastity and beauty, which it seems she took care to set off with a richness of dress more suitable to her birth than her profession. We are told that she was reprimanded for this by a bishop of those days; but that she answered with great spirit, That piety consisted not in the homeliness of attire, but in the disposition of the heart; and that pride, ambition, and sin might be covered under rags as well as robes (1).

A. D. 975.

His issue.

Smart reply of his natural daughter to a bishop.

13. EDWARD the MARTYR.

A. D. 975. **T**HOUGH the present age appears to be perfectly well satisfied, with regard to the legitimacy of this prince; yet there was, at the time of his succeeding, great debates upon that head. What added to them was, the ambition of the dowager queen, who having a son of unquestionable legitimacy, did all she could to prefer him.

Doubts about Edward's legitimacy.

But the dispute between the secular clergy and the monks now being revived, each party fell into that faction which most favoured its claims; and though this dispute had nothing to do with the succession to the crown, yet in the consequences it greatly affected it, as the support of Edward's title was all that Dunstan and the monks had for

A. D. 975.

The great parties in the nation.

(1) The civil character of this prince will be best known by his laws, an abstract of which is as follows. The preface to them is thus: "This is the decree or law which king Edgar made, with the council or consent of his wives or wise men, for the honour of God, the conformation of his royal dignity, and for the good of his people."

The laws themselves begin with some ecclesiastical canons, the first of which is concerning the immunities of the church, and about paying tythes out of the lands of the thanes, as well as of those of ceorles or countrymen.

The second is concerning payment of tythes and first-fruits, as well where a thane had a church with a burying-place, as also where he had not.

The third appoints the times the tythes should be paid at, and what remedy was to be had in case they were not paid at the time when they were due.

The fourth ordains at what time of the year peter-pence should be paid, and the penalty that should be incurred by those that should neglect to pay them in accordingly.

The last ordains every Sunday to be kept holy, and to begin at three o'clock in the afternoon on Saturday, and to end at break of day on Monday, upon the penalty appointed by the judiciary-book. From which last law you may observe, how early keeping the Sunday, like the Jewish sabbath, began in England.

Then follow the secular or temporal laws, the first of which enjoins, "That every man, poor or rich, enjoy the benefit of the law, and have equal justice done him; and for punishments, he would have them so moderated, that being accommodated to the divine clemency, they may be the more tolerable unto men."

The second forbids appeals to the king in suits, except justice cannot otherwise be obtained. And if a man be oppressed, he may betake himself to the king for relief; and in case a pecuniary mulct be inflicted for a fault, it must not exceed the value of the man's head.

The third imposes a mulct of a hundred and twenty shillings to the king, upon a judge that passes an unjust sentence against any man; except such judge will take his oath, that he did it not out of any malice, but only from unskillfulness and mistake in judgment: and in such case, he is to be removed from his place, except he can obtain favour of the king longer to retain it; and then the bishop of the diocese is to send the mulct imposed upon him to the king's treasure.

The fourth commands, "That whosoever maliciously shall defame another man, whereby he receives any damage, either in his body or estate, so that the defamed party can clear himself in those reports, and prove them false, then the defamer's tongue shall either be cut out, or he shall redeem it with the value of his head."

The fifth is to the same effect as in another law we have formerly cited, commanding every one to be present at the gemote or assembly of the hundred; and further, ordains, "That the burghmotes, assemblies of the great towns or cities, be held thrice a year; and the shiregemotes, or general meeting of the whole county, twice; whereat were to be present the bishop and the eolderman, the one to teach the people God's law, and the other man's." From whence you may observe the antiquity of our charges at our assizes and sessions, which no doubt do succeed those discourses which the eolderman and bishop then made to the people upon the subjects above-mentioned.

The sixth requires, "That every man find sureties for his good behaviour; and in case any one commit a crime, and fly for it, the sureties should undergo what should be laid upon him: if he stole any thing, and be taken within a twelve-month, he should be brought to justice, and then the sureties should receive back what they had paid on his account." Hence we may also take notice, not only of the antiquity of frank pledges, which had been long before instituted by king Alfred, but also the continuation of this law by king Edgar; from whence it appears, that it was no Norman invention, introduced to keep under the English commonalty, as some men, without any just cause, have imagined.

The seventh ordains, "That when any one, of evil report, is again accused of a crime, and absents himself from the gemotes or public meetings, some of the court shall go where he dwells, and take sureties for his appearance, if they may be had; but if they cannot get them, then they should take him alive or dead, and seize on all his estate; whereof the complaining party having received such a share as should satisfy him, the one half of the remainder shall go to the lord of the soil, and the other half to the hundred; and if any of that court (being either akin to the party, or a stranger to his blood) refuse to go to put this in execution, he should forfeit a hundred and twenty shillings to the king: and farther, that such as are taken in the very act of stealing, or betraying their masters, should not be pardoned during life."

The eighth and last ordains, "That one and the same money should be current throughout the king's dominions, which no man must refuse; and that the measure of Winchester should be the standard; and that a weight of wool should be sold for half a pound of money, and no more." The former of these is the first law whereby the private mints, to the archbishops and several abbots, being forbid, the king's coin was only to pass.

the

A. D. 976. the preservation of their possessions. For no sooner was Edgar dead, than Elfgar duke of Mercia drove the abbots and monks out of all their monasteries in every place where he had any power; while on the other hand he was opposed by Ethelwin eolderman of the East Angles, Elfwold his brother, and earl Brithnoth. As neither party could support itself without a higher power, each sought to sanctify its proceedings by getting the succession to the crown secured to that prince who they thought would most favour their several views.

Two factions formed from this division.

Edward's title supported by Dunstan,

who outwits the opposite party.

His great interest.

By these means two factions were soon formed; the one in favour of Edward, who was, at this time, but about fourteen years of age, and was headed by Dunstan and the bishops; the other in favour of Ethelred, which was headed by the queen dowager and the duke of Mercia. Dunstan was sensible that, if Ethelred's interest should prevail, the regency, during the minority, would fall into the hands of the two latter, the sworn enemies of him and his order; and therefore he strongly supported the title of Edward, who he affirmed was nominated by Edgar for his successor upon his death-bed; while Elfrida as loudly disclaimed his legitimacy, and affirmed that his mother had never been married to Edgar. To settle this point, an assembly of the states was called, "where, says an English author, the archbishop came in with his banner and cross; and not staying for farther debating de jure, did, de facto, present prince Edward for their lawful king; and the assembly, consisting most of clergymen, persuading peace, drew the approbation of the rest, and so was the prince admitted and proclaimed their sovereign." This action, so much in the character of Dunstan, is a proof of his temper, and the great sway his order then had among the common people. It appears as if little opposition had been made to this step; and I am inclined to think that the matter was compromised between Dunstan and the queen mother, because, during the short reign of this unfortunate prince, we find her living honoured and unmolested.

But affairs between the secular and the regular clergy were not so easily made up. A strong party, in opposition to the latter, was formed among the nobility; and several assemblies were held, in order to make up the difference. It is sufficient to say here, that Dunstan, by impious barefaced juggling, found means always to baffle the strongest interest and arguments of his opponents; but the particulars fall into the history of the church.

In the year 976, England was visited with a famine; nor have we the account of any one transaction of this prince's reign, that can properly and purely be termed civil.

The assemblies and altercations among the priests make up the whole, till he came to his unhappy end in the following manner:

Happening one day to go a hunting, he passed by Corf-castle, in the isle of Purbeck, in Dorsetshire, where the queen mother kept her court. Either through chance or design, being without attendants, he stopped his horse at the gate of the castle, when Elfrida came to bid him welcome, and pressed him to alight. Edward declined this; but called for wine, that he might drink to the health of his mother-in-law. The wine being brought, while Edward had the cup at his head, he was stabbed in the back, by order, some say by the hand, of Elfrida. Perceiving he was wounded, he clapped spurs to his horse; but he soon fainted; and his foot sticking in the stirrup, he was dragged along for some time, till the horse stopped near the door of a poor old blind woman. Elfrida, dreading that he might recover, had sent murderers in pursuit of him, to dispatch him thoroughly; but, after tracing the road he took by his blood, when they came up with Edward they found him lifeless, and his body miserably torn. The inhuman-step-dame then bethought her how to conceal the murder; and as it was known only to her domestics, she ordered Edward's body to be thrown into a well. His servants, however, some time after, found where it lay, and transported it to Wareham, from whence it was conveyed to Shaftsbury, where it was buried in a monastery founded by the great Alfred: but others have assigned other places for his burial. A great many miracles were reported to have been performed where the body of this young prince lay; and the manner of his death hath, through the affection of the monks, got him the surname of the Martyr. His death happened in the year 979: nor, so far as we know, was he ever married. As to his character, we can say nothing, other than that he appears to have been, like his father, a mighty favourer of the monks, and to have implicitly followed the dictates of Dunstan. It may be proper to remark, that Elfrida felt a strong remorse after the perpetration of this execrable murder; especially as the deceased came to be held in great veneration through the miracles said to have been wrought by his body. To expiate it, therefore, she had recourse to the general salve of a distempered conscience, I mean the founding and endowing of religious houses; for she erected one at Almesbury in Wiltshire, and another at Worwel in Northamptonshire; in which last she lived, with great austerity, the remaining part of her life. So little did the religious, in those days, reflect upon the curse pronounced by the prophet: "Woe unto him that buildeth a town with blood, and erecteth a city by iniquity."

Miracles reported to have been wrought by Edward's body.

Elfrida's remorse,

and expiation of her crime.

14. E T H E L R E D II.

A. D. 981.

Dunstan's
practices
against Ethel-
red.

THE pragmatical Dunstan did all he could to prevent this prince from mounting the throne of his ancestors. His first course was to apply to Edgith, the natural daughter of Edgar by Wilfride, and at that time abbess of Wilton. Her he tempted with the proffer of royalty, and the assurance of her being supported by him and his whole order; but the young lady wisely declined his proposal: she was struck, according to Capgrave, by the fate of her brother Edward; nor, though it had been easy for Dunstan to have established her legitimacy through the prodigious interest he had both with the clergy and people, could he prevail with her to accept of a title that neither was due to her blood, nor suited with her inclination.

Forced to ac-
knowledge
Ethelred,
who is crown-
ed.

He had now no other refuge than by acknowledging, as king, the young Ethelred, at this time about twelve years of age; and in the same year that his brother died, he was anointed (by the hands of Dunstan) king of England, at Kingston upon Thames. This prince, too, has the misfortune of not being in the good graces of the monkish historians: his mother was far from being a friend to their order; and it would appear as if Dunstan had conceived an aversion to her and her progeny, even at the birth of Ethelred; for we are told, that, upon a very ridiculous incident which happened as Dunstan was going to baptize him, that priest swore, "By God and St. Mary, this boy will prove a very idle fellow." His hatred to Ethelred's person continued ever after; for, when he put the crown upon his head, he did it with this dreadful, unjust, and unchristian commination: "Because thou hast aspired to the kingdom by the death of thy brother, thus saith the Lord God, The crime of thine infamous mother shall remain, as shall those of her counsellors, and shall be expiated only by great blood-shed of thy wretched subjects; for, in thy time, the miseries of England shall exceed those she has ever known since she had her name." The reputation, interest, and power of Dunstan, made this traiterous declaration to be considered as a prophetic rapture; and that which ought to have cost him his head, established the opinion of his sanctity. But how unjust this commination was, appears from what is told us by the favourers of Dunstan, and the enemies of Ethelred; that the latter, by tears, expressing his pity at the fate of his brother, was therefore beaten by his mother with a waxen taper, the next arms which her fury administered; adding this ridiculous circumstance, that the monarch, ever after, for that reason, hated the sight of a wax taper. But, setting aside this circumstance, it was both cruel and unjust in Dunstan, to charge upon the son, an infant of twelve years of age, a crime proceeding from the rage and ambition of his mother; and the prophetic spirit, as it is called by the monkish writers,

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will ever receive the harshest construction from every man of sense, who shall reflect, that the future completion of such prophecies are generally the effect of previous concert.

A. D. 982.

State of Eng-
land at this
time.

The vigilance of the English government, during the late reigns, had kept the Danes in such awe, that they had not, for a long time, made any efforts to disturb the peace of England. The neighbouring people likewise, particularly the Welsh, had, till now, lived under an easy subjection to England; but the reins of government being now slackened in a minority, and through the divisions of party spirit and interest, the Welsh began to cabal among themselves, without any regard to their dependence upon England. For Constantine the Black, one of the princes of Wales, about the time of Ethelred's accession, happening to have some difference with Howel, prince of North Wales, invited in Godfryd the Dane to his assistance. The Dane gladly embraced the opportunity; and joining his forces with those of Constantine, they ravaged Anglesey and Lynn. But Howel, who was a brave and active prince, getting together an army, attacked the confederates at a place called Gwayth Horborth, and, after killing Constantine, gave them a total defeat.

The Welsh
cabal.

Had the English government pursued the wise maxims of Edgar, by cultivating their maritime power, the Danes must have been ruined in their attempting any such invasion; but an universal degeneracy happening, through the distractions of the times, they were emboldened first to this attempt, and soon after to another upon the dominions of Ethelred: for soon after their expedition in Wales, viz. in 981, we find them making a descent upon the isle of Thanet, which they destroyed; while another party of their friends, the Norwegians, landing at Westchester, put the inhabitants under contribution. But the most formidable descent they made this year was upon Southampton, which they not only plundered, but carried away a great many of the townsmen prisoners. Nor was Cornwall free from their devastations; for we find them this same year landing there, and burning to the ground the church and monastery of St. Petroc; while Godfryd, recovering from the late defeat given him by the Welsh, landed with a great army in West Wales, where he spoiled all the land of Dyvet, and plundered the church of St. David's. He then fought a battle with the Welsh, at a place called Lhanwanoc; but their chronicles have left us in the dark as to the event.

Degeneracy of
England.

The Danes
invade it.

In the year 982, according to Hoveden, the Danes landed in Dorsetshire in three ships, and wasted the isle of Portland; while, to encrease the miseries of England in this calamitous year we are told, that about the same time the city of London was burnt to the ground. About the same

They land in
Dorsetshire.

London burnt.

T t t

time,

Dunstan's
commination.

[William of
Malmesbury.]

Reflection
thereupon.

A. D. 986.
Comotions
in Wales.

time, the Welsh annals inform us, that an English nobleman, one Alfred, joining with Howel, the son of Edwal, destroyed Brecknock, with great part of the lands belonging to Owen, prince of South Wales; but the latter raising an army, sent it with his son Eneon at its head, who totally defeated the English nobleman.

Death of Elfer, duke of Mercia;

and of Eneon, prince of Wales.

We have, in the history of the year 983, an instance of the monkish charity for their enemies; for we are told, that this year Elfer, the duke of Mercia, who had so much befriended the secular clergy, was eaten up alive by lice. The Welsh historians proceed to inform us, a rebellion happened in South Wales, in which the brave Eneon was slain, while he was endeavouring to appease the rebels; leaving behind him Edwyn and Theodore, the ancestors to several princes of South Wales.

Distress of Ethelred's government.

In the mean time, the aversion of the monks to the person of Ethelred quite relaxed the reins of government. The people being, by their infamous arts, brought into a contempt for his person, were now no longer regardful of their duty; and nothing but the imminent danger they were in of falling once more under the Danish tyranny could have prevented a general insurrection.

The Welsh invade England.

In the year 984, the prince of North Wales, Howel ap Jevaf, had the insolence to invade England; but was encountered by Ethelred's army, and paid his life as the forfeit of his presumption.

Banishment of Elfric, duke of Mercia.

The next year, Elfric, son to Elfer the duke of Mercia, was banished the kingdom. As his crime is not specified, we may easily believe, that it was through the aversion which the monks had for his family; but, as shall be seen in the sequel, his exile was fruitful of many woes to England. In the year 986, we find Ethelred, upon some difference with the bishop of Rochester, laying waste the lands of the bishopric, and besieging Rochester itself. And here we have occasion to remark the overgrown insolence of Dunstan: for taking part with the bishop, he, at first, threatened Ethelred with the vengeance of St. Andrew, the tutelar apostle of that bishopric; but Ethelred despising this menace, and proceeding in his hostilities, Dunstan was obliged to send him an hundred pounds, which the king accepting, drew off his army. The loss of so considerable a sum, as this was in those days, exasperated Dunstan to that degree, as to make him break out into the following arrogant menace, in which we have equal matter for admiring his vanity towards man, his presumption towards God, his disrespect to his prince, and his treason against his country: "Because, said he, in
" a message to Ethelred, thou hast preferred
" silver to God, money to the apostle, and
" thy revenge to me, suddenly shall there
" come calamities upon thee and thine;
" but I shall not live to see them, for so
" saith the Lord." After such a speech as this, which was so speedily and literally fulfilled, the reader can be at no great loss to account from what source the Danes

A farther instance of Dunstan's insolence.

received encouragement and support, in their invasion of this unhappy country.

A. D. 993.
The Danes' land in Somersetshire.

The Danes, about this time, receiving encouragement from the distractions among the Welsh, and the weakness of the English government, landed in Somersetshire, where they destroyed Watchet, in the year 987. Next year they were opposed by an English thane, whom the annals called Goda, earl of Devon, together with one Strenwald; but they were both of them killed in battle, and the Danes kept the field. But this year is more distinguished by the death of the famous Dunstan, archbishop of Canterbury, of whom we shall speak more fully in the history of the church.

About the year 990, Meredyth, prince of North Wales, destroyed the town of Radnor; while his own territories were attacked by Edwin, the son of Enneon, assisted by a large body of English, under the command of earl Adelph, who laid waste all South Wales as far as St. David's, taking pledges of all the most considerable men in the country. In the mean time, Meredyth, regardless of the devastation of his own country, carried fire and sword into the county of Glamorganshire; but, at last, he and Edwin coming to an interview, matters were made up between them.

Civil wars among the Welsh;

But those civil dissensions had a fatal effect upon the whole: for, while Meredyth was carrying his arms into South Wales, the Danes took that opportunity of landing in North Wales, and destroyed the isle of Anglesey. Soon after they landed in Suffolk, under the command of Justin and Guthmond, where they destroyed Ipswich. They then advanced towards Essex, where they were opposed by Bridgenorth, an eolderman. The battle was very bloody; but at last it ended in favour of the Danes, Bridgenorth being left dead upon the spot. Thus the Danes proving victorious, the unactive Ethelred had recourse to another expedient than that of arms for stopping their progress. A long minority had disfurnished the kingdom of its naval strength; and the king, bred between priests and women, seemed to degenerate from the virtues of his ancestors. Thirteen years of his reign were now elapsed in an inglorious indolence; no provisions had been made, either to prevent the enemy from landing, or to repel them when landed. They were in the heart of the country, and a speedy course was to be taken, for keeping even the capital, and the person of the sovereign, from falling into their hands.

of which the Danes made their advantage.

They gain a battle.

A cabinet-council was called, in which Syric, archbishop of Canterbury, (Dunstan being now dead) presided both in place and interest. This churchman, instead of rousing Ethelred to a sense of honour, and what he owed to the glory of his name and kingdom, ignominiously advised him to buy his peace of the enemy. The nobility, degenerated likewise after the royal example, seconded the prelate's counsel; and Ethelred, glad of temporary repose, though even ignobly purchased,

The English government pay tribute.

A. D. 992.

A. D. 992.

chafed, lent it a greedy ear. Accordingly a treaty was entered into with the Danes, and ten thousand pounds was agreed to be paid, as the first moiety of a tribute to prevent the great devastations and terror which they carried along the sea-coasts. The Danes, glad of the money, which enabled them to continue their invasions with more ease, seemed at first satisfied; but in a few months after the payment they redoubled their demands. Lamentable are the reflections thrown out by Malmesbury upon this occasion, and worthy of an English pen: "It was, says he, the advice of Syric, archbishop of Canterbury, that his countrymen should repel with silver what they could not repel with iron: an infamous, unmanly counsel! to purchase back, by money, that liberty with which a gallant man, while alive, never would have parted."

Malmesbury's reflection upon this inglorious measure.

Its fatal consequences.

But this cowardly expedient was so far from having any good effect, that, as the taste of blood does to certain species of dogs, it gave them a thirst for more; and not being gratified, as their avarice craved, they renewed all their devastations. Two ealdermen, Aldwald and Elfric, are particularly mentioned by Hoveden as having a great sway in the king's cabinet, and as seconding the ignoble advice of the archbishop. It appears, from Brompton and other historians, that, after the first payment of the ten thousand pounds, no less than four payments more were made; one of sixteen thousand, one of twenty-four thousand, one of thirty-six thousand, and one of forty-eight thousand, pounds. But the terms of those payments did not fall in with the immediate period I now treat of, and they shall be taken notice of hereafter.

Ethelred calls an assembly of his states,

The expedient of buying peace proving ineffectual, Ethelred, who was neither without parts nor courage, however they were obscured by indolence, resolved to act the part of an English king, and to take the advice of his people in the then dangerous juncture of affairs. Accordingly we find him summoning a general assembly of his chief subjects together, in the year 992, in order to deliberate upon the state of the nation. The first thing which suggested to their consideration, was the present condition of the marine; and they came to a resolution, that a strong squadron should be immediately fitted out against the Danes, and that the rendezvous should be at London.

which comes to vigorous resolutions.

Ethelred's impolitic conduct.

Ethelred, either ignorant or unmindful of the maxims of wise government, had, by this time, recalled Elfric, the duke of Mercia, from his banishment; and, as a sign of his entire reconciliation, put him in commission, with another nobleman (one Thorod) and two bishops (Alfane and Elfwig) to command the fleet. Elfric seems to have thought himself too deeply injured to forgive; besides, there is some reason for believing, that

he was originally a Mercian Dane, and might now begin to think himself obliged to be more in the interest of the invaders than of the English. The expedition with which the English fleet was fitted out, gained it a great advantage over that of the Danes, which was dissipated, and regardless of safety, from their presuming upon the indolence of the English government. Elfric saw that they must be inevitably ruined by the vigorous resolution of Ethelred's council, but delayed giving them any intelligence till he had received his instructions from the king himself. Those were both wise and seasonable; the English admirals were ordered to put to sea, and endeavour to dispose their ships so that those of the enemy might be forced together in one body, and then to attack them with all the resolution and force they were masters of. Elfric no sooner understood those to be the orders, than he immediately sent intelligence to the Danes; but the latter, being greatly dispersed, could not make use of it time enough to prevent the English fleet from partly succeeding in their attempt. The fleet of the Pagans were forced into one body, and next day a general charge was to have been given by the English navy, which might have, for some time, checked the naval expeditions of the Danes; but the treacherous Elfric, perceiving that the power of the invaders was upon the point of being destroyed, and fearing a discovery of his own treasonable practices, fled over to the Danes the very night before the fight was to begin. It does not appear that Elfric had interest enough to carry over with him to the enemy more than his own ship; but, as he was in the whole secret of the English councils, his desertion saved the Danish fleet at that juncture from ruin. It appears, from the strain of our historians, though not expressly mentioned, that the London (1) and East-Anglian squadron, being employed in cruising and forcing the straggling vessels of the enemy to join their main body, were not yet come up to the grand fleet, but were distant some hours sailing. Elfric took advantage of this to escape by the post which they were to have occupied, and this he did with the loss of only one ship. However, the Danes, who had thus escaped, fell in soon with the London squadron, and a bloody fight began, in which the Pagans lost several thousand men, and the traitor, Elfric, was obliged to leave his ship in the hands of the English, himself hardly escaping with his life.

He is betrayed by Elfric,

who saves the Danes from destruction.

The London squadron defeats the Danish fleet.

This same year the inhabitants of Anglesey received some relief from the Danish devastations, by setting up Elwal ap Meyric, a more active prince, in the room of Meredyth, who had neglected the protection of his subjects: for Elwal not only defeated the Danes, but routed Meredyth, who attempted to recover his dominions, and killed his

(1) Mr. Tyrrel supposes, through not attending to the construction of Florence's words, that the East-Angles were on the side of the Danes; "Only the Londoners, says he, meeting with the ships of the East-Angles by chance, and fighting with them, killed many thousands of the Danes." But it is plain, from the Saxon chronicle, that the London and East-Anglian squadrons were on one side: I am apt to believe them to have been the same. *Æthelred* (says the Saxon annalist) *þa gemætte se here þa sepu of East-Englum 7 of London.* If I am not mistaken, Mr. Rapin has very wisely dropped all mention of this important action.

A. D. 993. nephew, Tewdor Mawr, in a pitched battle.

The Danes renew their invasions.

The late defeat of the Danes by sea, served but to exasperate them the more, and to put them the more upon their guard; while the treachery of Ealfric, and the remissness of their government, not only dispirited the English, but gave the invaders the fairest opportunities for distressing them. Accordingly, in the year 993, we find that Anlaf (which I conceive to have been the name of a dignity among the Danes) sailed up the Thames, as far as Staines, with ninety-three sail, plundering the country on each hand: from thence he went to Sandwich, from thence to Ipswich, and from thence to Maldon. Some copies of the Saxon annals have confounded this expedition with that of the Danes, two years before, when Bridgenoth was killed near Maldon. But whatever may be in this, it is certain, that this same year was fruitful of calamities to England: for it is very probable that the Danes had great encouragement even from Ethelred's capital, since we find that, at this time, Ealfric, son of the traitor Elfric, had his eyes put out by order of Ethelred. It is unjust to suppose, that this barbarous punishment was inflicted upon him merely for paternal demerit; therefore it is most probable that the son, being in concert with the father, was treated in this manner as a punishment for his crimes. What adds strength to this conjecture, is the distance of time since the perpetration of the father's treachery; because it is most natural to believe, that if Ethelred had revenged the father's crimes upon the son, he would have done it immediately after the father's desertion: and add to this, that this same year the Danes destroyed Banborow in Northumberland, and ravaged the country. As their progress there was very rapid and successful, there is reason for believing that they were not without a correspondence among Ethelred's own subjects; and either the proof being fixed, or the suspicion falling strong, upon the young Ealfric, might be the reason of his punishment.

Ealfric's eyes put out.

Conjecture upon his punishment.

The Danes sail up the Humber.

After destroying Banborow, the Danes embarked at the mouth of the Humber, up which they sailed, spreading devastation all the way they proceeded. Yorkshire, and that part of Lincolnshire in particular called Lindsey, suffered greatly from their ravages: towns were burnt to the ground, and the most barbarous inhumanities were committed, before the English government could raise an army sufficient to check their progress. At last, a considerable body of men were sent against them, headed by three noblemen, Fræna, Godwin, and Frithegift. Our historians forbear to mention the spot where the English came up with the ravagers; but we are, in general, told, that both armies were drawn up in array, and just ready to join battle, when that of the English was abandoned by their leaders, who were all of them Danes by extraction. This produced a total rout on the part of the English; and here Brompton places the taking of

The English betrayed by their generals.

Banborow already mentioned. The same author intimates, that the Danes were encouraged to this invasion by defeating Ethelred's naval force, soon after the encounter, in which they were betrayed by Ealric; a circumstance not at all improbable. But success begetting security in the Danes, they fell, without any order, to plunder the northern counties; and leaving their ships, they straggled about, either single, or in small parties, up the country. The English, taking advantage of this, cut them off wherever they could find them, till the Danes were obliged to retreat to their ships.

A. D. 993.

The Danes defeated.

The unparalleled treachery of the English noblemen gives us a very disadvantageous idea of Ethelred's government. He came to the crown under the formidable imputation of being accessory to the murder of his brother, and had hitherto lived under the influence of his mother, who was the contriver, and perhaps the executioner, of that murder. It would have required a greater share both of political and military virtues than Ethelred was master of, to have got the better of such strong prepossessions; but, instead of that, he still improved them by his conduct. The policy of his late predecessors, in endeavouring to intermingle the Danes with the English, proved to him of fatal consequence, since the distinctions between the nations never were so much abolished, as that their descendants did not always look upon themselves as Danes, and, upon every occasion, took part with their countrymen; witness the late defections of Ethelred's admiral, and his three generals. But perhaps a greater source of his misfortunes still lay in the enmity which Dunstan and the monks entertained against his person and government. The dying imprecations of Dunstan prove too strongly that he had entered into some unlawful confederacy with his enemies; and the dissimulation with which the English Danes covered their treachery till the very moment they were coming to action, discover with what secrecy their schemes were connected. But to return to our history.

Reflection upon the state of England at this time.

About this time several differences happened between Ethelred and Richard duke of Normandy, which required the interposition of the pope. Accordingly pope John sent Leo, bishop of Treve, as his legate to Ethelred, to exhort him to make matters up. Ethelred chose to be directed in this by the assembly of his states, who were summoned upon this occasion. There the preliminaries of a peace were agreed upon, and a deputation was sent, for that purpose, to the marquis of Normandy, as he is called. This prince received the deputies very kindly, and a firm peace was concluded and sworn to between the two nations; with a proviso, that neither party should harbour the enemies of the other.

Difference between Ethelred and the duke of Normandy.

The Saxon chronicles inform us, that, about this time, Sweyn, the son of Harold, king of the Danes, destroyed the isle of Man; and then entering North Wales, fought with and killed Elwal ap Meyric, who

A. D. 995. who died without any issue, but one infant, who was afterwards prince of Wales. Sweyn then advancing, joined his forces with those of Anlaff, or Onlaff, king of Norway, who, like the Dane, had left his native seats in quest of plunder, and a more comfortable subsistence. Those two proceeded to London with ninety-four ships, with which they battered the city. It is probable they landed their men; for we are told, they made a great many assaults, but were always vigorously repulsed by the besieged. At last, after endeavouring, in vain, to set fire to the city, they raised the siege. But their ill success here enraged them so much, that they fell upon the adjacent countries with fire and sword: for we learn, that they killed all the inhabitants of Kent, Essex, and Sussex, who had the misfortune of falling into their hands, without sparing man, woman, or child. At last, they mounted part of their army on horseback, which enabled them to extend their ravages; and an universal desolation was now ready to spread all over England, when Ethelred called a meeting of his states. The subject of this meeting was to consider of the farther means how to appease the Danes. They were, at this time, almost masters of the open country, the chief towns only holding out, and those, in a little time, were likely to be so distressed as to be obliged to surrender. Their ravages had disabled the English government from taking any care of their fleet; no forces seem to have been on foot; and the English nation appears, at this juncture, to have lost all spirit and sense of injury: for we find no other effect from the deliberations of this meeting, than a message to the Danes, promising them tribute and money, provided they would discontinue their ravages. This proposal founding very agreeably to the Danes, a truce was agreed upon, and they brought their army to Southampton, where they took up their winter quarters, and raised contributions upon Ethelred's dominions of Wessex for their subsistence. All this the unfortunate king and his people were obliged to submit to; and, besides their maintenance, to pay them sixteen thousand pounds in money. But, during this truce, an incident happened which promised to procure to England some respite.

The Danes besiege London;

but are worsted.

Ethelred calls a meeting of his states.

Great distress of the English government;

who pay tribute to the Danes.

Anlaff turns Christian,

and returns to his own country.

English after Anlaff's departure; for we find no mention of him till the year 1004. But we have a remarkable passage of this prince from a northern author, which may be referred to this time: he tells us, "that he made war upon his own father, Harwold the Great, whom he drove from his kingdom; but that he himself was afterwards overcome by Æric, king of Sweden. He afterwards wandered about, a miserable exile, the just reward for his crimes. He was rejected by Thruccho, the son of Haco, prince of the Normans, because he was a Pagan: and Adalred (Ethelred) the son of Edgar, remembering the mischiefs brought by the Danes upon England, repelled him with scorn. He was at length entertained, in pure compassion, by the king of the Scots for fourteen years; but he retained so deep a resentment at Ethelred's usage of him, that he studied all he could to harass his country, sometimes by his own forces, at other times by instigating others to invade it." Thus much from a northern author I have thought fit to relate of this scourge of England. And another writer, of great authority in Danish affairs, agrees with him in the main; but, with greater probability, fixes the time of Sweyn's exile to seven years; and says, that his application to the court of England was in the time of Edward the Martyr. But, as those authors generally write without the least regard to, or mention of, chronology, it will be found very difficult to ascertain particular facts from their lights.

A. D. 997. Adam Bremenfis. History of Sweyn, king of Denmark,

The tribute paid by Ethelred, and the departure of Anlaff, purchased quiet to England during the years 995 and 996: but, in the year 997, we find their fleet, which appears to have remained all this time in the harbours, or upon the coasts of England, sailing round Devonshire, and plundering both that country and Cornwall, they advanced as far as South Wales, where they likewise left the traces of their ravages. After this they proceeded as far as Watchet, where they laid all waste, demolishing the houses, and killing all the inhabitants of the country. This barbarous manner of making war still more and more dispirited the English, who forgetful of all their national glory gave their throats to the sword, while their degenerate king sought safety in not provoking his enemies by resistance. For that same year the Danes doubled the Land's-end in Cornwall, and sailing southward towards the Thames, went up as far as Lideford, burning and destroying on both hands as they proceeded along. At length they landed, and making excursions at some distance from their ships, they carried off a great deal of booty and returned on board.

The Danes renew their invasions.

The English greatly dispirited.

Farther ravages of the Danes.

Having depopulated and plundered both sides of the Thames so far as they had past, the Danes next sailed for the mouth of the river Froome. Here the country people gathered together in a body to repel them, but we know of no leaders they had, which may be the reason why the Danes were ever victorious. After extending their ravages

They come to the river Froome.

A. D. 999. therefore all over Dorsetshire they again set sail for the isle of Wight, laying the country round Southampton and all Suffex under contribution, to maintain them in provisions. The Welsh chronicle informs us, that this same year viz. 997, another body of Danes, landing again in South Wales, destroyed St. David's and killed the bishop of that see, whose name was Urgeney.

and invade South Wales.

They sail up the Thames,

and defeat the Kentishmen.

In the year 999 the Danes again failed up the Thames; but finding that their former ravages had left them nothing farther to plunder, they soon returned, and sailed up the river Medway to Rochester. Here they were opposed by the Kentishmen, who being likewise destitute of leaders, were beaten; but not till after a very sharp dispute. The enemy then getting horses to mount their infantry, penetrated a great way up the country, and laid waste all the western parts of Kent. Thus, say our historians, the English, either through their own misfortunes, or the treachery of their leaders, were every way worsted; while the Danes acquired every day new accessions of wealth and numbers.

Ethelred calls another assembly of his states, and demands a subsidy from the prince of Cumberland.

The gallant answer of that prince.

Ethelred declares war against him;

but soon makes peace.

Ethelred, finding now, by fatal experience, that forbearance was but an ineffectual way of purchasing repose, and that the Danish tumults shook all his kingdom, even to his own throne, had recourse to more vigorous counsels. Accordingly he this year called together an assembly of his states, where it was resolved to raise a strong army against the invaders; and to demand of the prince of Cumberland a subsidy for defraying the expence of the war, and reimbursing the government of England in some part of the tribute they had already paid to the Danes. Malcolm, prince of Cumberland, under Gryme, receiving this message, answered, like another Camillus, That liberty ought to be purchased not by gold, but by iron; that the tenure by which he held his dominions was to assist the king of England in person in all his wars; a condition he was ready to fulfil to the utmost of his power; but that he would contribute nothing towards buying off the chains of his country, when it was in their power still to break them. Ethelred, enraged at this answer, accused the brave prince of favouring the Danes; and, instead of making the best advantage of the generous warmth expressed by Malcolm, he declared war against him as the worst of his enemies. He then advanced with the army which had been raised against the Danes; and, after plundering part of Cumberland, was glad to make matters up with Malcolm; but upon what terms, whether by force or inclination, our historians are silent. I must not, however, omit what I find in Simeon of Durham, with regard to the transactions of this year (1). This author tells us, that Malcolm, king of the Scots (but he should rather have said Gryme) this year wasted Northumberland with a great army. Wal-

theof, earl of Northumberland, an officer at that time answering the lord-lieutenants of our counties, was then very old, and wanting forces for keeping the field, he shut himself up in Banborough; but Uthred, a brave young man, his son, getting together a body of Northumbrians and Yorkshiremen, came up with the Scotch army, which he fought, and almost destroyed, their king very narrowly escaping. Uthred then made choice of a certain number of Scots heads, the best furnished (2) with hair of any he could get, which he set up upon poles all round the walls of Durham. Ethelred hearing of the young gentleman's valour, sent for him, and rewarded it by adding all Yorkshire to the lands his father already enjoyed.

A. D. 1001. The Scots defeated.

The late meeting of the states had voted to carry on the war with vigour by sea, as well as by land, and for that purpose a strong fleet was ordered to be fitted out. Though this was the natural and the most effectual measure for relieving England from her calamities; yet Ethelred, being now at the head of his land army, seems to have neglected his naval force. The Saxon annals well account for the great progress the Danes then made.

"After the ships were ready, says that author, the officers delayed the time for sailing from day to day, oppressing the poor people from time to time; and if at any time the fleet was ready to sail, it was still put off from one time to another, while they were all this while still suffering the enemy's force to encrease. But, continues he, as soon as the enemy at any time disappeared from the coast, then our fleet was wont to set sail; so that our naval force served for no other end than to oppress the people, spend their money, and provoke the enemy." At last, however, they actually set sail; but, by this time, the Danish navy was gone over to Normandy, to the assistance of its young duke, who was in danger of being stripped of his dominions by the king of France.

Vigorous resolution of the English states; but defeated by mismanagement.

About this time Ethelred, having concluded a peace with the prince of Cumberland, thought he had now a favourable opportunity for clearing his kingdom of the Danes, and of preventing their return. He therefore ordered his ships to sail round to Westchester, where he proposed to join them with the land forces under his command, and, in conjunction, to put an end to the Danish power in the island. This scheme seemed to promise fair, and, had it succeeded, might have been attended with the effect proposed; but it was now too late in the year, and the equinoctial storms disappointed all Ethelred's efforts: for his ships were not able to come up, and all they did, during the summer, was the ravaging the isle of Anglesey, then in the hands of the Danes.

Ethelred's resolution to destroy the Danes,

which is appointed.

But, in the year 1001, the Danish fleet returning to England, took a severe revenge

(1) In Mr. Gale's edition this is marked for the year 969; but it is a palpable mistake for 999.

(2) The historian has a ludicrous circumstance here; for he says, that Uthred gave an old woman a cow for her pains in washing each Scot's face and head clean.

A. D. 1001. for the small trouble given to their country-
men in their absence. No place was either
so strong, or so sacred, as to be free of their
ravages: towns were burnt to the ground,
the inhabitants put to the sword, and the
wretched survivors (when any survived) had
all the means of subsistence taken from
them by the merciless invaders. The first
opposition they met with, was at Alton in
Hampshire. Here they were encountered
by the militia of the county, headed by
Ethelwerd, the king's high-sheriff, and other
officers of that and the neighbouring coun-
ties. The dispute was very sharp, and the
loss, on the English side, fell chiefly among
the men of distinction. The high-sheriff
already mentioned, with another high-she-
riff, Leofric, who is called geriff of Whit-
circan, or Whitchurch, in Hampshire, Wul-
pher, the bishop's thane, and Godwin, an-
other geriff, were among the number of the
slain. Of the Danes a much greater num-
ber fell, though of more ignoble rank.
But the chief leaders among the English
being now cut off, they were obliged to quit
the field, and left the Danes at liberty, with
redoubled fury, to pursue their ravages. Em-
barking again on board their vessels, they
sailed westward towards the coast of Devon-
shire, where they were joined by another
squadron of their countrymen, under the
command of one Paleg. This was one of
the traitors, who, unmindful of favour and
mercy, had made a trade of rebelling and
repenting, which the too easy temper of
Ethelred led him to forgive as oft as the
other offended. Whether he was in the
service of the Danes, or in that of Ethelred,
at this time, appears not; I am apt to be-
lieve the former. Having received this re-
inforcement, he attacked and burnt Taun-
ton, with more other good towns, says the
Saxon annalist, than we can name. The
copies of the annals here differ; for by the
printed copy, after mention is made of
Taunton being destroyed, we are told, that
a league was clapped up between the Danes
and the English; and in the next sentence,

we find hostilities renewed, without any
cause assigned. But those of Laud and
Cotton have assigned a much more probable
reason. They tell us, that the Danes hav-
ing sailed up the river Exe, besieged Ex-
mouth; but were repelled, with great loss,
through the courage and resolution of the
inhabitants. If any league or treaty was,
in this year, entered into, I should incline
to place it immediately after this miscarriage,
when we may suppose the check the Danes
received had disposed them to an accom-
modation. But whether this fact is so or
not, it is certain, that this year, after they
were driven from Exmouth, they marched
to Pea in Somersetshire in one day, where
they surprized and cut in pieces a body of
English forces, headed by Cola and Eadfig,
two of Ethelred's officers; and the day af-
ter the battle, they burnt to the ground Pen,
Clifton, and several other towns. After this,
they went over to the isle of Wight, where
they destroyed the town of Weltham, with
many other villages.

Such a train of merciless ravages threaten-
ed an extinction of the English name and
nation. They began to be formidable even
to the Danes settled in England; and the
wisest among them now contrived how to
bring about a peace. The inclinations of
Ethelred suited the same pacific views; for,
about this time, he demanded and obtained
in marriage the beautiful Elgiva, the daugh-
ter of Richard duke of Normandy. Hoping
therefore to enjoy some repose, an assembly
of the English states were convoked in the
beginning of the year 1002 (1). The chief
ministers and generals about Ethelred's per-
son, at this time, appears to have been as
follows, viz. Leoffig, an eolderman, of whom
we know little, but that he was employed
by Ethelred and his states to negotiate with
the Danes, and that he was soon after ba-
nished the kingdom for murdering one El-
fric, a high-sheriff. The next was Huna,
general of the army, by Westminster said to
have been a man of activity and courage;
but we shall soon have occasion to consider

(1) The reflections of old Hollingshed, upon this occasion, are so sensible, that I am persuaded they will give my readers pleasure. Thus says he: "Thus the state of the realm, in those days, was very miserable; for there wanted worthy chieftains to rule the people, and to chastise them when they did amiss. There was no trust in the noblemen; for every one impugned other's doing, and yet would not devise which way to deal with better likelihood. When they assembled in council, and should have occupied their heads in devising remedies for the mischief of the commonwealth, they turned their purpose unto alterations about such strifes, contentions, and quarrels as each one had against other, and suffered the general case to lie still in the dust: and if at any time there was any good conclusion agreed upon, for the withstand- ing the enemy and relief of the commonwealth, anon should the enemy be advertised thereof by such as were of alliance or consanguinity unto them: for, as Harrison, in his chronology, gathereth out of Cafton, Polichron, and others, the English blood was so mixed with that of the Danes and Britons, who were like enemies to the Englishmen, that there was almost few of the nobility and commons which had not, on the one side, a parent of some of them; whereby it came to pass, that neither the secret purposes of the king could be concealed till they might take due effect, neither their assemblies prove quiet without quarrelling and taking of parts. Many also, being sent forth with their powers one way, whilst the king went to make resistance another, did revolt unto his enemies, and turn their swords against him (as you have heard of Elfric and his accomplices, and shall read of many others): so that it was no marvel that Ethelred sped no better, and yet was he as valiant as any of his predecessors; though the monks favour him not in their writings, because he demanded aid of them toward his woes, and was nothing favourable to their lewd hypocrisy, as the same war noteth. But what is a king, if his subjects be not loyal? what is a realm, if the commonwealth be divided? By peace and concord, of small beginnings great and famous kingdoms have oft-times proceeded; whereas, by discord, the greatest kingdoms have oftener been brought to ruin. And so it proved here: for whilst private quarrels are pursued, the general affairs are utterly neglected; and whilst each nation seeketh to prefer his own alliance, the island itself is like to become a desert. But to proceed with our monastical writers. Certain, they lay all the fault on the king, saying, that he was a man given to no good exercise; he delighted in fleshly lusts and riotous banquetting, and still sought ways how to gather of his subjects what might be got as well by unlawful means as otherwise: for he would, for feigned or for very light causes, disinherit his subjects, and cause them to redeem their own possessions for great sums of money. Besides these oppressions, divers kinds of sickness vexed the people also, as the bloody-flux and hot burning agues, which then raged through the land, so that many died thereof. What through the misgovernment of the king, the treason and disloyalty of the nobility, the lack of good order and due correction amongst the people, and by such other scourges and mishaps as afflicted the English nation in that season, the land was brought into great ruin: so that where, by strength, the enemy could not be kept off, there was now no help but to appease them with money." Page 241.

A. D. 1002.

him in another light. The last I shall mention upon this occasion was Edric, whom, from an ignoble original, Ethelred had raised to the highest riches and preferments; and, as if those had been too little, he at last married him to his own daughter. This person is characterized, by our historians, as the vilest of mankind; and we are told, that his pride, falshood, and inconstancy brought about the ruin of his country.

The business of the meeting of the states.

They pay a farther tribute to the Danes.

Character of Gunnilda.

She offers herself, her husband, and her children as hostages to Ethelred.

Original of Dane-gelt.

The nuptials of Ethelred solemnized.

The perfidiousness of the Danes.

The business of the meeting of the states turned upon a proposal to allay the ravages of the Danes by paying them a farther tribute. Accordingly Leoffig was deputed by the meeting, as their commissioner, to treat with the invaders. Having gone on board their fleet, he came to an agreement, in the name of the king and his council, to pay them, in a few days, four and twenty thousand pounds; and, in the mean time, to furnish them with what provision they stood in need of. The success of this negotiation was chiefly owing to the illustrious Gunnilda, sister to Sweyn, king of Denmark. This lady had been, for some time, settled in England, and having been married to Paling, an English nobleman, had embraced the Christian religion, and looked upon herself now as an Englishwoman. Her great merit, exemplary virtue, and high quality rendered her intercession effectual both with the Danes and English. It was with the utmost grief and horror that she beheld the daily devastations of her countrymen, and their former repeated breaches of faith made it very difficult for Ethelred to conclude such a treaty with them as he could rely upon. To remove this obstacle the generous Gunnilda offered herself, her husband, and their only son for hostages. They were accepted of by Ethelred, and committed to the custody of the infamous Edric. The peace was then concluded between the English and the Danes. A new tax was laid upon the kingdom for defraying the expence of those extraordinary payments, and the money so collected was called Dane-gelt. Every hide of land, that is, as much as one plough could till in a year, was taxed twelve pence for this service; so that in effect it was a land-tax; but it threw afterwards great power into the hands of the crown, for the payment continued ever after the occasion was removed.

The Danes having received their money, the nuptials of Ethelred with the fair Norman were celebrated soon after Lent was over; tranquility began again to take place, and England to promise herself a series of unclouded days. But of little duration or avail is tranquility which fear imposes or money purchases. The Danes now found that their way to be great and rich was by being proud and cruel. The peace lately concluded changed their manners; and from being barbarous enemies they now became insolent allies. Their living on shore proved as fatal to England as their plundering on sea; nor did they seem to cultivate peace with any other view than to make it as intolerable as war. The late treaty gave them leave to

minge with the English, whose industry they eat up; whose riches they devoured, and whose families they debauched. Every subordinate Dane now assumed the state and port of an English man of quality, and lord-dane, corruptly lurdane, grew to be adopted into our language to signify a composition of pride, insolence and indolence. The picture I have drawn of those pirates is warranted by my originals; not is it offered to the public with any view of disguising the deformity of the scene I am now to open, but to give my readers a right notion of the motives upon which it was acted.

The council of England, by the little experience they had of the Danes, found that all expedients were equally unsuccessful to procure relief to their unhappy country; and being destitute of the means to enforce the observance of the late treaty, Ethelred meditated how to make use of the last arguments of kings, but in another manner than in open field. Huna, general of his troops, according to Malmesbury, greatly improved his master's dispositions for revenge; nor were plausible reasons wanting to determine him from principles, not of safety only, but of piety. He represented to Ethelred the notoriety of the Danish behaviour; that no place was free from their profanation, no man from their cruelty, nor woman from their lust: that the wives and daughters of his first noblemen were prostituted, and the best blood of the kingdom wantonly spilt when obstructing their criminal excesses: that treating was now in vain; for if it had been possible for treaties to have bound them, those now in force were sufficient: that they were as insensible of gratitude as they were fearless of resentment: that they had now such a footing in the nation as to keep, by force, what they had acquired through treachery; and that the laws of natural defence called upon Ethelred to remember what he owed to his people, now upon the point of being reduced to irretrievable slavery. As to the expediency of what he was to propose, arguments were not wanting to justify that likewise. The Danes, in all their treating and dealings with the English, had manifestly discovered that every separate body among them acted upon separate principles, and never conceived themselves to be bound by the engagements entered into by any other body of their countrymen. The former failure, therefore, of the English politics, lay in their treating at all with such a set of men who could be considered in no other light than as a set of pirates and robbers; and their submitting to the present force, ought to bind no longer than the vanquished had an opportunity of shaking it off. The history of Boadicea, and her massacre of the Romans, perhaps were not wanting upon this occasion; and though our historians mention it here, yet I must be of opinion, that the provocation given to Ethelred by the Danes, was infinitely more irritating and keen, than that given to the Britons, under Boadicea, by the Romans, who

A. D. 1002.

Deliberations of the English councils.

Ethelred determines to destroy the Danes.

He is assisted in his resolution by Huna his general.

His reasons.

A. D. 1002. who lived by the laws of regulated policy, and were the first of all mankind, as the Danes were the last.

Ethelred resolves upon the massacre,

But all those representations, perhaps, would not have determined the indolent Ethelred to have come to the vigorous resolution he soon after executed, had not his general told him, that the Danes had an intention of taking from him his life and kingdom, of destroying all the nobility, and of bringing the nation into a state of absolute subjection to themselves. All these motives, at last, determined Ethelred to strike the first blow, by commanding a general massacre of all the Danes in England. But I can see no reason for ranking, with some authors, all the Mercian, Northumbrian, and East-Anglian Danes into this number. Those, by long continuance in the island, were now become naturalized; and to have attempted them must have destroyed the whole project.

which extends only to those who were guilty of the late ravages.

The Danes who were devoted by this order, were they who had lately been guilty of the terrible ravages which England had suffered; and the singularity of their manners, religion, dress, and language, sufficiently pointed them out.

Sends circular letters for that purpose.

The fatal resolve being now fixed, Ethelred commanded letters to be privately sent to all his officers throughout his dominions, with an order inclosed, that, upon the feast of St. Brice, all the Danes in England should be slain, for this reason, as it was expressed in the order; "because the king had information that they endeavoured to deprive him, and all his great and wise men, of their lives, and to seize the kingdom to themselves without any opposition." The order was punctually, and therefore barbarously, executed. The oppressed English, mindful of the miseries they had suffered, gave that day a loose to all their innate hatred of the Danes. Their rage was directed against the very species of the Danes; for women and children fell indiscriminately in the general massacre, which, by what we learn from Huntingdon, was executed in one night. At London a great number of the Danes fled, for protection, to a church in that city; but there they found no sanctuary. The enraged English, deaf to every motive but revenge, broke in upon them, and butcher'd man, woman, and child, even upon the altar. Among the other sufferers upon this occasion, was the generous Gunnilda, whom we left in custody of the vile Edric. This monster, taking advantage of the general orders given for the massacre, ordered her husband and her son, who were in his custody likewise, to be murdered. At last the assassins came up to Gunnilda, who received them with a more than manly resolution. Betraying no signs of fear, since all she could wish to live for was already gone before her, she calmly, and without any alteration of her countenance, laid before her butcher the certain consequences of murdering, in so inhuman a manner, a person of her rank, who was dear to her brother, a great king, and one who had in his hands the means of sure and speedy vengeance.

They are put in execution with great barbarity.

The Danes murdered in the churches.

The death of Gunnilda.

Her representations having no effect, she bravely submitted to her fate, which, by Edric's orders, was to be run through with four lances; preserving in her face, says my author, when dead, the same noble contempt for death which it wore when alive.

A. D. 1003.

Notwithstanding the severity of the order for the late massacre, and the strictness with which it was executed, some Danish young men, wisely thinking that a ship would afford them more sure protection than a church, got on board a vessel in the river upon the first intimation of the massacre, and setting sail, they soon reached the coasts of Denmark. Sweyn was then in possession of that crown, and seemed to have laid aside all thoughts of making any more expeditions in person. The news, however, of this barbarous massacre roused him to all his innate hatred of the English nation; and the blood of his sister, so faithlessly and ignominiously shed, demanded a speedy vengeance.

Some Danes escape from the massacre,

who inform Sweyn of the massacre.

To make it the more sure, as we are told by Matthew of Westminster, he not only ordered all the men at arms in his kingdom to repair to a general rendezvous of his troops, but sent messengers, with letters, all over the continent, inviting the soldiers of fortune in every country to join his standards, promising them high rewards in the plunder of England, or, if they pleased, a settlement in the country when conquered. The Danes required no other spur to their revenge, than the bare representation of the massacre which their countrymen had suffered; a general ardour ran through the whole race to revenge it; and, in a very short time, Sweyn got together a fleet of above three hundred well-appointed vessels.

He raises a great army to revenge it;

In the year 1003, Sweyn arrived with his fleet upon the coast of Cornwall, where he landed, and marched up to attack Exeter. This important city, which had so often baffled the attempts of the invaders, was held for Ethelred by one Hugh, a countryman of the queen's, who, by her interest, had been made governor of the place. As military promotions from court-merit are seldom successful, so this person proved unequal to his great trust. The place was taken either through the carelessness or cowardice of the governor; and the Danes, after plundering it, laid it level with the ground. This alarmed Ethelred, whose politics, as usually happens, were as weak as they were bloody. He had, by this time, been simple enough to restore to his favour the traitorous Elfric, formerly duke of Mercia, and whose son's eyes he had lately put out. The inhabitants of Wiltshire and Hampshire taking arms, formed a considerable body, and advanced, with great alacrity, to fight the Danes. Had this spirit been encouraged, it might have been attended with good effects; but, instead of that, Ethelred put at their head Elfric, who perhaps solicited the command on purpose to betray it: for when both armies were drawn up against one another and ready to engage, Elfric, feigning himself sick, baulked their courage and extinguished their ardour. This

and invades England.

He takes Exeter,

and destroys it.

Ethelred raises an army,

which is betrayed by Elfric.

A. D. 1006.

Sweyn's progress in England.

He comes to Norwich,

which he burns and destroys.

The East-Anglians capitulate,

but are betrayed by the Danes.

Ulfkytel attempts to revenge their perfidy,

but he is defeated.

A famine in England.

The Danes return home.

Ethelred punishes some of his nobility.

The Danes return.

They are opposed by Ethelred,

being soon made known to the Danes, they charged the English, and put them to the rout. So true it is, says my author, that when the general's heart fails, his army is confounded. Sweyn having this proof of irresolution and cowardice among the English, marched to Wilton, and then to old Sarum, both which places he burnt; and from thence he marched to his vessels, and going on board, we have no mention of him the remaining part of that year.

In 1004, Sewyn came to Norwich, says my authority, with his fleet; by which it would seem, that the river there was then navigable. This city he likewise burnt and destroyed; and then he prepared to march into East-Anglia. Ulfkytel was then governor of that province; but in no condition to oppose the Danes. He called together his council, and laying before them the present situation of his affairs, with the unprovided state of the country, they resolved to purchase peace, which they did upon stipulated terms; but the Danes, as usual, having got the money, neglected performance of the conditions, and stole away in their ships to Thetford. Ulfkytel resenting this breach of faith, and hearing they were on shore at Thetford, which lay within his government, sent expresses to order the inhabitants to surprise, burn, and sink the Danish ships, while their crews were ashore. Had those orders been obeyed, they might have greatly distressed the invaders; but the English wanting spirit to put them in execution, the Danes, in one night, laid the town in ashes. In the mean time, Ulfkytel, in hopes that his orders were obeyed, had drawn together all the forces he could raise, to attack the Danes; but they being greatly superior to the English in numbers, kept possession of the field of battle, after a very obstinate dispute, in which many of the English nobility were left dead upon the spot.

About this time a terrible famine began to afflict England, owing not so much to the inclemency of the seasons, as to the uninterrupted ravages of the Danes. England, says Florence, had never before experienced the like distress; but it was attended with this happy consequence in her favour, that it obliged Sweyn and his Danes to return home about the year 1005.

The departure of the Danes left Ethelred at liberty to punish some of his great men, who had been unfaithful to their allegiance. One Wulfgeat is mentioned upon this occasion, as being deprived of all his honours; and one Wulfeth had his eyes put out by order of Ethelred.

But after Midsummer, in the year 1006, the Danes again landed at Sandwich, and renewing their barbarities, filled the whole country with horror and desolation. Ethelred, upon this, raised the militia of Wessex and Mercia, and all the autumn was spent in observing the motions of the Danes; but the necessary hands for getting in the harvest, after the late famine, being thereby taken away, and the number of useless

mouths increased, our historians observe, that their own army was as detrimental to the English as that of the Danes. Neither was this unexperienced, undisciplined militia of any service in checking the ravages of the invaders; for they still continued their excursions, killing and plundering wherever they went. Winter rendering it impracticable any longer to keep the field, the English returned home, while the Danes retired to the isle of Wight with all their booty.

But about Christmas, while the English never suspected any such matter, they came over into Hampshire, in quest of provisions; and from thence they marched into Berkshire, as far as Reading, burning all the beacons, destroying and plundering all the way they marched. From Reading they marched to Wallingford; from thence to Aston, in that neighbourhood; from thence to Cuckamsley-hill in Berkshire, all the way by land; and from thence they returned another way back to their ships.

The English government, in the mean time, made shift to draw together a body of troops, which rendezvoused at Kennet in Wiltshire, where they endeavoured to intercept a body of the Danes, who were laden with plunder, as they returned to their vessels. The Wiltshiremen are branded, by our annalist, upon this occasion; for the English troops were immediately routed, and the Danes suffered unmolested to carry their booty on board their ships. All this while the degenerate Ethelred was keeping his Christmas in Shropshire, as being the most distant from the alarms that were then filling all corners of his dominions; but the tumults of war, even there, breaking in upon his pleasures, and accounts coming, that his hereditary dominions presented now only one continued scene of misery and desolation, he got together his council. They had often already experienced of how little avail it was for the English to bribe their invaders; but, notwithstanding this, they could find no other immediate expedient for saving their country from utter ruin. A resolution, therefore, being come to, of paying the Danes an additional tribute, messengers were dispatched to intimate the same to the Danes; and that, besides the money paid them, they should receive from the English as much provisions as might subsist them while in that country. The Danes, seeming to be satisfied with those terms, withdrew their troops from plundering, and the country, for some time, gained respite.

In the beginning of the year 1007, thirty thousand pounds were paid to the Danes, in consequence of the convention entered into last year; and about the same time the famous Edric was made duke of Mercia. I have already hinted at his character, which is penned by our historians with an acrimony unusual to their writings. Every worthy man was the object, and every virtuous action the motive, of his enmity. Alfhelm, a nobleman of great merit, was, at this time, in high reputation with the people. This was

A. D. 1007.

but without success.

The Danes invade Hampshire and Berkshire.

The English raise an army.

but are baffled by the Danes.

Ethelred calls together his council.

who resolve to pay the Danes a further tribute.

Edric made duke of Mercia.

A. D. 1009.

was sufficient for Edric to devote him to destruction. For this purpose he invited him to an entertainment at Salisbury. Alfhelm, too credulously accepting the invitation, came, and having stayed two or three days, was carried out by Edric upon pretence of hunting: but no sooner was the unhappy guest come to the wood where they were to hunt, than a notorious assassin (1), one Godwin, who had been bribed to the execrable deed by Edric, suddenly set upon him, and put him to death. But his resentment did not stop here: for soon after Wulfheage and Ulfgeat, the two sons of the unhappy Alfhelm had their eyes put out, at Cotham, by order of Ethelred.

He assassinates Alfhelm.

Ethelred applies to restore the marine. Taxes for that purpose.

The fleet finished,

and rendezvous at Sandwich.

The short respite which England had got by the late convention, put Ethelred upon consulting the most proper means of raising the heavy contributions paid to the Danes, and of securing his own dominions from the like ravages in time to come. It easily suggested to him, that no other expedient could be so successful for this purpose as his keeping up a strong naval force. As this could not be done without great expence, every hundred and ten hides of land were ordered to provide and maintain yearly one ship, and every eight hides to provide a helmet and a breast-plate. The people, sensible of the advantages they were to derive from those regulations, contributed cheerfully their several quotas. Thus all the year 1008 was spent in making those regulations.

In the year 1009 the fleet was finished, and that so well and so compleatly, that England never before had seen the like. The first thing done, after manning and victualling this navy, was to bring it to a general rendezvous at Sandwich, where they lay ready, upon every occasion, to defend the kingdom against the invasions of the Danes. Such a fleet, and such vigorous preparations, under a prince more beloved than Ethelred was, might have made him glorious, and his people happy; but, fatally for both, his government was destitute of authority, which is ever founded upon virtue, and therefore the great had every encouragement to prosecute their animosities among themselves. The intermixtures between the English and the Danes likewise produced affections, which proceeding to correspondences, at last often ended in downright conspiracies against the state and crown of England. The frequent intercourses between both people, on account of the many treaties set on foot, promoted such practices, and would have rendered it very unsafe for a firmer government than that of Ethelred was to have called the authors to account.

Wulfnoth accused by Brightric.

All those reasons fatally co-operating among the great, rendered the zeal of the commons but of little effect; and, at last, defeated all the ends proposed by fitting out so chargeable a navy. For Edric had a brother of equal falsehood and ambition with himself, whose name was Brightric. This person, presuming upon his own and his bro-

ther's interest at court, trumped up a false accusation against one of Ethelred's officers, whose name was Wulfnoth, a man of courage, but who stood in the way of the favourite's ambition. Wulfnoth, finding his interest unequal to that of his antagonist, and being no stranger either to the wickedness of Brightric, or to the weakness of Ethelred, took a resolution of saving himself by flight. It is very probable that he had been bred to the sea, and that he had a commission under Ethelred in the navy, where his credit seems to have been very high: for he found means to debauch twenty ships of the English fleet from their duty; and with those he set sail, resolving to subsist by piracy. His success was equal to the boldness and wickedness of his attempt: he so greatly distressed all the navigation upon the southern coasts, that no ship got into harbour without being rifled by his freebooters, who soon, through practice, became the most expert of all sailors.

A. D. 1009.

The former turns pirate.

As the quarrel between Brightric and Wulfnoth was personal, the public not thinking themselves interested enough in it to bear patiently all the losses through Wulfnoth's piracies, they began loudly to condemn Brightric. The latter, not caring to trust to court power against popular odium, took a resolution of conquering all opposition by one bold important action. Information was given to the English fleet, that Wulfnoth and his freebooters lived and acted in so unguarded a manner, as that they might all of them be easily surprized and destroyed. Brightric resolved to suffer none to share with him in the glory and merit which might attend so seasonable a piece of service to his country; he, without communicating his design to any, gave orders for eighty stout vessels to be immediately got ready, and to put to sea, being almost sure of taking his enemy either dead or alive. He might, perhaps, have succeeded in this, had it not been for a violent tempest which arose, and, before he could get up with his enemy, stranded, wrecked, or sunk most of his squadron; while Wulfnoth, coming up with his force, destroyed and burnt their feeble remains who had rode out the storm.

Brightric attempts to surprize him,

but is himself destroyed.

Brightric, being thus baffled in all his hopes of glory and revenge, the news of the miscarriage reached Ethelred and his council. The ill success that attended it struck them with the strongest consternation; and every one vied with another in condemning the rash, ill-advised conduct of Brightric. The result of all their deliberations ended in black despair; and Ethelred was the first to return to his capital, leaving the remainder of his fleet to shift for itself. Thus ended, ingloriously, the hopes of England; and thus, foolishly, was played away the last stake she had for her liberties; and all through the dissention of their rulers; "for such was Homer. "the will of heaven."

The Danes, all this time awed by the naval preparations of England, had laid aside

(1) Mr. Tyrrel has mistaken the sense of Florence in this passage.

A. D. 1009.
The Danes
return;
and raise con-
tributions in
Kent.

the thoughts of renewing their invasions; but no sooner did they behold the fatal catastrophe, than they put to sea, and landed with a large fleet at Sandwich. From thence they marched to Canterbury, with full resolutions of destroying that seat of piety; but the inhabitants deprecating their wrath, the Danes were contented with a pecuniary consideration. This gave encouragement to the inhabitants of East Kent, who purchased their peace with a present of three thousand pounds; a mighty sum in those days. The Danes then sailed to the isle of Wight, where, as well as in Suffex, Hampshire, and Berkshire, they filled every quarter with desolation and misery. Ethelred again had recourse to the sense of his people, to know what was to be done in this extremity; and it would appear as if some of Alfred's laws had been now put in force: for we find, that the resolution come to, on this occasion, was, that every country should defend itself with its own militia.

Ethelred again calls an assembly of his states.

Ethelred surprises the Danes;

but is traitorously advised to suffer them to escape.

The Danes again invade Kent. Their progress and ravages.

But even this precaution was ineffectual, under a degenerated, enervated government; for we find the Danes still continuing their ravages and progress. Their desire of plunder, however, gave Ethelred, who still kept the field with a body of troops, great opportunities of cutting them off. They were headed by three leaders, Turketil, Hemming, and Eclaff; but to men who are blinded by avarice, all command is in vain. Ethelred, not chusing to attack them in a body, watched his opportunity so well, that he got between them and their ships, as they were laden with plunder, but marching in no regular order. And now one secure and seasonable blow might have gained unhappy England at least a truce with misery, had not the Danes found, in the councils of this infatuated prince, a friend to save them. This was the perfidious Edric, who, by his perplexed harangues, says Simeon of Durham, so confounded the measures of Ethelred, that the enemy escaped, and thus the English lost that irretrievable opportunity. The reasons the traitor brought for this advice were, the danger of provoking so powerful a nation, and the wisdom of generously suffering them to escape; as if generosity had been capable of touching minds like theirs.

The event soon discovered how foolish and perfidious this counsel was; for in the middle of winter the Danes again past over into Kent, where they took up their winter-quarters near the Thames, and laid all the neighbouring counties (Essex in particular) under contribution for their subsistence. Sometimes they threatened, and at other times, as they were masters by sea, they actually attacked the city of London; but her brave inhabitants ever repelled them with great loss. After Christmas they penetrated into the county of Bucks, and Oxfordshire. As barbarians are ever the declared enemies of learning, we need not wonder that the seat of the muses mourned their fury upon this occasion; for Oxford was burnt to the ground: though Florence says this did not happen till next year. Perhaps they would

have extended their ravages farther, had it not been for the information they had, that an army was raising at London to intercept them. Upon this news they returned, and passed the Thames at Staines; from whence, before any English troops could overtake them, they gained the sea-coasts, ravaging all the way they marched, where their ships lay ready to take them on board, in case they had been attacked by a superior enemy.

In the spring of the year 1010, we find the Danes refitting their vessels in Kent; and soon after going on board, they landed at Ipswich, where they surprized Ulfkytel, the English general, who lay there encamped with his army. This general had the misfortune to have one Thurkytel Myranheafod, or Thurkytel the Ant-headed, either joined with him in commission, or commanding immediately under him. This Thurkytel proved an arrant coward; for no sooner did the Danes land, than he improved the consternation the English were under at their sudden appearance, and in his own person set an example of shameful flight, which was followed by a total slaughter of the English army. In this rout fell many noblemen of the best blood in England; and common soldiers, says the annalist, without number. By this victory the Danes were enabled to convert their infantry into cavalry; for we find that, having mounted their foot upon horses, they this year finished the conquest of East-Anglia, which they spoiled and burned for three months. They then marched into the fenny country, where they destroyed whatever fell in their way. They afterwards proceeded as far as Thetford and Cambridge, which they burnt to the ground. They then turned southward towards the Thames, and got on board their ships: but having already destroyed all upon the sea coasts and the banks of the rivers, it was not long before they again came on shore, and marching westward, they renewed their ravages in Oxfordshire and Buckinghamshire, and all along the river Ouse till they got to Bedford, and from thence to Tempsford; burning, says the annals, all the towns in their way.

A. D. 1010.

They defeat the English at Ipswich.

They spoil East-Anglia,

Oxfordshire and Buckinghamshire.

In the mean time, the heart of every man in England appears to have failed within him. Ethelred's forces were without discipline, and commanded by men who were void of faith. Their marches were so ill regulated, that while the enemies were in the south or north, the others were in the east and west; and thus the soldiers who would have fought like Englishmen had they been properly commanded, finding themselves betrayed, losing all spirit and sense of duty to themselves and their country, deserted in such numbers, that before the summer was over there was not a body of them together sufficient to keep the field. This desertion gave the Danes all the opportunities they could have wished for, of returning to their ships, and sharing among themselves their large plunder.

The miserable state of England at this time.

At last Ethelred once more summoned a meeting of his states; but so great were the public

A. D. 1011.
Ethelred summons another meeting of his states, but without any good effect.

The Danes burn Southampton.

The state of England in 1010.

Another meeting of the states.

The great conquests of the Danes in England.

They besiege and take Canterbury.

public distractions, and so confused were their councils, that nothing was finally resolved on. This produced an universal disregard to the national service without doors: for we are told, that no generals could be found to raise any forces, but every one shifted for himself by flight, nor would one county assist another. Before the end of November, the Danish army had advanced as far as Southampton, which they took and burnt to the ground, as they did most of the places in its neighbourhood. Then, laden with plunder, they passed over the Thames into Ethelred's patrimonial dominions of Wessex; from thence into Kent, still marking their progress by their ravages; and meeting with no resistance in their dismal march, they returned to their ships about Midsummer next year. Such was the miserable state of England during the year 1010, under an inglorious king, a divided nobility, and a stubborn, unnatural, and ungrateful clergy, who refused from their fulness to contribute in defence of that crown and constitution to which they owed their all. Add to this, that the ravages of the Danes begot a scarcity of bread, which was attended with frequent robberies all over the land; so that every thing seemed to threaten an extinction of the English name.

In the year 1011, the king again summoned a meeting of his people, and could fall upon no better expedient to prevent their entire destruction, than by pacifying the Danes with offers of provision and money. It appears that the pretence of the invaders for renewing their ravages, was the non-payment of the subsidies stipulated by former conventions; and by this time they had made themselves absolute masters of all East-Anglia, Essex, Middlesex, Oxfordshire, Cambridgeshire, with the counties of Hertford, Buckingham, Bedford, and Huntingdon; as likewise most part of Kent, Suffex, the town of Hastings, and all Surrey, Berkshire, Hampshire, with great part of Wiltshire. Being thus, in effect, masters of the greatest and most powerful part of England, they seemed to lend an ear to the proposals of the English states, and accepted of the money. But for all this they did not discontinue their devastations; for they still harassed the country, and carried off whatever their former ravages had left to the miserable English, whom they generally either killed or made prisoners.

That same year, after autumn, they laid siege to Canterbury, which they took, through the treachery of a clergyman, after twenty days siege. There the archbishop, and several men of quality among the English, were made prisoners. Osbern, in his life of this archbishop, tells us, that, upon the Danes first appearing before the city, he sent to move their compassion in behalf of the great number of poor innocent people who must suffer if the siege continued; but the barbarians, deaf to all his remonstrances, fell to battering the walls; and throwing fire-balls into the city, which thereby catching the flames, the treacherous El-

meric (for so the clergyman was named) took that opportunity of letting the enemy into the city. The calamities which this city suffered, after being taken, are unspeakable. It was both rich and populous; and because it was the seat of the metropolitan and religion, the Pagans therefore were the more cruel and barbarous; for they decimated the whole of them in such a manner, as to kill nine in ten; so that there remained only four monks, and eight hundred laymen alive. Our historians likewise add, that the Danes used several kinds of torture in putting the English to death; and an epidemical distemper soon after seizing them, was a proof of the divine displeasure at their putting to death so many religious and innocents. Of this distemper we are told about two thousand Danes perished.

Some part of the tribute stipulated to be paid to the Danes the year before remaining yet unpaid, a general council was held, in the year 1012, for raising the money, which was about eight thousand pounds. In the mean time the barbarians kept the archbishop of Canterbury prisoner on board their ships, and endeavoured to extort from him a large ransom; but that prelate neither would advance any money himself, for that purpose, nor suffer any body else to be bound for the payment of it. The sum they demanded was three thousand pounds in silver; and either his inability, or resolution, so much incensed the brutal Danes, that many of them getting drunk, they brought him before their council, where they put him to an ignominious and painful death.

This year a favourable accident happened for England; and, had it been properly improved, it might have wrought out her deliverance from the power of the Danes. For it appears, from the strain of our annals, though not in express terms, that, soon after the payment of the late tribute, the Danes grew at first licentious, and licentiousness producing discord, their army separated, while five and forty of their ships submitted to Ethelred, their crews promising to stand by him against all invaders, provided he furnished them with provisions and apparel.

This seasonable defection, instead of being improved by Ethelred, was the occasion of his plunging into new luxuries, while his degenerate noblemen soothed his fatal lethargy. Thurkytel the Dane, who was at this time in amity with Ethelred, was alarmed at the revolt of so considerable a body of his countrymen, and the looseness of discipline among the rest. He was afraid lest, if Ethelred should shake off his indolence, all their footing here might be endangered, and sent the most pressing letter to Sweyn, again to sail over to England, and to finish his conquests in such a manner as might be most durable. He represented to him, in the strongest terms, the inactivity of Ethelred, his vicious course of life, his unpopularity, and the general cowardice of the natives, now daunted by repeated calamities.

A. D. 1012.

Their cruelties.

More money paid to them.

They put to death the archbishop.

Part of the Danish fleet revolt to Ethelred.

Ethelred plunges into new luxuries.

Which encourages a new invasion.

A. D. 1013.

Sweyn again
lands in Eng-
land ;subdues
Northumber-
land.Its inhabi-
tants pay him
homage,as does almost
all England.The Mercians
and the Lon-
doners hold
out.They are at-
tacked by the
Danes.

The Dane needed no great sollicitation to what he so earnestly wished for ; and, in the year 1013, he arrived at Sandwich with a strong fleet. He then set sail round East-Anglia, a country which, of all others, was most disposed to favour him, and at last landed in the mouth of the Humber. I shall here make Simeon of Durham my chief guide, both because there is no material difference between him and the annals, and because he is more particular than our other historians ; though it must be owned that Malmesbury seems to confound the time of the two expeditions made by Sweyn. Northumberland was then governed by Uthred, who being of Danish extraction, set, in his own person, the first example of treachery to Ethelred. It does not appear, from history, that the Danes, upon this occasion, carried their usual ravages into Northumberland ; which perhaps was owing to a particular convention between Sweyn and Uthred : for Malmesbury not only tells us, that the subjection of Northumberland was effected without bloodshed ; but we learn, from other writers, that Sweyn, after touching at the mouth of the Humber, sailed up the Trent, and landed at Gainfborough. To this place Uthred, and the chief people of Northumberland, repaired, and paid their allegiance to Sweyn. They were followed by all the inhabitants of Lindsey and Lincolnshire ; with those of the Five Towns, as they are called by our historians. By these we are to understand Leicester, Lincoln, Nottingham, Stamford and Derby, which were wrested from the Danes by Edmund, in the year 942 ; and, soon after, all England, to the north of Watling-street, gave hostages in submission to the Danish power. The progress of Sweyn, after this, seems to have been very rapid. As our historian is so silent, with regard to any ravages committed by Sweyn against those who voluntarily submitted, I am apt to believe, that his maxim was to act with severity only against those who held out.

The Mercians, and the inhabitants of London, as they were, at this time, the freest, they were consequently the bravest, of the English ; against them, therefore, the Dane bent his chief fury. For the first use he made of his new conquests, was to mount great part of his army on horseback, and to order the inhabitants to bring in magazines of provisions for their use. He then committed the care of his fleet to his son Canute, and put on board it all the hostages he had received from the northern counties. He then levied a select body of troops, which he incorporated with his own army. This was a wise and a successful expedient. Those who had submitted, had, for the most part, their veins filled with Danish blood, their language being neither dissimilar, nor their

manners averse, to those of the invaders. Another effect which this measure had, was to render the English who held out, and Sweyn's new subjects, irreconcilable enemies ; so that there was the less danger of the latter returning to their allegiance.

Every thing being now ready for Sweyn's expedition into the south of England, he published, at the head of his army, his intention of marching into Mercia ; with orders, that neither sex nor age should be spared ; that the lands should be plundered, the towns burnt to the ground, and the churches rifled, of those who should resist. Those orders being obeyed with too melancholy preciseness, he found less resistance than he expected, and marched onwards to Oxford, which immediately fell into his hands. Having taken hostages of the inhabitants, he next advanced to Winchester, where he met with the like success, and exacted the like terms. Being master of those two important places, he thought himself secure in all that quarter ; and then he led his army towards London, where Ethelred had shut himself up, the taking of which, he conceived would finish the conquest of England. The progress of this expedition is described, by Malmesbury, in a manner truly classical, and with a spirit truly English ; I will, therefore, take the liberty to grace these pages with a translation of his words (1) : " The Londoners alone, says he, shut their gates against the invaders, in defence of their lawful sovereign, who had trusted himself to their walls. The Danes, on the one hand, making stronger efforts from this consideration, made hope of glory an incentive to courage ; while, on the other, the Londoners rushed upon death for liberty, thinking, that never could they merit forgiveness, should they give up their sovereign, who had thrown himself upon their protection. Thus both sides engaging with the utmost fury, the fairer cause was crowned with victory, through the amazing valour of the citizens ; each inhabitant making his prince the witness of his toils, and thinking, that, for him, death would be glorious (2)."

The brave Londoners, having got the victory, obliged the Dane to raise the siege with such precipitation, that great part of his army was pushed into the Thames, where they perished ; while he himself, with the shattered remains, retired to Bath, after touching at Wallingford. It appears that, in the late siege, Thurkytel, the Danish admiral, was upon the side of the English, and actually commanded a fleet upon the Thames, which did great service to Ethelred. This conduct is easily to be accounted for, when we consider, that most, or all, of the great officers among the Danes were

A. D. 1013.

Sweyn takes
Oxford,and besieges
London ;but is repulsed
by the citizens
with great
loss.

(1) Soli Londonienses regem legitimum intra mœnia tutantes portas occluserunt. Dani contra ferocius afflicentes, spe gloriæ virtutem alebant. Oppidani in mortem pro libertate ruebant, nullam sibi veniam futuram arbitantes, si regem dederent, quibus ipse vitam suam commiserat. Ita cum utrinque acriter certaretur, justior causa victoriam habuit civibus magna ope conantibus, dum unusquisque sudores suos principi olentare, et pro eo pulchrum putaret emori. Hostium pars prostrata, pars in flumine Tamesi necata, quod in precipiti furore pontem non expectavissent. Lacero agmine petit Swanus Bathoniam.

(2) Mr. Rapin, very candidly, takes very little notice of this action, which does so much honour to the city of London.

A. D. 1013. soldiers of fortune, and knew no other allegiance than what interest or conveniency prescribed. Thurkytel was one of those; and being disobliged with Sweyn, either because he had undervalued his services or broken his engagements, he took part with Ethelred.

He renews
his ravages.

Sweyn's late repulse at London exasperating his soldiers, they renewed all their ravages as they marched along. This struck such a terror into the English, that Ethelmar, earl of Cornwall, with most of the West-Saxon nobility, repaired to Sweyn, and gave him hostages for their fidelity. That prince did not now, as formerly, appear in the light of a robber, plundering the country to-day, and marching off to-morrow, as the fear of superior force, or the prospect of fresh booty, gave occasion; but as a monarch, who was resolved to subdue what he attacked, and to hold what he subdued. Having now reduced all England, London excepted, into his power, or over-awed it with his arms, he took upon him the port and majesty of an English monarch, and was acknowledged as such by the English in general. He then went on board his ships, as if designing to bring fresh forces from the continent, and to make his conquests still more permanent, by planting England with his own hereditary subjects. Ethelred finding now no leisure, through the tumults of war, for indulging himself in his pleasures, resolved to take this opportunity, while Sweyn was intent upon some other expedition, of retiring from danger. William of Malmesbury writes as if this inglorious resolve had determined the Londoners, who were ashamed of their sovereign's degeneracy, to submit to Sweyn. This is much more probable than the confused accounts we have of this matter from Simeon and the annalists, who yet do not contradict the fact. The Londoners, says Malmesbury, would have still held out, though all England had now submitted to Sweyn, had not Ethelred ingloriously aban-

doned them; for the dastardly prince, measuring the fidelity of others by his own demerits, left them exposed to all the fury of the Enemy, by a shameful flight; therefore they followed the example of their other countrymen. They were indeed gallant men, nay, such as Mars himself, continues the same author, would not have thought despicable enemies in the field, had they been but properly commanded.

Ethelred, having thus shamefully abandoned his capital and such of his subjects as had continued faithful to him in the worst of times, fled by stealth to Southampton. Here he got on board his fleet, which, instead of encountering the enemy, who was now laying the nation under farther contributions for subsistence, sailed away for the Thames. Arriving at Greenwich, he demanded provisions for the subsistence of his navy; and, in case of refusal, Thurkytel, his admiral, threatened the inhabitants of London with military execution (1). Soon after, he first sent his queen over to her brother in Normandy, with his two sons, Edward and Alfred, and all the treasure he could amass, and then set sail for the isle of Wight, leaving Thurkytel, with a strong squadron at Greenwich. Ethelred, when he came to Wight, called together the few men of any rank who still followed his fortunes, and, in a pathetic speech, laid before them the present state of his affairs. He represented to them, that "he, who once in his life was a great and flourishing prince, was now reduced to the condition of a vagabond and a beggar; a condition the more deplorable, in that misfortune is aggravated by the reflection of being once possessed of happiness." He then told them, "That England had been enslaved not so much by the swords of the Danes, as by the perfidy of her own sons. That the handful he had now with him, though they had bravely abandoned all that was dear to them, in order to follow his fortunes, were yet reduced

A. D. 1013.

Ethelred abandons his subjects,

and flies to Southampton.

Sends over his queen to France.

His speech to his followers.

(1) It falls within the province of an English historian to give his reader a view of the naval force of England, and the means of supporting it, from the words of the excellent Mr. Selden, as I find them in his *Mare Clausum*.—Here follow next the tributes and duties of vassals, concerning the maintenance of the navy, or guard of the sea, which are evidences also of that sea-dominion which was in the time of the English Saxons. I call those tributes, which were wont to be levied for the reinforcing of the navy, and for provision of victuals for the seamen; of which kind were those that were levied, according to the value of men's estates in land, for the setting forth of ships in the time of king Ethelred: for, at that time, whosoever possessed three hundred and ten cassatos, or hides of land, was charged with the building of one ship; and they were all rated proportionably, after this manner, who were owners of more or less hides, or of part of an hide; as [MS. A. 1008, in Bibliotheca Cottoniana] Marianus Scotus, Hoveden, and Florentius, do all tell us in the very same words. Ethelred, king of England, say they, gave strict command, that one galley should be charged upon three hundred and ten cassati, but a coat of armour and an helmet upon nine, and that ships should be built throughout all England; which being made ready he victualled, and manned them with choice soldiers, and appointed their rendezvous at the port of Sandwich, to secure the bounds of his kingdom from the irruptions of foreigners. But [Histor. Minor. MS. in Bibliotheca Cottoniana] Henry of Huntingdon, as also Matthew Paris and Florilegus, speaking of the same thing, say, the king charged one ship upon three hundred and ten hides of land throughout all England, also a coat-armour and helmet upon eight hides. Then Huntingdon tells what an hide doth signify; But an hide, in English, saith he, is so much land as a man can till with one plough for a year. Others there are that determine otherwise, touching the quantity of an hide; and most certain it is, that it was very various, according to the different custom of countries, but the same with cassata and (a caruc of land, i. e. as much as may be tilled by one plough in a year) carucata. Indeed the English Saxon chronicles of the abbey of [MS. in Bibliotheca Cottoniana] Abingdon, do likewise mention hides here expressly. In the year *MCVIII*, *þær be bæd se Eln̄* (say they) *man sceolde open call, Ængelejn searu fæstlice p̄nean þ̄ is ðonn of þrum hund Bream 7 of Týnam æenne scegð, 7 of viii Bream helm 7 byrnas.* That is to say, the king gave command for the building of ships carefully throughout all England, to wit, that one galley should be charged three hundred and ten hides of land, but a coat-armour and helmet upon eight hides. And it was usual, according to the laws of that age, that the richer sort should be taxed by the number of hides, as we see also throughout that Breviary of England, or the book of rates called [MSS. penes Camerarios Scaccarii] *Domesday*, which was first written in the time of king William. Huntingdon adds also, that there never had been so great a number of ships, in the time of any one, in Britain; which is testified in like manner by the Saxon chronicles before cited. So that, that most numerous navy of king Edgar, mentioned in the former chapter, was not to be compared with this. But yet that most learned man, and great light of our island, Mr. [in Brit. p. 114] Camden, hath so cast up the number of hides throughout England, out of the ancient records of that age, that they do not exceed two hundred and forty-three thousand, six hundred. If this had been so, then they could have set forth no more than seven hundred and eighty-five ships by this tribute, which is a lesser number than that of king Edgar by some thousands: so that some other account is to be made concerning hides, which is not to be handled in this place.

A. D. 1013. "to such a state of misery, that all of them
 "were destitute of food, and some of rai-
 "ment. That now they were to deliberate
 "upon the course they were to pursue; to
 "stay, was exposing themselves to the worst
 "of enemies, their own treacherous coun-
 "trymen; that those would perhaps bar-
 "gain with their new lords for their destruc-
 "tion. To fall by an enemy, is imputed
 "to the fortune of war; but to be betrayed
 "by a fellow-citizen, carries with it the ap-
 "pearance of folly." In short, he con-
 cluded his speech in such a manner, as plain-
 ly proved that he wished to fly to his brother-
 in-law, and that they should follow him be-
 yond seas; promising, at the same time, if he
 did not meet with a favourable reception,
 or if his fortune should present a more cheer-
 ful aspect, he would chuse to return to Eng-
 land, and rather die gloriously within his
 own dominions, than live ignominiously
 within those of another.

He abdicates
 his throne, by
 flying into
 France.

Pitied by his
 subjects.

This proposal was approved of; and
 Ethelred is the first English prince who
 was ever known to abdicate his throne with-
 out naming a successor: for about the be-
 ginning of next year he sailed over to Nor-
 mandy, where he was very affectionately re-
 ceived by Richard. As the minds of the
 English are, of all people, the most suscep-
 tible of another's distress, however merited,
 this inglorious abdication was so far from
 bringing Ethelred into contempt, that it
 awakened, in the minds of his subjects,
 every sentiment of pity and compassion for
 his fallen estate; nor abroad did he meet
 with a less favourable reception.

Sweyn op-
 presses the
 English.

In the mean time, Sweyn, jealous of the
 loyalty of his new subjects, was every day
 laying upon them fresh impositions, upon
 pretence of defraying the expence of his
 fleet; while Ethelred's admiral was exacting
 the like contributions for maintaining his.
 Thus the faces of the English were ground
 between two mill-stones, and all owing to
 the fatal effects of domestic faction.

Darkness of
 Sweyn's hi-
 story.
 Conjecture
 thereupon.

From the tenor of the English history it
 appears, that Sweyn was of an arbitrary dis-
 position. Our historians seem to know but
 little of his personal story, and those of his
 own country still less. However, thus much
 we may fairly venture to say upon conjec-
 ture, that he had received great encourage-
 ment for his invasions from the Danes set-
 tled here in England; and perhaps the fun-
 damental error of Ethelred's government lay
 in his attempting to oppress those Danes;

nor could Sweyn, without them, have made
 the progress he did: but, followed as he
 was by a lawless rout of free-booters and
 soldiers of fortune, it was impossible for
 him to gratify his army, and to make good
 his promises to them, without committing
 great excesses, perhaps contrary to his own
 sentiments. The East-Anglians, the Mer-
 cians, and the other people of Danish ex-
 traction, were treated as enemies equally
 as the English; in short, every man who
 was settled in England, and had either life,
 liberty, or property to lose, was the object
 of their fury; while the English Saxons,
 not daring to trust the English Danes, nor
 the English Danes the English Saxons, the
 invaders came to a prey, rather than a con-
 quest. Some authors, I know, have been
 fond of ranking Sweyn as a king of Eng-
 land; but, besides his never having been
 crowned, I cannot find that he ever exer-
 cised any act of civil authority. It must,
 however, be owned, that, after the abdic-
 ation of Ethelred, he was the greatest man
 in England; but it is more than probable,
 that, if he threw out any intimation of suc-
 ceeding Ethelred as king, they were so dis-
 pleasing to his officers, that they put an end
 at once to his ambition and his life: for the
 manner of his death is related, by our histo-
 rians, with as many absurdities attending it,
 as is that of the founder of Rome; and
 both probably met with the like fate, and
 from like demerits.

Sweyn no
 king of Eng-
 land.

For we are told, that, being at Gainf-
 borough, he wasted the lands of the mo-
 nastery of Badriceſworth, and threatened to
 destroy the town where St. Edmund's body
 lay buried, unless the inhabitants would pay
 him a large contribution. It is to this me-
 nace that historians attribute his death; but
 their very relation of the fact shews, that he
 received it from the hands of his own of-
 ficers: for having called an assembly of all
 the heads of his army, when the council
 broke up, the tyrant was found dead (1).

The story of
 Sweyn's
 death.

The tide of popular affection, upon
 Sweyn's death, began to run very strong
 in favour of the abdicated Ethelred. The
 principal leaders of the English nation, how-
 ever, were too well acquainted with his na-
 tural dispositions, the easiness of his temper,
 and his passion for indolence, to restore him
 without terms. Embassadors, therefore, were
 sent to settle the conditions of his readmission,
 and they found Ethelred deeply affected with
 the sense of his former mismanagements. He

The English
 recall Ethel-
 red;

(1) I shall here give the relation of Sweyn's death, as we have it from our own historians.—We have nothing further to add, says Mr. Tyrrel, under this year, more than to observe the various relations of our monkish writers concerning the sudden death of king Sweyn, which they will needs have to be a judgment upon him for wasting the lands belonging to the monastery of Badriceſworth, and for giving opprobrious language against the memory of St. Edmund, who was there enshrined. But because their relation of this matter is very remarkable, I shall give you both Florence of Worcester, and Simeon of Durham, their account of it, which is thus: That king Sweyn, lying then at Gainsborough, there held a general assembly of his great officers; and when it grew toward evening, being encircled with his armed men, he cast out threats, that he would send and spoil the monastery; whereupon he presently thought he saw St. Edmund coming all armed toward him, which made him cry out vehemently, "Help! help! fellow soldiers; look here! king Edmund come to kill me!" and as he uttered these words, he received a mortal blow by the saint's hands, and so fell from his horse; and lying till the dusk of the evening in great torment, he expired on the second of February, and was carried to York and there buried: so these writers report from the legend of St. Edmund. Yet John of Tinmouth makes St. Edmund's ghost to have stabbed him with his dagger as he sat in his chair. But William of Malmesbury tells us, that St. Edmund appeared to him in his sleep, and smote him while he was in bed, because he answered him rudely; but they all agree, that he died of the blow which St. Edmund had given him; but I do believe, that there may be so much truth in this story, that king Sweyn being wounded by some unknown hand, who had the good fortune to make his escape, gave occasion to the monks of St. Edmundsbury to invent this legend for the honour of their saint, and also to deter others from daring to violate that place, which was then accounted sacred.

A. D. 1014.

earnestly professed his intention to amend his government; while they, on the other hand, expressed their readiness to submit to, and recall their natural prince, provided he would govern them by law, and treat them more like freemen than he had hitherto done. Ethelred, however, conscious of his own demerits, and not chusing to trust them all at once, sent over Edward, with deputies, giving him full powers to treat with the states. The young prince found them in the best dispositions imaginable, earnestly wishing for the return of their natural sovereign, and heartily praying for the amendment of his manners. The conditions were soon agreed upon, and an act passed in the assembly, by which all Danish princes were to be excluded for ever from power and sovereignty in England. Ethelred then leaving France, was received again, with inexpressible joy, by his own subjects; nor was it long before he found himself at the head of a brave, numerous army.

An act past for the exclusion of Danish princes from the crown of England. Ethelred restored.

Canute succeeds Sweyn.

His progress.

Forced by Ethelred to retire.

Ethelred plunders the north.

His reasons for that conduct.

Canute fails for Sandwich.

Sweyn was succeeded by his son Canute, of equal ambition with his father; but a deeper politician, a better soldier, and less of a barbarian. Finding this sudden turn of affection in the English towards their prince, he endeavoured, by some popular acts, such as making great presents to the shrine of St. Edmund, to gain the favour of the public. Upon Ethelred's return, he was yet at Gainsborough with his army, and, about Easter, he agreed with the inhabitants of Lindsey to furnish him with horses to mount his army; but Ethelred, resolving to amend by his past misfortunes, gave a proof how much his conduct was altered, by advancing with swift and long marches against his enemy, before he had time to put himself in a posture of defence. Canute, surprized by the unexpected progress of Ethelred, who, on all other occasions, was branded by the surname of the Unready, found himself in no condition to stand his ground; he, therefore, hastily went aboard his ships, leaving his English friends to the mercy of Ethelred. As the inhabitants of Lincolnshire, and of Lindsey in particular, had ever shewn strong dispositions in favour of the Danes, Ethelred was resolved to make them feel the miseries their friends had inflicted on others; accordingly he carried fire and sword into their country. Some historians have thought fit to blame Ethelred for this proceeding; but we are to reflect, that the times demanded the keenest edge of justice. The people of Lindsey were his own natural-born subjects, they had set the worst of examples to the other inhabitants, and their dispositions had ever assured the invaders of shelter, protection, and success. That they were in a concert with the Danes, appears from the observation of the Saxon annalist, who says, that Canute, by his retreat, deceived them, and left them exposed to the resentment of the English.

Canute, reaching his ships, set sail for Sandwich, where he was guilty of a barbarity, which, though perhaps necessary in the then situation of his affairs, was certain-

ly shocking to a generous mind; for reflecting upon the assurances given by the English to be faithful to the Danes, he turned all the hostages ashore, and put marks of ignominy upon their persons, by cutting off their hands, and flitting their noses. By the barbarous manner of making peace or war in those days, he had many precedents to justify him for putting them all to death; therefore the reflections of those historians, who exclaim against this action as the most inhuman cruelty, are unjust. Thus it must be owned, that both these princes are represented, at this period, in worse colours than either deserved; and the severities they were obliged to practise, were the effects rather of compulsion than choice.

We are told, that Canute, after this, sailed over to Denmark, and left Ethelred at liberty to reinstate himself in his former power. His first act of regal authority, was to raise twenty-one thousand pounds towards defraying the expences of his navy, which was still stationed at Greenwich, and seems greatly to have contributed towards overawing the friends of the Danes in the south. But this year a prodigious inundation of the sea happened all along the coast, overflowing several cities, and sweeping off great numbers of the inhabitants.

The mind of Ethelred was of such a composition, as to be proof neither against good nor bad fortune; so soft were its materials, that it was too susceptible of impressions from either, his vices not being more curbed by the latter, than his virtues were dissolvable by the former. The traitor Edric had either address or power enough still to retain a strong interest about his person; and, in the year 1015, Ethelred was weak enough to listen to a project of seizing into his own hands the estates of certain Danish noblemen, who were settled in England. A general assembly of the people, which, in our history, now begins to be called a parliament, was this year summoned at Oxford. The reader may remember I have always intimated, that the Danes who had been originally settled in the feudatory countries here, are not all of them to be looked upon as in the interest of their invading countrymen; some of them were among the best subjects Ethelred had, and were now as much Englishmen as the Saxons themselves: but the prospect of fair possessions, and the jealousy ever incident to weak minds, opened the ears of Ethelred to the above pernicious counsel.

Two Danish noblemen, Sigefert and Molar, as they had done upon former occasions, obeyed the summons, and repaired to the parliament. It would, perhaps, have been difficult for Ethelred and his favourite to have persuaded the states to approve of their execrable design. Besides, as the two noblemen were men of great interest and fortunes, there might have been danger in bringing them to a public shew of justice. Edric, therefore, taking upon himself the management of the assassination, invited them, with great appearance of friendship, to a feast, and, in his own house, barbarously put them

A. D. 1015.

He mangles his hostages.

He sails over to Denmark.

Ethelred reinstated in his former power.

He is again betrayed by Edric.

He puts to death two Danish noblemen.

A. D. 1015.

them both to death. Their followers bravely endeavoured to revenge themselves on the murderers of their masters; but Edric, aware of such an attempt, had provided a strong party, who drove them into St. Fridiswide's church in Oxford, where they were all barbarously burnt to death.

Edmund falls in love with, and marries, Sigefert's wife.

Sigefert's wife was celebrated for the charms both of her mind and body, and, by the barbarous policy of the times, was shut up in the monastery of Malmesbury. The amorous disposition of Edmund, the son of Ethelred, joined to a detestation of Edric, and compassion for her misfortunes, begot in him a desire to visit the distressed fair-one; this visit produced a passion, which improved into esteem, and ended in marriage. Perhaps some views of policy were not wanting in the match, since the lady succeeded to the great estate of her husband, and the government would have found it very difficult to have annexed it to the crown. The young Edmund petitioned the king to be put in possession of his wife's fortune; but that being denied him, he resolved to seize it. Accordingly he set out for the north, where the estates lay, took possession, and thereby acquired an interest in the country, which proved afterwards of great service to his affairs.

Holinshed.

Canute again invades England.

In the mean time, Canute, having settled his concerns in Denmark, returned with redoubled force to England, landing at Sandwich, the usual door to the Danish invasions. His first expedition, after touching at Sandwich, was to sail round Kent to Wessex, where he landed at the mouth of the river Froome, and laid all Wiltshire, Dorsetshire, and Somersetshire under contribution. Ethelred was then sick at Cosham in Wiltshire. But we are told, by some historians, that, about this time, Thurkytel, who was now on the side of the Danes, defeated the English at a place called Scraftan; and that the governor of Norway, making an inroad into another part of the kingdom, carried off great booty; and both those leaders returning to their ships, rejoined Canute.

Holinshed.

Variance between Edric and Edmund.

The sickness of Ethelred put prince Edmund under great distress, between filial piety and his country's interest. Though he had long detested the traitor Edric, yet he had prudently dissembled; so that things had never yet come to any extremity between them. The good use he had made of his late acquisitions, with the justice of his cause, had effaced all memory of the manner in which he seized them; but the power of Edric, whose practices he well knew, gave him every thing to apprehend, both for himself and the nation, during his father's illness. Resolving, however, to keep within the bounds of duty as long as possible, he levied, upon his own interest, a considerable body of troops in the north; while Edric, at the head of another body in the south, acted as commander in chief under Ethelred. The smooth traitor spared no pains to inveigle the young prince, with a design to cut him off; but Edmund, aware of his practices, refusing to join him, the

treachery of Edric became now so manifest, that even the eyes of the deluded king were opened; the traitor therefore resolved now to pull off the mask, and to declare for that interest for which he had practised such a long course of dangerous dissimulation. Drawing off his army, therefore, without daring openly to attack Edmund, while Edmund was obliged to be equally upon his guard against him and Canute, the latter remained on the field, and thereby gained a considerable advantage.

A. D. 1016.

Both Parties retire, and leave Canute the advantage of the ground.

Edric not succeeding in his treachery by land, found means to debauch forty of Ethelred's ships from their allegiance, on which going aboard, he openly declared in favour of Canute. His great interest with the West Saxons, now discouraged by frequent calamities and civil dissensions, led them to declare for the same interest, and therefore they gave hostages for their fidelity.

Edric brings over to Canute forty of the English ships.

The West Saxons declare for the Danes.

The great accession of naval power gave Canute the superiority by sea; for, in the year 1016, we find him advancing towards the Thames with a hundred and sixty sail, headed by himself and Edric. Passing over into the Mercian dominions, as far as Cricklade, to the north of Wiltshire, about Christmas he turned round towards Warwickshire, burning and destroying wherever he passed. Prince Edmund did all a brave man could do to stop his progress; but such were the difficulties he lay under, through the indolence of his father and the dissatisfaction of the Londoners with Ethelred's government, that all his efforts availed but little. Indefatigable, however, for the public good, he at last found means to rouse his father, now recovered from his illness, from his lethargy: for no sooner were the holidays over, than Ethelred, by advice of his council, summoned a general array of all his subjects who were able to bear arms, with a large penalty upon every one who disobeyed; no excuse, through the distance of habitation, being admitted. A great army indeed was raised; but the Danish emissaries found means to poison the mind of the credulous Ethelred with their insinuations, that a plot was formed against his life and government. This had the desired effect; for the king, ingloriously abandoning his army, blasted all the hopes which Edmund had conceived, while his troops immediately disbanded, as men who, destitute of their common leader, were left to shift for themselves.

Their progress.

Opposed by Edmund and Ethelred.

Ethelred abandons his army through misadvice.

Edmund, finding that nothing was to be done in the southern parts, set out for the north, to solicit Uthred, the most powerful nobleman in those parts, to join with him in expelling the invaders. Uthred, who was himself of Danish extraction, was fond enough of this proposal; but did not chuse to lead his troops so far from home as into the counties where Canute's army then lay. It was therefore resolved that they should march into those counties in the neighbourhood which were best affected to the Danish interest, and lay them under contribution. Accordingly, raising a body of troops, they

Edmund retires to Northumberland.

pene-

A. D. 1016. Uthred attacks the Danish provinces; but is overpowered by Canute, and submits.

penetrated into Staffordshire, Shropshire, and Leicestershire, seizing all the booty they could find. Canute, alarmed at their progress, wisely resolved to deliver his friends, by drawing upon Edmund's and Uthred's estates the whole weight of the war. He therefore marched, with all expedition, through Buckinghamshire, into Bedfordshire; from thence, through Huntingdonshire, over the fens, to Stamford; and from thence into Lincolnshire, and afterwards into Nottinghamshire, and so into Northumberland, towards York. This alarmed Uthred, and obliged him to bring his army homewards; but finding himself much inferior to Canute, he submitted to his protection, and gave hostages for his obedience. But Canute, either jealous of his power, distrusting his

sincerity, or offended at his conduct, soon after put him to death, giving his large possessions to one Yric, whose aspiring behaviour afterwards drove him into exile by Canute's order.

In the mean time, Ethelred again threw himself upon the protection of the Londoners, who again generously received him. His son Edmund being deserted by his ally, was obliged to march southward, and to join his army; while the victorious Canute, returning southward by the western coasts, reached his navy before Easter. He now prepared to besiege London by land and water; but before he came up, Ethelred died, on the feast of St. George, and was buried at St. Paul's in London (1).

A. D. 1016. Ethelred again joins the Londoners.

Ethelred's death.

Thus ended the long, active, but inglorious

(1) I shall, from Mr. Speed, give an abstract of this king's marriages and progeny, though perhaps in some particulars he is mistaken; yet it is impossible, at this distance of time, to set him right, and his account agrees with the general strain of our historians.

ELGIVA, the first wife of king Ethelred, was the daughter of an English duke, named Thored, who is reported, in the history of that time, to have done great service against the Danes. She was married unto him when he was seventeen years of age, in the sixth of his reign, being the year of Grace 984, and was his wife seventeen years; who deceased in the twenty-fourth of his reign, and of Christ Jesus 1003.

EMMA, the second wife of king Ethelred, was the daughter of Richard II, duke of Normandy; and sister of duke Richard, and duke Robert, father to William the Conqueror. Her mother was sister to Herefast the Dane, grandfather of William Fitz-Osbert, afterward earl of Hereford. She was a lady of passing beauty, and therefore commonly called the Flower of Normandy; married unto him in the twenty-fifth year of his reign, and year of Salvation 1003; with whom she lived thirteen years, and surviving him, was re-married to king Canute the Dane.

H I S I S S U E.

ETHELSTAN, the eldest son of king Ethelred, and of queen Elgiva his first wife, was born about the eighth year of his father's reign, and year of Christ 986. He lived unto the age almost of twenty-five years, being then (by great likelihood) cut off by untimely death in the wars of the Danes, raging then most extremely, which was the thirty-third of his father's reign, and of Christ's nativity 1011.

EGBERT, the second son of king Ethelred, and of queen Elgiva his first wife, seemeth to have been born two years after his brother Ethelstan, in the tenth year of his father's reign, and year of our Lord 988; and to have deceased in the very prime of his youth, before the death of his father or of his elder brother, and before he had done any thing in his life worthy of remembrance after his death.

EDMUND, the third son of king Ethelred, and of queen Elgiva his first wife, was born in the eleventh year of his father's reign, and of Grace 989; and, of all his father's children, proved to be the only man that set his helping hand to the redress of the estate of his country, distressed by the miserable oppressions of the Danes; which he pursued with such exceeding toil, and restless hazards of his body, as he was therefore surnamed Ironside: and when he had followed those wars, with great courage, the space of seventeen years under his father, being come to twenty-seven of his own age, he succeeded him in his kingdom and troubles, as presently shall be shewed.

EDRED, the fourth son of king Ethelred, and of queen Elgiva his first wife, was born about the fourteenth year of his father's reign, being the year of Grace 992. His name is continually set down as a witness in the testees of his father's charters, until the thirty-fifth year of his reign; by which it appeareth, that he lived unto the two-and-twentieth year of his own age, although I find no mention of him, nor of any thing done by him, in any of our histories; and it seemeth he died at that time, because his name is left out of the charters after that year.

EDWY, the fifth son of king Ethelred, and of queen Elgiva his first wife, survived his father and all his brethren, and lived in the reign of Canute the Dane, who being jealous of his new-gotten estate, and fearful of the dangers that might accrue unto him by this Edwy, and such others of the English blood royal, practised to have him murdered; which was accordingly done by them whom he most favoured and least suspected, in the year of our Salvation 1017.

EDGAR, the sixth son of king Ethelred, and of queen Elgiva his first wife, was born about the twentieth year of his father's reign, being the year of our Lord God 998. He seemeth, by the testees of his father's charters, to have been living in the one and twentieth year of his reign; but being no more found in any of them after, may be supposed, by all conjectures, to have died in or about the same year, being but the eleventh after his own birth, and the seventeenth before his father's death.

The eldest daughter of king Ethelred, and queen Elgiva his first wife, although her name be not to be found in any writer of those times, appeareth notwithstanding to be married to one Ethelstan, a nobleman of England, who was the principal commander of the Cambridgeshiremen at the great battle fought between them and the Danes, wherein the Englishmen had the overthrow, and this son-in-law of king Ethelred, with the rest of the chief leaders, were slain, in the year of Christ's nativity 1010, being the two-and-thirtieth of his father-in-law's reign.

EDGITH, the second daughter of king Ethelred, and queen Elgiva his first wife, was married to Edric, duke of Mercia, who, for his covetousness in getting, was surnamed Streattone. This Edric was the son of one Egelric, surnamed Leofwin, and elder brother to Egelmere, the grandfather of Godwin duke of the West-Saxons; and being but meanly born, was thus highly advanced by this king, notwithstanding he was ever a traitor to his country, and a favourer of the Danes, betraying both him and king Edmund his son to king Canute, that he thereby might get new preferments by him, who worthily rewarded him as a traitor, and put him to death.

ELFGINE, the third daughter of king Ethelred, and of queen Elgiva his first wife, was the second wife of Utdred, surnamed the Bold, son of earl Waldase the elder, earl of Northumberland; by whom she had only one child, a daughter, named Aldgith, married to a nobleman called Maldred, the son of Crinan. She was mother of Gospatrick, who was earl of Northumberland in the time of William the Conqueror, and forced by his displeasure to fly into Scotland, where he abode, and was ancestor to the earls of Dunbar and of March in that country.

GODE, the fourth and youngest daughter of king Ethelred, and queen Elgiva his first wife, was first married to one Walter de Maigne, a nobleman of Normandy, greatly favoured by king Edward his brother, who lived not long after the marriage; and left issue by her a son, named Rodulf, whom king Edward, his uncle, created earl of Hereford. This earl Rodulf died the one-and-twentieth of December, in the thirteenth year of his uncle's reign, and was buried at Peterborough, leaving issue a young son, named Harold, created afterwards (by king William the Conqueror) baron of Sudley in the county of Gloucester, and ancestor to the barons of that place succeeding, and of the lord Chandois of Sudley now being. This lady Gode, after the decease of the said Walter de Maigne, was married to Eustace the Elder, earl of Bulloign in Picardy, a man of great valour in those parts of France, and a most faithful friend to king Edward her brother; which earl was grandfather to Godfrey of Bulloign, king of Jerusalem; albeit it seemeth he had no issue by this lady.

EDWARD, the seventh son of king Ethelred, and his first by queen Emma his second wife, was born at Islip in the county of Oxford, and brought up in France all the time of his youth with his uncle Richard, the third of that name, duke

A. D. 1016.
Reflections
upon his cha-
racter.

ous reign of Ethelred. It is as unjust to give characters from events, as it is to establish or demolish reputations from prepossessions or prejudices. Our historians have been but too apt to fall into those errors, of which the unhappy prince, whose eyes we have just closed, is an instance. It is true he appears to have been suspicious and jealous, credulous and easy, according to the bias of his affections for particular persons, who often abused his confidence. His love of indolence was, for the times, even a crime; and his turn for pleasure had the same ill consequences as the most impolitic conduct. But perhaps no prince ever lived at a more difficult juncture, as will appear from what I have already observed, with regard to the intermixture of the Danes with

the English, the dissensions of a degenerated nobility, and the selfishness of a proud, ignorant, conceited clergy. It is true, the massacre of the Danes throws an indelible stain upon his reign; but a prince of a stronger head, and firmer virtue, might have been imposed upon by the like specious reasons as were alledged for that bloody measure. In short, though it must be owned that Ethelred was of the most unfortunate character that any king of England can possess, especially for the times he lived in; yet, as a man, he was rather an object of compassion, than of detestation; but, as a judge, we must have a very high opinion of him, as will appear by a review of his laws, which I give in the notes (1).

A. D. 1016.

duke of Normandy, mistrusting his safety in England under king Canute the Dane, although he had married his mother; but he found the time more dangerous by the usage of his brother Elfred, at his being here in the reign of king Harold, son of the Dane. Notwithstanding he returned home when Hardicanute, the other son, (being his half brother) was king, and was honourably received and entertained by him, and after his death succeeded him in the kingdom of England.

ELFRED, the eighth son of king Ethelred, and his second by queen Emma his second wife, was conveyed into Normandy for fear of king Canute, with his eldest brother, Edward; and with him returned into England to see his mother, then being at Winchester, in the second year of king Harold, surnamed Harefoot; by whose practice he was trained towards London, apprehended by the way at Guildford in Surrey, deprived of his eye sight, and committed prisoner to the monastery of Ely; his Normans, that came with him, most cruelly murdered; and he himself soon after deceasing, was buried in the church of the said monastery.

(1) We shall now, from Mr. Tyrrel's collection, give the reader an abstract of this prince's laws.—Though king Ethelred was no great or worthy prince in his own person, yet, with the assistance of his wives, or wisemen, of his great council, he made diverse excellent laws and constitutions. There are, in Brompton's chronicle, four several bodies of these laws, made at as many several times, and in diverse places, whereof there are only two extant among the Saxon laws published by Mr. Lambard. The laws comprized in the first division are six; they are said to have been made at Woodstock in Mercia, for the restoration of peace, according to the law of England.

The first is, "That every freeman shall find sureties to be bound for him, that he shall do right in case he be accused."

The second I shall omit, since it hath been already mentioned in the laws of king Edgar; only the latter-end of it is very remarkable, to wit: "The lord shall answer for his whole family, and be surety for the appearance of every person in it. And if any of his servants, after they are accused, run away, the lord or master shall pay his man's were to the king. And if the master be accused as the adviser to, or promoter of, his escape, he shall purge himself by five thanes; and if he do it not, he shall pay to the king his were, and his man shall be an out-law."

The third ordains, "That a bondman, being cast by the ordeal, shall be marked with a hot iron for the first offence; and being cast in the same manner for the second time, shall be put to death." Which law bears some resemblance to our present law or custom, whereby clergy is allowed for the first crime committed.

By the fifth, the king's reeve, or officer, is obliged to require sureties for the good behaviour of such as are of ill fame amongst all men; which if such a one obstinately refuses to give, he is to be put to death, and is to be buried in an unhallowed place with malefactors: and if any use force in his behalf, to further his escape, he is to undergo the same punishment.

As for the next set of laws, they are said to have been made at Venterig, or Wanating, now Wantage in Berkshire; and for the increase of common peace and happiness, by king Ethelred and his wise men.

The first of them is concerning the keeping of the king's peace, as it was in the days of his predecessors; and for the punishment of the breach of it, in case of manslaughter. "If it were in a gemot or assembly of five boroughs, with the forfeiture of five pounds weight in silver. If in an assembly of a borough or town, by a mulct of seven hundred (shillings)." But how much this was, is not known; for we have not now any true account of the standard of money at that time. "If in a wapentake, by one hundred; and if in an alehouse a man be killed, with six half-marks; if he be not killed, with twelve oares;" for the value of which, vid. Sir H. Spelman's Gloss. From hence (but especially from the law of king Ina) we may observe how ancient the liquor of ale, and alehouses, have been in England; as also (what commonly follows it) quarrelling, and breaking of the peace in such places.

The fourth commands, "That public meetings be observed in every hundred or wapentake; and that twelve thanes, (says Brompton) or twelve men of free condition, (as Lambard reads it) being elderly men, together with their præpositus or chief, shall swear upon the gospels or holy reliques, That they will neither condemn an innocent person, nor acquit a guilty one." From whence we may observe the antiquity of trials by a grand inquest of more than twelve men, even in the English Saxon times, and was not introduced by William the Conqueror; as Polydore Virgil, an Italian, not much skilled in the antiquities of this island, hath delivered in his history. And to confirm what we have here said, the third chapter of the league between king Alfred and Guthrun the Dane, very much maketh out; which orders, "That if the king's thane or servant be accused of homicide, he shall purge himself (if he dare) by twelve other thanes;" which you may see at large in those laws themselves. And besides these, the reader, throughout the whole collection of Saxon laws, may observe there is frequent mention made of clearing and purging by so many men summoned for that purpose; as sometimes by twelve, sometimes by fewer, and sometimes by more.

As for the trial by ordeal, it grew more in request in the reign of king Canute and his successors, being indeed originally a Danish custom. The rest of the laws of king Ethelred, made at Wantage, having many of them relation to this way of trial by ordeal, and containing many obscure terms, I omit: but since several of them may very well be referred to other former laws, I shall only select from among them such as are most worthy to be taken notice of here.

The twenty-third appoints what custom should be paid by ships and vessels of all sorts that unladed at Billingsgate; from whence it appears, that this was the ancient port of London, wines and all other commodities being here unladed.

The twenty-sixth imposes the same punishment upon such as wittingly receive, as well as on those that make, bad money; whereby we may observe, that though the coining of bad money was not as yet made treason, yet it was punishable at the king's discretion, either by time or death, as you will see in the following law:

The twenty-eighth puts it in the king's power, whether to fine or put to death such merchants as import counterfeit money; and further, imposeth upon all port-reeves that shall be accessory, the same punishment as upon those that coin false money, except the king think fit to pardon them.

15. EDMUND II. Surnamed IRONSIDE.

A. D. 1016.

Character of Edmund, who is crowned king of England.

WE shall not take upon us to determine aught with regard to the legitimacy of this prince; but Malmesbury was ignorant of his mother's name; the abbot of Rievallis says, that she was daughter to Toret, a nobleman; and Wallingford calls her Ethelred's first wife. But if nature struck him out at a heat, it is certain she exalted his composition with her purest, her most generous materials; though she just shewed him to England, that it might the more bitterly lament his loss, without being profited by his virtues. The many proofs of his abilities and courage Edmund had given in his life-time, soon drew upon him the eyes and wishes of all whose loyalty to the blood of Cerdic was stronger than their apprehensions of the Danish power; and, in an assembly of all the nobility and chief citizens who remained at London, he was chosen king, with great acclamations of joy.

Canute chosen by the clergy.

He besieges London.

Bravely defended by the inhabitants.

Canute raises the siege.

Defeated by Edmund.

In the mean time, many of the clergy, and some noblemen, repaired to Southampton, where they not only chose Canute for their king, but abjured the posterity of Ethelred. Canute, upon this, establishing a title to the throne of England, resolved to set out with an action, which should at once confirm his power and exalt his reputation; for he brought his navy up to Greenwich, and, in a short time, his troops landing, marched up to London, to which they laid siege. It appears, from the expression of the Saxon chronicle on this occasion, which has been grossly misunderstood by our historians, that the city then stood more to the north of the river than it now does; for when Canute formed this siege, he cut a large trench upon the south strand of the city, and bringing his ships up above where the bridge now stands, he there landed his men; so that he cut off all provisions from coming to the inhabitants by south, east, or west. The defence made by the Londoners was equally vigorous. Edmund had, before this time, set out for Wessex, the patrimonial kingdom of his family, where his subjects, whose affections had been only cooled by the degeneracy of his father, received him with great demonstrations of affection and loyalty. The first use he made of his success here, was to get together an army in order to relieve London. The news of this made Canute press the siege more warmly; but always with loss to himself, through the courage of the inhabitants. At last, despairing of taking the city, and fearing lest he might be shut up between it and the army of Edmund, he raised the siege, and marched up to fight the latter, before his army was increased by the succours which were daily pouring in from all parts of England. Both parties came to a battle near Gillingham in Somersetshire, where Edmund had the victory; but as to the particulars, our historians have left us in the

A. D. 1016.

The battle of Sceaftan.

The forces of both sides.

Great courage of both princes.

The victory equal.

dark. Canute, in his retreat, shut himself up in Winchester till more succours should come up; and, in the mean time, he gave orders for another army of the Danes to form the siege of Salisbury.

After Midsummer, the army of Edmund being greatly increased, he set out in his turn to relieve Salisbury; but Canute being, by this time, reinforced, followed and offered him battle. It was the resolution of both princes that this battle should be decisive. The manner in which it is related by Simeon of Durham, is particular, and worthy of attention. Canute, at the head of his Danes, had under him the traitor Edric, with Almer and Algar, two noblemen, who had come over to his party, and commanded the inhabitants of Hampshire and Wiltshire. He was likewise joined by great numbers of people from other parts of the nation, whom either their affection for the Danish race, their reverence for the power of the clergy, or their aversion to the memory of Ethelred, had prevailed upon to take part in the war. Edmund was at the head of the Dorsetshire, the Cornish, the Devonshire, and the Somersetshire men. The place where they met was Sceaftan, which is supposed to be a stone that now parts the four counties of Oxfordshire, Gloucestershire, Worcestershire, and Warwickshire. Both kings acted, on this occasion, the parts of brave men and able generals; each chose his ground to the best advantage; each put his men in mind, that that day was to decide their liberty or thralldom, their glory or ignominy, the fates of their wives, their children, and their country. The trumpets giving the signal, either party made awful pause, as if conscious of the important part they were to act; and struck with the reflection, that they were now to fall by the swords, or to triumph in the blood, of their nearest relations, and their dearest friends. But the shock of battle, and the shouts of the engagement, soon banishing all reflection, a desperate fight ensued; either party disdainful of missiles, they disputed every inch with swords and pikes. The gallant Edmund seemed present in a thousand places, and to venture a thousand lives; the van, the center, and the rear equally witnessed his courage, and equally trembled at his danger. He himself was ever the first to execute what he commanded; while, by the strength of his arm, the quickness of his eye, or the coolness of his head, he thinned the ranks, disappointed the advantages, and obviated the schemes of his enemy. Such amazing valour and conduct must have soon decided the fate of the day, had not Edmund had Canute for his rival; but the Dane's experience, and the advantages of his numbers, for that day balanced the victory: for the ardour of both sides holding longer out than the sun gave them light, each retired rather for the purposes of revenge than repose.

A. D. 1016.

The second
day's battle.
Stratagem of
Edric.

For next day the battle was renewed with double fury; and just as the prodigious efforts of Edmund and his gallant Englishmen were upon the point of bearing down all before them, the traitor Edric cut off the head of one Ofener, who resembled the English prince in age, feature, and complexion, and rearing it upon the point of a spear, called out with seeming concern for the fate of so many of his brave countrymen, that Edmund was slain: "Behold his head! make 'the best of your way.'" The bold English, rather astonished than frightened, were preparing to sell their lives as dear as they could; while the more irresolute making a pause, gave the Danes an opportunity of restoring the battle. The news of this flying to where Edmund was exposed in the hottest danger, he instantly pulled off his helmet, and shewing his naked head, undeceived and reanimated his troops. The advantage, however, which the Danes got by this stratagem, was such as enabled them to maintain the fight till darkness again put an end to the battle.

Edmund, conscious that victory must have declared entirely in his favour, had it not been for the stratagem of the infamous Edric, was preparing to renew the battle on the third day, when he was informed that Canute had taken the advantage of the night to steal from his camp. He soon learned that the Dane's views were upon the city of London, which he thought to surprize before Edmund could relieve it; for Canute, by long marches, having reached his ships, which, with part of his forces, he had left in the Thames to continue the blockade of the city on that side, again took possession of his former posts, and renewed the siege. Edmund knowing that Canute, by this junction of his forces, was much superior to his army, weakened by the late battle, was obliged to march into Wessex, where he raised fresh forces. Edric, either to have the fairer opportunities of betraying him, or because he dreaded his superiority, again applied, about this time, with great appearance of sincerity and contrition, begging to be readmitted into favour. Edmund, knowing the great interest of the traitor, and glad to have him in his own power, consented to his petition, and then set out to relieve London. The Danes, unable to oppose him, retired, part to their ships, while others, marching up the country, encamped near Brentford. Thither Edmund followed them, and passing the Thames, though, as appears, with some loss, he attacked and defeated them with great slaughter.

The affairs of Edmund again calling him to Wessex, Canute, who never lost sight of his favourite purpose, renewed the siege of London; but, as it appears that he never was able to surround it upon the north, the brave citizens still repelled him with loss. Finding all hopes of carrying the city vain, the Danes again decamped, and embarking, failed round to Mercia, where they landed, as is most probable, at the mouth of the river Orwel, which divides Essex from Suffolk. Having

renewed their usual devastations in this country, they again went on board, and failed southwards, to the mouth of the river Medway, where they put their cavalry ashore to scour the country. Edmund hearing of their ravages, with a strong body of troops passed the Thames again at Brentford, and marching suddenly into Kent, came up with the Danish horse at Ottenford, from whence he drove them with great slaughter, into the isle of Sheppey. That day might have entirely ruined the power of the barbarians, had not Edmund, deceived by the specious pretences of the traitor Edric, been won over to believe him. By him he was persuaded to give off the pursuit at Eagleford, when, according to our historians, he might have gained a complete victory.

The Danish cavalry thus escaping, Edmund again marched into Wessex, while Canute went over into Essex, and from thence into Mercia, where he destroyed the possessions of all who favoured Edmund; but the latter raising a very powerful force, again resolved, if possible, to give a decisive battle. He overtook the Danes at Ashdown in Essex, where a bloody engagement happened. Edmund, that day, made prodigious efforts to come at the person of Canute. The post of the kings of England in battle, was generally between two ensigns, the dragon and the standard; but Edmund leaving this post, cut a passage with his sword into the thickest of the fight, and disdaining the ignoble herd of his enemies, whose fates he left to be finished by his followers, he pressed upon the life-guard of Canute. Here a most desperate engagement ensued; but the fortunes of Edmund were again wrecked upon that rock which had so often proved so fatal to his father and himself; for Edric gave way with all the division he commanded, and opened a passage for the Danes. By this the English were defeated, with the loss of many of their nobility, among whom we have the names of bishop Eadnoth, the abbot Wilfige, the eoldermen Elfric, Godwin, and Wilfkytel. The latter of those noblemen was earl of East-Anglia, and is commended, by Malmesbury, as a brave and a successful sea officer; and Simeon of Durham informs us, that the bishop, with the abbot, did not come to fight, but to pray.

One cannot sufficiently admire the intrepidity of Edmund after this fatal defeat; for, instead of submitting, he retired, almost unattended, to Gloucester, where the English, who always have stood by their kings, while their kings were willing to stand by them, again repaired to his standards. The late victory had cost Canute almost as dear as it had Edmund; and the latter having reunited his shattered force, was again preparing to attack the Danes, when imposed upon by the smooth-tongued Edric, he was persuaded to come to a treaty. Various are the accounts of our historians at this period. William of Malmesbury informs us, that as Canute was advancing to Gloucester against Edmund, the latter challenged him to single combat; alledging for his reason,

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They fail to
the river
Medway.

Edmund again
betrayed by
Edric.

Battle of Ash-
down.

Great personal
valour of Ed-
mund.

He is deserted
by Edric.

Edmund re-
tires to Glo-
cester;

prepares again
to attack the
Danes.

Canute again
besieges Lon-
don.

Edric again
admitted into
Edmund's fa-
vour.

The Danes
again raise the
siege of Lon-
don;

defeated at
Brentford.

They renew
the siege of
London.

A. D. 1016. A. D. 1016.
 Canute chal-
 lenged by Ed-
 mund.

His answer.

Commission-
 ers appointed
 for a treaty.

A single com-
 bat proposed,

determination, which perhaps was effected by Edmund's private instructions, was signified to both kings in a pretty peremptory manner, and both accepted of the combat; Edmund, because he had already proffered it; and Canute, because what was before only the challenge of an enemy, became now the voice of his people. An eight, or island, in the river Severn, near Deerhurst, called the isle of Alney by the ancient Saxons, but, according to others, an isle of that name, near Gloucester, between Overbridge and Maysemore, was agreed upon as the scene of combat. To this isle both kings passed over, compleatly armed, with great ceremony, the troops of each being drawn up on either side of the river in fair display. The first trial was with their spears; and our historians, both ancient and modern, have liberally bespangled this combat, with all that they find delivered in romances, of the encounters between the most doughty knights. It is sufficient to say, that having recourse to their swords, Canute, finding himself ready to sink under the blows of Edmund, proposed to forego all the former advantages his arms had given him, and to divide the kingdom with his rival. This offer was at once generously and gratefully accepted by Edmund; each prince ran into the embraces of the other; and it was agreed, that Edmund should retain the city of London, all Wesssex, East-Anglia, and Essex, with all that lay to the south of the Thames, with the title of the king of England; while Canute was to possess the residue, containing all the northern parts, where his countrymen had been formerly settled.

Some grave authors have been inclined to look upon this combat as a romance; but I am far from treating it in that light. Besides the authorities that deliver it as a fact, the genius of both people, their laws, customs, and government, which often decided differences by single combat, favour it. Neither are the circumstances from our other historians repugnant; for they all agree, that this peace was concluded upon after an interview of both kings in the isle of Alney; and that they practised, upon this occasion, a custom which we find obtained even among the Greeks, of exchanging arms and apparel, in token of conciliated friendship. The same authorities add, that, at this interview, the pay of the navies of both nations was regulated (1); but whether it was agreed upon, that the survivor should enjoy

which is accepted by both kings,

who engage,

and then become friends.

Partition of the kingdom.

Homer.

(1) Hereunto belongs that of Huntingdon, says Mr. Selden, touching king Canutus and his son Harold. In the days of Harold, continues he, as also in the time of his father, eight marks were paid by every port for sixteen ships. In the like manner Hoveden saith, there was a tax imposed, which was paid for the maintenance of the navy, when king Canutus and king Edmund made an agreement in an isle in the midst of the Severn, called Oleney. Moreover Huntingdon writes, that eleven thousand and forty-eight pounds were raised by Hardicanute, king of England, before he had reigned two years, for thirty-two ships, that is to say, for the building of two-and-thirty ships. He gave command also [as anno 1004] Matthew of Westminster saith, that eight marks should be paid to every rower of his navy, and ten marks to each commander, out of all England. He saith also again of the same king, that he appointed fifteen officers, through all parts of the kingdom, to collect the tax imposed, without favouring any, and therewith to provide all things necessary for his forces at sea. And Florentius saith [anno eodem] he gave command for the paying of eight marks to every rower of his navy, and twelve (so we read it in that author) to every commander, out of all England; a tax indeed so grievous, that scarce any man was able to pay it. But these things, spoken of Canutus, his son Harold, and Hardicanute, relate perhaps unto that tribute or tax called Dane-geld; which was paid yearly for the maintenance of the navy, and guarding the territory or dominion by sea.—But as we are now upon this dark part of our history, it may be highly proper to illustrate it by the accurate observations of the same great man, whose words are much better than any I can substitute in their place.—Among the old laws of England it appears, that the payment of Dane-geld was first imposed because of pirates (either robbers, or others, invading

A. D. 1016. enjoy the whole of the kingdom, is, I think,
not so clear.

The peace between Edmund and Canute
being concluded, the Danes marched to-
wards

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invading the sea); for they infesting the country, wasted it as far as they were able. Therefore, for the repressing of their insolence, it was determined, that an yearly payment should be made of Dane-geld, that is to say, twelve-pence upon every hide through the whole land, for the pay of those that should be employed to hinder the eruption of pirates. So we read it in some [apud Roger Hoveden, part ii. p. 344. in edit. Londin. p. 603. in edit. Francf.] copies; [apud G. Lambart, *depriscis Anglorum legibus*, fol. 128. & G. Camden. Brit. p. 102.] others render it, irruption. But the other reading seems to signify, that this tax was imposed for the raising and maintaining of naval forces, so to guard the sea that pirates or enemies might not be able to make any eruption from the shore on the other side of the sea; nor can the word (eruption) otherwise be well put in that place. So that even that ancient dignity of the count of the Saxon shore (whereof we have already spoken) is therefore not obscurely represented by him who commanded as admiral over the fleets of that age. This tribute or tax had its beginning under king Ethelred; for he being brought into miserable streights by Sweyn, king of Denmark, being forced to buy a peace with him, hired forty-five Danish ships also by agreement, for the guarding and securing of his dominions in the sea, who were to receive their pay yearly out of this tribute for their maintenance. For the right understanding whereof, it is to be observed, out of the English Saxon story, that the tribute or tax usually paid at that time to the Danes, was of more kinds than one. There was one tribute or sum of money, wherewith the English Saxons were forced sometimes to buy peace of such as grievously infested the island; but another was levied to pay the Danish navy, which was hired to guard the sea, and defend the sea-coasts. The first kind of tribute appears, by that of Florentius and Hoveden, in the year 1007. Ethelred, king of England, by the advice of his lords, sending ambassadors to the Danes, gave them commission to declare, that he was willing to defray their charges and pay them a tribute, upon this condition, That they would desist from rapine, and establish a firm peace with him. To which demand of his they yielded; and from that time their charge was defrayed by all England, and a tribute paid which amounted to thirty-six thousand pounds; that is, he effected this only for the present, that he obtained a peace for a time by money, which he could not by arms, as Florilegus saith well. Four years after, also, all the great lords of England, of both orders, met together at London before Easter, and there they stayed so long, till payment was made of the tribute promised to the Danes, amounting to forty-eight thousand pounds; which we read of likewise both in Florentius and [anno 1012] Hoveden. But this was paid to the intent, that all Danes which were in the kingdom should, in every place, dwell peaceably by the English; and that both people should have, as it were, one heart and one soul, as it is expressed by Florilegus. Other passages, of the same kind, there are in the story of that age, yea, and some of an elder date; yet this first kind of tribute was not wont to be paid yearly, but levied now and then, as occasion required. Notwithstanding it may be true, perhaps, which [Autor *Chronici Melrofenfis*, MS. in Bibliotheca Cottoniana] some write, that Ethelred, in the aforesaid agreement of the year 1007, yielded to pay every year a tribute of thirty-six thousand pounds to the Danes, for a longer continuation of the peace. We read here, that he yielded or granted, but no where likewise that he paid it. But as for the second kind of tribute which was to be paid, as we have told you, for hire of the Danish navy, it was a yearly tribute, and levied at the same time, at least in the same year (to wit, of our Lord 1012) wherein these forty-eight thousand pounds were paid to procure a peace; nor was it limited by any set sum of money, but so much as would serve for victualling and clothing the forces at sea. Florentius and Hoveden, in the aforesaid year, say; After these things, upon payment of the tribute (meaning that of forty-eight thousand pounds) and a confirmation of the peace by oaths, the Danish navy, which was before in a body, was disposed and dispersed abroad afar off; but forty-five ships remained with the king, and swore fidelity to him, and promised to be ready to defend England against foreigners, upon condition that he would provide them victuals and clothing. This is related likewise in the English Saxon chronicles of the abbey of ——— [in Bibliotheca Cottoniana, anno 1012] The tribute being paid, and oaths of amity taken, the army or navy, which was before in a body, was dispersed abroad; but forty-five ships of that navy remained with the king, and promised upon oath to be ready for the defence of this land, upon condition the king did find them victuals and clothing. Sweyn was at that time king of Denmark, with whom Ethelred made this agreement. But both the kinds of payment, afore-mentioned, were called Dane-geib, Dane-geld or Dana-geld, that is to say, Danish tribute. The first kind is expressly intimated by this name, in [Polycratice, seu de Nugis Curialium, lib. viii. cap. 21.] Joannes Sarisburiensis, where he saith, Sweyn wasted and spoiled the island of Britain, the greatest part whereof he had in his possession, and afflicted the members of Christ with many persecutions, by an imposition of tribute, which in the English tongue they called Dana-geld. But the second kind, which was paid for the maintenance of the forces by sea, was called likewise by the same name, both because it was occasioned by the agreement with the Danes, as also because it was wont to be paid to the Danish fleet that was hired to guard the territory by sea: for which cause also it retained the same name, not only under those Danish kings, Canutus, Harold I, and Hardicanutus; but also under the English Saxon, or English. And that this which we have spoken of was the original hereof, is affirmed also by Ingulphus, the abbot of Crowland; a witness beyond all exception, who lived at that time: he, speaking of the affairs of Edward the Confessor, saith, [edit. Londin. p. 510. Francf. 897.] In the year 1051, (which was the tenth of king Edward) in regard the earth did not bring forth its fruits in such plenty as it was wont, but devoured very many people by famine, inasmuch that many thousands of them died through the scarcity of corn and want of bread; therefore the most pious king Edward, being moved with compassion towards the people, released that most grievous tribute, called Dani-geld, to all England, for ever. It is reported by some, that this most religious king, being brought by his officers into the exchequer to see the Dani-geld that was collected, and to take a view of so vast an heap of treasure, stood amazed at the first sight, protesting that he beheld the devil dancing upon the heap of money, and extremely rejoicing: whereupon he immediately commanded to restore it to the former owners, and would not keep one jot of so cruel an exaction; but remitted it for ever, to wit, in the thirty-eighth year after Sweyn, king of Denmark, commanded it to be paid every year to his navy, in the time of his father Ethelred. By discounting thirty-eight years from the 1051, that year 1012 is sufficiently manifest, wherein the beginning of this Dane-geld is placed, according to that which hath been already spoken. Nor is it any prejudice at all, that there seems, perhaps, to be one year over and above; for such as are versed in the chronicles of the monks, know well enough, that differences of that kind are very frequent among them, especially by reason of their careless confounding of the years of our Lord, and of the kings, whose beginnings do variously differ, as every man knows. Nor is it probable that they were sufficiently agreed touching the tribute and taxes before the next, or one thousand and thirteenth, year; for, concerning that year, Florentius, Hoveden, and others, speak expressly this: In the mean time the tyrant, Sweyn, gave command to make ready provisions in abundance for his navy, and for payment of an almost intolerable tribute. In like manner, Turkillus sent out his commands every where, that it should be paid to his fleet, which lay at Greenwich. That fleet of forty-five ships rode now-and-then in the Thames, near Greenwich, and then first received their promised pay; that is, in that very year, which, being discounted, is the thirty-eighth year, as Ingulphus would have it; wherefore its beginning was not ill-placed in that year. Without all question, that Ingulphus was a courtier in the time of William I, or a man of no mean account at the time wherein that was done which he relates; so that especial credit is to be given him in this particular: whereas also he saith, that king Edward remitted Dane-geld for ever. The same thing is affirmed also by Roger Hoveden, and Matthew the monk of Westminster, who saith, In the year of Grace 1051, king Edward absolved the people of England from that most grievous tribute of thirty-eight thousand pounds, which was usually paid to the Danish auxiliaries during his father's reign. Whereof we read also in [Hist. Minor. MS. in Bibliotheca Cottoniana] Matthew Paris. But Hoveden saith, king Edward absolved the people of England from that most grievous tribute in the thirty-eighth year after that his father, king Ethelred, had commanded it to be paid to the Danish soldiers. Others there are also that write to the same purpose. Some of the [MS. in Bibliotheca Cottoniana compacti cum Guil. Gifburnensis annalibus] English Saxon chronicles place the same thing in the following year, and so affirm, that there intervened thirty-nine years from the beginning of this tribute (which also they call heregeib, or heregild, that is, a military or naval tribute) to that abolishment of it by king Edward. Nevertheless, as to what concerns its beginning, they agree, with Ingulphus and Hoveden, to wit, in the year 1052, those chronicles render it thus: King Edward abolished that tribute or heregild, which had been formerly imposed by king Ethelred, to wit, in the nine-and-thirtieth year after it began. But yet, in the author of that [MS. penes Camerarios Scaccarii, c. 27. idem habetur *Dialogus etiam in Codice Rubro*, penes Rememoratorem Regis] dialogue concerning the exchequer, written in the time of king Henry II (commonly supposed to have been Gervasius Tilburienfis) we read it was yearly paid even till the time of king William I, or the Norman conquest; that is to say, for fourteen years complete, immediately after that abolishment: for, so long king Edward had reigned, whom that William succeeded. The author's words are these: The pirates of the adjacent islands, having made an irruption, and spoiling the sea-coasts, carried away gold, silver, and all things of any value; but as soon as the king and his subjects set forth any preparations of war, for the defence of their nation, they presently fled away by sea. But the chief

A. D. 1016. wards their fleet, which seems to have been at this time lying at the mouth of the Thames, and put on board it all the plunder they had carried off. They then entered into a treaty with the Londoners for leave to take up their winter quarters in that city, which was granted, upon their paying a liquidated sum (1).

Death and character of Edmund.

The death of Edmund is, by the Saxon chronicle, placed in 1016; but various are the conjectures as to its manner. The Saxon chronicles mention nothing farther than that he died on the feast of St. Andrew; but William of Malmesbury and Brompton re-

port, that he was taken off by the treason of Edric, in a shocking manner. The former says, that two of his bedchamber-men were bribed by Edric to dispatch him, as he was about the private occasions of nature, with a knife; others, that he fell by the hand of Edric's son; while other writers affirm, that he was taken off by poison. Whatever may be in this, it is certain that England, at that time, lost a great prince; his body and his spirit equally fitted for the times; and, by his death, the glory of the Saxon name was for some time eclipsed. His marriage and issue will be learned from the notes (2).

A. D. 1016.

16. CANUTE

chief among them, and evermore inclined to mischief, was that warlike and populous nation of the Danes, who, besides their ordinary desire of prey, pressed on the more furiously, because they laid claim to somewhat of ancient right on the government of the kingdom, as the British history relates more at large. Therefore, for the repelling of them, it was ordained by the kings of England, that two shillings silver, upon every hide of land, should, by a kind of custom, for ever be paid for the maintenance of valiant men, who, by scouting about continually and guarding the sea-coasts, might repress the invasion of enemies. And in regard this revenue was appointed chiefly because of the Danes, therefore it was called Dane-geld. And thereupon it was paid by yearly custom, as hath been said, under the English kings, until the time of king William I, who was of the Norman stock and nation. So that author, who would have this tribute to derive its name from the Danes, as if the navy had been maintained chiefly to drive them from the coasts of England: but, unquestionably, the first reason of the name is to be received, as it hath been alledged out of the passages before-mentioned (though afterwards there was a subsidy raised, and a tribute paid, for the like fleet, consisting of such as were not Danes, or of English) for the repelling of the Danes themselves, which was not improperly called by the same name. Touching the payment hereof, after the Norman conquest, I shall add more [cap. 15.] by and by. But as concerning what he saith here, that two shillings silver, upon every hide, were wont to be paid yearly for the raising of this tribute, the same is affirmed also by other ancient authors, as [edit. Londin. p. 276. edit. Francf. p. 482.] Roger Hoveden [Hist. Minore MS. in Bibliotheca Cottoniana, in Stephani R. initiis] and Matthew Paris: so that these men make the payment double to that which is before alledged out of the laws of the English Saxons. The yearly payment of this tribute is valued also, by Matthew of Westminster and Matthew Paris, at thirty-eight thousand pounds, as appears by the particulars already cited, which truly was written by them with very little discretion; nor have they dealt any better, who set down that payment at the rate of thirty thousand pounds, as the author of the chronicle called [MS. *ibid.*] *Chronicum Melrosense*. For, at what rate soever that tribute was paid to the king, according to the alteration of times, it appears for certain, that the stipends usually allowed to the Danish fleet were so uncertain, that they were set sometimes higher, sometimes lower (as we must suppose it could not otherwise happen) according to the number of ships and forces that were necessary for the guard of the sea; of which also there are examples among historians. Florentius, in the year 1014, saith, King Ethelred gave command, that the tribute, amounting to thirty thousand pounds, should be levied for the fleet that lay at Greenwich: so also Hoveden. But the [MS. in Bibliotheca Cottoniana] English Saxon chronicles of the abbey of Abingdon, say of the same year, The king commanded, that twenty-one thousand pounds should be paid to his army (for so the fleet is called every where in English Saxon) which rode at Greenwich. Here, you see, is no small difference in the number of pounds; but howsoever, if it be to be conceived of the yearly tax or tribute, then it was far less this year than it is reckoned by those monks, who speak of thirty-eight thousand pounds. Four years after, in the reign of king Canutus, who was a Dane, a far greater sum of money was raised for the maintenance of this fleet. That Florentius whom we have often cited, saith, In this year, that is 1018, seventy-two thousand pounds out of all England, and one thousand and fifty pounds out of London, were paid to the Danish fleet; and there remained forty ships with king Canutus, but the rest were returned to Denmark. Of which year Hoveden speaks thus: Out of all England seventy-two, and out of London four hundred and ten, pounds were paid to the Danish army or fleet; and there remained, &c. They differ about the sums, not the thing, wherein they agree with the English Saxon chronicles before-mentioned; yet these altogether speak contrary to that account of the certain sums, as it is set down by the aforesaid monks. But [Hist. Minor. MS. in Bibliotheca Cottoniana] Matthew Paris and Matthew of Westminster say, of the same time, that Canute sent home the Danish fleet, and stipendary soldiers (except forty ships, as appears by what hath been said already) having paid them, out of all England, eighty-two thousand pounds of silver. Also, in the second year of king Hardicanute, a tax was levied for the Danish army or fleet, amounting to twenty-one thousand and eighty-nine pounds, as Huntingdon tells us. All which particulars do, I suppose, sufficiently demonstrate, that the Danish tribute, here mentioned, was not fixed to any certain sum of yearly payment; and also, that an huge sum of money was wont to be paid yearly, at that time, to the kings of England, for the guard of the sea, (for to what purpose else was that fleet always kept, and so great forces levied every year, for the maintenance thereof?) But in the reign of king Henry II, the name of Dane-geld grew out of use; tributes or taxes being usually paid still, notwithstanding by other names that are very well known, for the guarding of the sea, as we shall shew by and by. But they are extremely mistaken, even they who agree either with John [MS. in Bibliotheca Cottoniana, anno 13, Ethelredi regis, seu Christi 991, p. 57.] the original of that yearly Dane-geld, so often mentioned every where, from the former kind of tribute which was paid to the Danes, for the procuring of a peace; and they also who [apud Jacob. Thuanum Hist. l. 95.] would have the wars to have been undertaken by the Danes and Saxons against the Britons, because they denied them a freedom of navigation; and that the end thereof was, that this tribute was upon that account imposed upon the nation when it was subdued.

(1) Thus, saith Hollinshed, our common writers have recorded of this agreement; but if I should not be thought presumptuous in taking upon me to reprove, or rather but to mistrust, that which hath been received for a true narration in this matter, I would rather give credit unto that which the author of a book (entitled by some, *Encomium Emmæ*) doth report in this behalf; which is, that through persuasion of Edric de Streona, king Edmund, immediately after the battle fought at Ashdown, sent ambassadors unto Canute, to offer unto him peace, with half the realm of England (that is, to wit, the north parts) with condition that king Edmund might quietly enjoy the south part, and thereupon to have pledges delivered interchangeably on either side. Canute, having heard the effect of this message, stayed to make answer till he had understood what his council would advise him to do in this behalf; and, upon good deliberation taken in the matter, considering that he had lost no small number of people in the former battle, and that being far out of his country he could not well have any new supply, (whereas the Englishmen, although they had likewise lost very many of their men of war, yet being in their own country it should be an easy matter for them to restore their decayed numbers) it was thought expedient, by the whole consent of all the Danish captains, that the offer of king Edmund should be accepted. And hereupon Canute, calling the ambassadors before him again, declared unto them, that he was contented to conclude a peace upon such conditions as they had offered; but yet with this addition, that their king, whatsoever he should be, should pay Canute's soldiers their wages, with money to be levied off that part of the kingdom which the English king should possess; for this, saith he, I have undertaken to see them paid, and otherwise I will not grant to any peace. The league and agreement, therefore, being concluded in this sort, pledges were delivered and received on both parts, and the armies discharged. But God, saith my author, being mindful of his old doctrine, "That every kingdom divided in itself cannot long stand," shortly after took Edmund out of this life; and by such means seemed to take pity of the English kingdom, lest, if both the kings should have continued in life together, they should have lived in danger. And incontinently hereupon was Canute chosen and received for absolute king of all the whole realm of England.

(2) We have an account of the person, marriage, and issue of this prince from Mr. Speed, as follows:
ALGITH, the wife of king Edmund, was the widow of Sigeforth, the son of Engrin, a Danish nobleman of Northumberland; which Sigeforth, with his brother Morcar, was murdered at Oxford by the treason of the never-faithful Edric;
NUMB. XXIV.

16. C A N U T E the G R E A T,

T H E

First D A N I S H King of E N G L A N D.

A. D. 1016.
Canute's title
to the crown.

THIS prince's title to the crown rested on a double claim, conquest and compact. The remains of the blood of Cerdic were yet numerous; and Canute's good sense instructed him, that his chief difficulty, in possessing Wessex, would lie in the construction of his treaty with Edmund. The late convention between the Danes and the Londoners, for which we have the authority of all our most creditable historians, is, I think, a full proof, that, by the said treaty, London remained to Edmund; for else why should the Danes have paid a consideration for leave of winter-quarters in a city belonging to their own prince. But I am apt to believe, though all our historians have overlooked this circumstance, that the after-success of Canute was owing to that convention; for the first act of his government we meet with, is his calling an assembly of the English states at London, which we never can suppose he could have been possessed of, but through the assistance of a Danish army which was quartered there. That he was conscious of a defect in his title, appears from the speech he made to this assembly. He found the general sense of the English to be, that the blood of Cerdic was still to enjoy the throne of their fathers. Canute put the question to the assembled nobles, whether they were present at the agreement, when the partition between him and Edmund was made? From this question the said agreement appears to have been personal and verbal. This question stunned the assembly; and was followed by another, Whether any stipulation was made, by the said treaty, in favour of the Cerdic race? They readily answered: "That they knew none in favour of Edmund's brothers; and that if any were made in favour of his children, they were sensible that Edmund designed that Canute should be their guardian till they came of adult age." This

He calls a
council,

and disseizes
Edmund's
children of
Wessex,
through the
treachery of
the English
nobles,

daftardly equivocating answer met the wishes of Canute but half way; yet it won time for his ambition to contrive how to improve it: for it put him in the actual possession of the English monarchy.

Canute, however, was resolved not to reign in right of another. He equally hated and despised the nobles, who had so meanly prevaricated, without being honest enough to speak a dangerous truth, or villains enough to seal an infamous falsehood. Our historians tell us, that they soon after met with the reward of their demerits, by being put to death by order of the Dane, who, immediately, exacted an oath of allegiance from the English in his own right. This is the most probable account of that great event; though Higden and Brompton, with some moderns, tell us, they flatly answered, that they knew of no provision made in favour of Edmund's posterity. But this ill agrees with what all historians witness, that Canute put those noblemen to death on account of the evidence they gave.

Canute, sensible how strongly the English were affected to the race of Cerdic, began now to contrive how to establish his throne by their blood. The infamous Edric was the natural instrument for him to employ on that occasion. To have put to death the two sons of Edmund, either privately or openly, might have shaken the new-laid foundations of his government, without answering his purposes, since the two brothers of Edmund were alive in Normandy, and, upon the removal of their nephews, must have succeeded to their right of blood. Canute, therefore, contrived that an oath for abjuring all the family of Edmund should be exacted of the English noblemen. This, in fact, extinguishing all the right the family could claim, excepting that of blood, the two young princes, Edward and Edmund, were reduced to the condition of private persons.

A. D. 1016.

[Simeon of
Durham,
Florence.]
whom he puts
to death.

He contrives
to remove the
family of
Edmund.

and this lady, being of great beauty and noble parentage, after the death of her husband and the seizure of his lands, was by king Ethelred committed in charge to the monastery of Malmesbury, where Edmund seeing her, grew in great love, and there married her, against the liking of his father, in anno 1015.

H I S I S S U E.

EDWARD, the eldest son of king Edmund and queen Alghith his wife, was surnamed the Outlaw, because he lived out of England in Hungary, as a banished man, through the reign of Canute and of his sons, the Danes: but when his uncle, king Edward the Confessor, had obtained the English crown, he was by him recalled, and most honourably in his court entertained, till, lastly, he was taken away by death in the city of London, in the year of Christ 1057. He married Agatha, sister to queen Sophia, wife to Salomon king of Hungary, and daughter to the emperor Henry II; by whom he had Edgar, surnamed Atheling, confirmed heir-apparent by Edward the Confessor, his great-uncle; which title, notwithstanding, proceeded no farther, for that he was deprived thereof by Harold his protector.

The daughters of this Edward, as after shall be said, were Margaret and Christian; the younger of which became a veiled nun at Ramsey in Hampshire, where she in that devotion spent her life, and was there interred.

MARGARET, the elder, and afterwards sole heir unto the Saxon monarchy, married Malcolm, the third of that name, king of Scotland, and commonly called Canmore; from which princely bed, in a lineal descent, our high and mighty monarch king James I, doth, in his most royal person, unite the Britons, Saxons, Normans, and Scottish imperial crowns in one.

EDMUND, the second and youngest son of king Edmund, and of queen Alghith his wife, after his father's decease, being a child, was, with his brother Edward, sent by Canute to Olave king of Sweden, his half-brother, to the intent that he by murder should make them both away; but this king, taking pity on the innocent children's estate, sent them to Salomon king of Hungary, to the intent to have them saved, where they were received with great favour and honour: and Matthew of Westminster reporteth, that this prince married the daughter of the same king; and other writers of these times, that he died in the same country, without any issue of his body.

A. D. 1016.

He sends
them into
Sweden.
From thence
they go to
Hungary.

Canute, however, thinking their residing in England would be attended with great inconveniences to his government, resolved to send them abroad. Our historians tell us, they were first sent to the king of Sweden, and, by him, to Salomon, king of Hungary. Brompton places this event after the marriage of Canute with queen Emma; and says, that the royal infants were committed to the charge of a Dane, whose name was Walgar, who had a general order, "to deal so effectually by them, as that they should never return again into England." But their youth and innocence got them friends wherever they went, as shall be shewn hereafter (1).

He next falls
upon the sons
of Ethelred.

The sons of Ethelred stood next in Canute's way; the two eldest were at the court of their uncle, the duke of Normandy; but Edwy, the third, and according to some authors, a fourth of the same name, who was a natural son, remained in England, and was high in reputation with the people. Simeon of Durham says, that this Edwy was doomed to banishment by the assembly of the states; but that Canute, willing to have him made away, consulted with Edric how it might be best effected. The traitor recommended one Ethelred as a fit man for this purpose; but he abhorring the office, under various pretences, declined it. Canute, therefore, dreading the virtues and popularity (2) of this prince, suffered the sentence of banishment to take place; but being equally uneasy at his presence and his absence, soon after recalled him, and had him privately put to death. But I am more apt to believe what William of Malmesbury says, that Edwy, broken in body as well as mind, with toils both by sea and land, privately returned to England, and ended his days in obscurity at Tavestock.

State of Eng-
land under
Canute.

Whatever some authors may write, as to hereditary sovereignties in the persons of northern princes, it is certain that Canute looked upon himself only as the general of the Danes in time of war, and their political head in time of peace. The leaders who had assisted him to mount this step of greatness, thought themselves entitled to their several shares of the new acquisitions. In the first year, therefore, of his reign, England was divided into four parts; to himself he allotted Wessex, as being the principal kingdom of the English monarchy; to Thurkytel, East-Anglia; to Edric, Mercia; and to Yric Northumberland (3). The

It is divided
into four
parts.

power which those noblemen had over their several counties, in civil and judiciary matters, was independent, in some sense, upon the chief monarch. In a political and military capacity, he was supreme, as he commanded their armies in the field, and presided in all councils, where the end of their deliberations was the good of the whole. They were, therefore, obliged to obey his call, when summoned either to the field or the council, and to assist him to the utmost of their power in both capacities. This, upon the most impartial enquiry, seems to have been the constitution of the Danish government at the accession of this prince; but it must be owned his politics soon took another bent, that raised him to a degree of power more extensive indeed, but more agreeable to the principles of English government.

A. D. 1016.

Reflection
upon the na-
ture of Ca-
nute's govern-
ment at his
accession.

A man of Canute's sagacity could not but think both his own safety, and that of his dominions, very precarious, while such a wretch as Edric possessed so much interest as he did. On the other hand, Edric, presuming upon his merits in betraying and ruining the family of Ethelred, saw with disdain others possessing an equal share with himself in Canute's councils and affections. Soon after the partition of the government, a debate happened in the council-chamber, which, according to Brompton, stood just over the Thames. Some expressions happening to pique Edric, he was incautious and insolent enough to upbraid Canute for not having sufficiently rewarded him for the services he had done him in betraying and murdering Edmund. Canute, at once impatient of reproach, and glad of an opportunity to reconcile justice to safety, instantly replied, "That Edmund was his friend and his ally, and the other's sovereign and master; that he, therefore, condemned himself of the blackest of treason out of his own mouth; and that no other proofs, besides his confession and insolence, were wanting." Ordering the traitor therefore to be tied neck and heels, he was thrown out of the window into the Thames, where he immediately perished (4). This, in the main, is what we learn from our historians concerning the fate of this traitor; nor could Canute have done an act more agreeable to justice, more safe to himself, nor more popular to the English.

Canute puts
Edric to
death.

The next care of the Dane was to make a farther progress in conciliating the English

(1) A digression in the laws of Edward the Confessor, says Mr. Milton, under the title of *Lex Noricorum*, saith, that this Edward, for fear of Canute, fled of his own accord to Malesclot, king of the Bugians, who received him honourably, and of that country gave him a wife.

(2) He was called *Ceorles cyng*, that is, king of the clowns; which epithet he probably got from his great interest with the common people, whose affections ran very strong in favour of his family.

(3) By the way, I am not satisfied with the opinion of Camden, Lambart, Spelman, and generally all our English antiquaries and historians who have treated of these matters, that there were in this kingdom, before the conquest, three codes, or digests of laws; which, from the several countries wherein they first prevailed, were rightly named the West-Saxon, Mercian, and Danish laws. This conceit is derived down, without contradiction or due examination, from the most early translators of our Saxon records, who took it for granted, that *laga* (in *West-sexena-laga*, *Myrcena-laga*, and *Dena-laga*) was a word of the same import and signification with the Norman *ley*; whereas, in truth, *laga*, or *lage*, is properly a country or district; and so, it is very evident, it ought to have been translated in the laws of Ethelbert, Canute, and Edward the Confessor, even in those very parts of them which have occasioned all these mistakes.

(4) But Henry of Huntingdon, and Alred, abbot of Rievall, say, that Edric was the first who saluted Canute sole king of all England; to whom when he had told all the matter, the king answered, "Well, for so great a good turn I will advance thy head above all the lords in England;" and thereupon commanding him to be beheaded, ordered his head to be set upon the tower of London.

A. D. 1017. to his government; and, for this purpose, he affected all the character of an English king. Two things were necessary upon this occasion, popularity at home, and security from abroad. The most probable way of providing for the former, was by removing from the English all dread of introducing foreign laws and customs; and of acquiring the latter, was by entering into a close alliance with the duke of Normandy, the quarter from which he had most to dread.

English laws confirmed.

The Danish laws, which had been introduced into those provinces where the Danes governed (I mean the kingdoms of East-Anglia and Northumberland) had taken too deep root there to be abolished. Besides, the fundamental principles of both, according to the learned Sir Henry Spelman, were the same.

"Our Saxons, says he, though divided into many kingdoms; yet were they all one in effect, in manners, laws, and language: so that the breaking of their government into many kingdoms, or the re-uniting of their kingdoms into a monarchy, wrought little or no change among them touching laws. For though we talk of the West Saxon law, the Mercian law, and the Dane law, whereby the west parts of England, the middle parts, and those of Norfolk, Suffolk, and the North were generally governed; yet held they all an uniformity in substance, differing rather in their mulcts, than in their canon; that is, in the quantity of fines and amercements, than in the course and frame of justice."

Vid. Historical Library, and Pref. to Wilkins in Leg. Ang. Sax.

Archbishop Nicholson has exploded the distinction of laws mentioned by Sir Henry, and thinks it was owing to the ignorance of the Normans in the Danish language; but it will be very difficult for the favourers of this learned prelate to prove, that the Danes did not introduce into those parts of England where their interest lay, many both laws and customs, which, though not fundamentally different, might, if adopted by Canute, have begot great confusion in matters both civil and criminal. But Canute took care to remove all fears of this kind, by a professed zeal for the impartial administration of justice, and securing to every province of his monarchy the possession of the municipal laws by which it was governed. This was extremely agreeable to the English, especially when his impartiality was such, that the Danes were subjected to the laws of England equally with the English themselves; and no consideration could exempt a malefactor, whatever his rank or nation might be, from public justice.

Canute's great impartiality.

He makes an alliance with the duke of Normandy.

Canute's next care was, to make such an alliance as should remove all he had to apprehend from the power of the duke of Normandy. Emma, the fair widow of Ethelred, was still alive at the Norman court; and, though past the bloom of beauty, was, at that time, one of the most desirable of her sex in the perfections both of body and mind. The reader may remember that, during this lady's marriage with Ethelred, Sweyn was the chief enemy he had to do

with; and it is possible that the preference given to Edmund, who was of disputable legitimacy, might dispose her and her family to listen to a match with the most powerful monarch of Europe, as Canute then was. The terms were, that, upon the decease of Canute, the crown of England should descend to the children, if any, of that marriage, in prejudice of Harold and Sweyn, two sons of Canute already in being. The best authors inform us, that Richard, duke of Normandy, made the match double, by marrying, at the same time, Hestrietha, the sister of Canute. In August the marriage ceremonies were celebrated on both sides with great magnificence; though it is plain, that Emma, by this match, cut off, as far as in her lay, all the hopes of her own sons, by Ethelred, ever succeeding to the crown of England.

A. D. 1018.

Marries Emma, queen-dowager of England.

In the year 1018, Canute gave a remarkable proof of his regard to the English nation. His Danish army and navy had hitherto remained in England, and by the persuasion of his wife Emma, who very possibly disliked their presence, he called a great council at Oxford, to consult upon the means of sending them home. Here it was resolved, that about eighty-one thousand pounds should be paid them for their arrears, eleven thousand of which was raised by the city of London; and then all but forty ships, which were thought necessary for the defence of the kingdom, were sent back to Denmark. The same parliament likewise confirmed and enforced the observance of the laws of Edgar. Those popular acts rendered the other measures he had in view the more practicable; for, about this time, we find, according to Brompton, that he stripped Yric of Northumberland, and forced Thurkytel, the governor of East-Anglia, into banishment.

Canute sends home his Danish troops.

Canute seizes the whole of the government.

Till now, Canute had never thought himself to be king of England. Those two events brought the constitution back to its first principles, and rendered it easy for Canute to supply all the inferior posts of government with persons he could depend upon. Being now firmly seated in the absolute sovereignty of all England, he had leisure to turn his eyes towards his patrimonial dominions. They were, at this time, harassed by the Vandals, and the doubtful state of the war required his presence. The English, who by this time were entirely reconciled to his government, made no difficulty in raising a considerable body of English forces, which he transported over into Denmark, under the command of the famous earl Godwin. Polydore Virgil, who, in a matter not affecting the authority of the pope or his own order, ought to have some degree of credit, as he had great opportunities of information, tells us, that those Vandals were the Norwegians who, under the command of Olaus their king, had invaded Denmark. Harold, the brother of Olaus, a man of great courage and experience in military affairs, was joined with him in command. This is the more

Passes over to Denmark.

Carries with him an English army.

likely,

A. D. 1020.

likely, because confirmed by the Danish historians. The progress of the Norwegians in Denmark was such, as endangered even Canute's crown; but meeting with a favourable voyage, he soon checked them. Godwin, wanting to signalize himself by some remarkable action, and commanding a separate body, while every thing was in readiness for a general battle, drew off the English troops privately, and surprizing the Norwegians, put them to a general rout; which next morning agreeably surprized Canute, who met with a victory before he knew of a battle. This circumstance gives some countenance to believe, that Godwin did not think himself under Canute's power while abroad; for we find no military or other punishment inflicted upon Godwin for this breach of military discipline. But of this we will venture to pronounce nothing decisive. Thus much, however, is certain, that Canute, ever after this campaign, held his English and his Danes in an equal degree of esteem and affection.

Their gallant
behaviour.Canute at war
with the
Swedes.

From the completion of our history it appears, that Canute was at war not only with the Norwegians, but with the Swedes likewise. The Danish historians say, that Olaus, the king of Norway, had furnished a body of troops to Canute, against Edmund; that, upon the peace between those two princes, no consideration being had to the interests of the Norwegian, he had, in conjunction with the Swede, invaded Denmark. The same historians all agree, that Canute, at the beginning of the campaign, was defeated, and must have lost his dominions had it not been for the valour of the English.

Canute returns
to England,

In the year 1020, Canute, having checked both the Norwegians and Swedes, returned into England. His presence here was the more necessary, on account of some dangerous practices among the nobility. A great council of the states was called that same year at Cirencester, where the English laws were further enforced, and some farther regulations made with regard to the Danes who had been settled in Northumberland and the other provinces. We are likewise told, that in this council one Ethelward was outlawed, but for what crime does not appear. Canute, about this time, gave the nation the strongest assurances of his being an Englishman in his heart: justice was administered with true and impartial policy; every popular measure was pursued; and no means were wanting, on the part of the monarch, to efface from the minds of the English the barbarity of his countrymen. As an instance of this, the Saxon chronicles inform us, that this year he went to Ashdown (by some called Ashingdon, and by the chronicle Afsendune) where he ordered a church to be built of lime and stone, in which prayers were to be offered for the benefit of those who had fallen in the battle fought there between him and Edmund. This concern, even for his enemies because they were English, was equally wise and generous, and did him more honour than even the battle he thereby commemorated.

and pursues
popular mea-
sures.

It may now be proper to turn our eyes to the other countries of Britain, Wales and Scotland. North Wales was, at this time, governed by Lewellyn. This prince found means likewise to possess himself of South Wales; while the justice and moderation of his government brought both those countries to a pitch of happiness, they had seldom experienced: for we are told, that there was not, at this time, a beggar in the whole country, every man having sufficient of his own to live upon, and the nation growing every day more and more populous. Lewellyn's title, however, of conquest over South Wales, not suiting the spirit of the Welsh, an Irish impostor (by some said to have been a Scot) of mean birth, pretended to be the son of Meredyth ap Owen, a late prince of Wales. The impudence of this fellow's pretences, and the plausibility of his title, won so far upon the Southern Welsh, that he soon was put at the head of a considerable army. Lewellyn was not wanting to himself; for raising the forces of North Wales, and advancing to Abergwilly (that is, the mouth of the river Gwilly) where Reyn (for so the impostor was named) lay, he resolved to give him battle. This being accepted with equal ardour, they both encouraged their men, till Lewellyn, conscious of the impostor's baseness, and that his soul was as mean as his blood, rode into the front of both armies, and calling out for Reyn, defied him to single combat for daring to belye the blood of British princes. Reyn, appalled at his rival's courage, like a coward, fled from the field. But, it seems, it was not for Reyn that the South Welsh fought, but from the innate hatred they bore to the Northern Welsh: for, notwithstanding the dastardly behaviour of the impostor, the battle continued with great fury, till at last Lewellyn's military virtue bore down all opposition. The Southern Welsh were defeated; Reyn was pursued so close, that he hardly escaped; Lewellyn got great booty; and the Welsh submitted, with peace and contentment, to the government of so brave a man.

The Welsh
impostor de-
feated.

Lewellyn, had he been possessed with the restless spirit of some of his predecessors, might have endangered the government of Canute, by taking advantage of his frequent absence, to excite commotions, by heading the English party, or by invading England: but he seems to have waited for a fairer opportunity. The virtues of Canute had lain asleep the animosities of the English against the Danes; while the Welsh were, perhaps, much better pleased to see the government of England in the hands of the Danes, than if the house of Cerdic, from whose ambition they had suffered so much, had recovered its past lustre. Besides, it appears from the Welsh historians, that though Lewellyn's great capacity for government had allayed the animosities of his subjects, yet it might have been dangerous for him to have looked abroad, as he knew that the smallest encouragement might revive them.

Reflection
upon the hi-
story of Wales
at this period.

It is now time to survey the state of the
4 C Scots,

A. D. 1020. Scots, then equally harrassed by the Danes as England had been, but with unequal fate. Malcolm II, in those days, governed the Scottish nation. He came to the crown under great disadvantages, but had address enough to unite all parties in the interest of their country. He had given shelter to Sweyn in his adverse fortunes; but when the tide of success turned in the Dane's favour, the Scot, faithful to his engagements with the English, had ever furnished stipulated succours, and became thereby hated equally by the English and by the ungrateful Dane. In a short time, a large body of Danes landed at the mouth of the river Spey, and advancing into Murray, the fairest province in Scotland, they destroyed it with fire and sword. Malcolm omitted nothing that could be expected from a brave king. He drew together his army; he laid before them the faithlessness of the Danes, the important interest they themselves had at stake; and endeavoured, by many arguments drawn from former success, to animate them. This, indeed, roused his soldiers from their despondency, which they had entertained at the sight of a body so superior to themselves in number, and to whose cruelty, courage, and force, they were no strangers. But for fear of being thought cowards, they became madmen; they lost that firmness which is ever the best omen of victory; they attacked the Danes rather with frenzy than with courage; they were cut to pieces; and their king, doing all that a brave man could do, was carried out of the field desperately wounded. The Danes, though with great loss, remained victors; and those places of the country which still held out against their power, immediately fell into their hands. Soon after, resolving to settle in Murray, they sent their ships back to Denmark, to bring over their wives and families into Scotland. But Malcolm, with indefatigable spirit, renewed the war, and attacked them (exulting with success, and meditating farther conquests) at a place called Morthlac. The numbers, experience, and bravery of the Danes, were at first victorious. The noblest of Malcolm's generals were killed; while he himself, with resolution truly royal, posted himself in a defile through which the Danes were to pursue their victory, and determined on that spot to sell his life or recover his fortunes. Success was favourable to his generous resolve; with his own hand he enacted wonders; and one of the Danish generals, who, with an assurance of victory, had eased his head of its helmet's load, being killed, the bruit running instantly through the Scottish host, the most dastardly among them took courage, while that of the brave was redoubled, and Malcolm had the glory to wrest victory out of the hands of his cruel enemy. The loss of both parties was so great, that each stood on the defensive the remaining part of the campaign, which, had it gone in favour of the Danes, must have opened his way to the entire conquest of Scotland. Sweyn, sensible that his countrymen there must in time be destroyed

without a speedy reinforcement, next spring ordered Camus, one of his generals, to invade Scotland with a strong body both of veterans and new levies. But the Scotch king acted with such spirit and conduct, that Camus himself was killed, and every man of his army cut to pieces. Sweyn, still unbroken by this calamity, sent another army into Scotland with Canute at their head. Another battle was fought; bloody indeed it was; but victory declared for neither party. This produced a peace, on the terms of the Danes evacuating Scotland, and that both nations should live in amity during the joint lives of their reigning kings. Malcolm, after an active and a glorious reign, was succeeded by Duncan, his grandson. This prince, while he governed Cumberland, had been so faithful to his engagements with the English, that Canute entertained a personal dislike to him. As Duncan was destitute of military knowledge, there was therefore greater hopes of his being able to succeed in the conquest of Scotland. But we shall now return to the history of Canute.

In the year 1021, a meeting of the states (which, in an old manuscript cited by the lord chief justice Coke, is called a parliament) was held at Winchester. It was here, according to some of our most ancient authors, that Thurkytel was out-lawed; though it appears that he had, before this, forfeited the king's favour and protection, and that his lands had been seized by the crown: for Canute, still pursuing his popular maxims, accused him of being the means of the late archbishop of Canterbury's barbarous murder. His power, however, was great in his own country, and to that he fled; but no sooner was he landed, than, possibly by the orders of Canute, he was put to death by the government. Canute did several other popular acts at this time; and Lewellyn, the brave prince of Wales, then dying, such disputes arose about his succession, that he had nothing to fear from that quarter.

In the year 1022, we find Canute sailing with his fleet into the isle of Wight. As no reason is given for this expedition, we may reasonably believe it was in order to exercise his fleet. Matthew of Westminster, in this year, tells us, that the laws of Edward I. were translated into Latin from the English, by order of Canute, and on account of their equity introduced into Denmark. The year 1023 is distinguished by no civil transaction. But our historians inform us, that the king himself, this year, with his own hands, translated the body of Ælphige, the late archbishop of Canterbury, from London to Canterbury; and that, by the advice of his queen, he redoubled his good offices and attention to the English nation, "endeavouring, says Matthew of Westminster, to wipe out the stains of his former conduct, and to atone for the barbarities of his predecessors in the eyes both of God and man."

In the year 1024, we have nothing remarkable: but in the following year, the ambition of Canute was awakened by his friends

A. D. 1020.
State and history of Scotland.

Error of the Scots.

The Danes settle in Scotland.

Defeated by the Scots.

A. D. 1024.
The Danes reinforced.

Canute sent into Scotland.
Fights an equal battle.

and makes peace with the Scots.

A parliament held at Winchester.

William of Malmesbury.

Canute sails for the isle of Wight.

His acts of piety and popularity.

A. D. 1030. friends in Norway, who informed him, that Olave, the king of that country, was, for the softness of his temper, and the inactivity of his conduct, in great contempt with his own subjects; and that it would be easy, by a proper distribution of money among the Norwegian nobles, to prevail with them to throw off their allegiance to Olave, and to

He resolves to attempt to seize the crown of Norway; but Denmark is invaded by the Swedes,

who defeat Canute.

Canute succeeds in his views upon Norway.

declare in favour of Canute. Canute was not wanting to his own interest on this occasion; for he sent over money enough for all the purposes of corruption, and formed a strong party in Norway. In the mean time the Swedes, who perhaps had the same view upon the throne of Norway, invaded Canute's paternal dominions. Canute, alarmed at this, immediately set out with a great fleet for Denmark. His army was composed of English and Danes, and encountered by Ulf and Eglaff, two Swedish generals, who defeated them in a bloody battle, and forced Canute to return that same year to England. We read of no warlike or civil transaction that happened during the years 1026, and 1027; but in the year 1028, Canute's designs upon Norway being now ripe, he sailed over with a squadron of fifty ships, and drove its unhappy prince from his throne. After which, receiving the allegiance of the Norwegians, he returned to England.

Hacun conspires against his government.

Olave, king of Norway, murdered.

The duke of Normandy endeavours to restore the family of Cerdic to the crown of England.

His presence here seems at that time to have been very seasonable. One Hacun, a Danish nobleman, who had married Gunhilda, daughter to Canute's sister, was at this time practising how to effect a revolution. The dispositions of the Scots, the Welsh and the Normans were favourable for his purposes; and the former services he had done Canute had so far won that prince's confidence, that he found it easy to betray him. We know of no particulars of his conspiracy; only we are told, that Hacun was banished immediately upon Canute's return, for practices which affected that prince's life and dignity (1). The next year, which was 1030, Olave, the exiled king of Norway, made an attempt to recover his dominions, in which he miserably perished.

About the same time, and in this year, as is more than probable, application was made by Robert, duke of Normandy, in favour of the two exiled sons of Ethelred, who had, ever since the time of their father's exile, been generously entertained at the Norman court. As the power of the Norman was great, his message was haughty and ill-brooked by a man of Canute's principles. The Norman ambassadors, therefore, being dismissed without any satisfactory answer, Robert prepared to force by his arms what had been denied to his demands.

He called together an assembly of his states, and laying before them the justice of the cause in which he was engaged, prevailed on them to assist him in fitting out a powerful fleet. Going to sea with a design to invade England, he met with a storm, which obliged him to put into Guernsey. Here he found his ships so shattered, and the weather so unfavourable, that he was forced, to his great mortification, to return to France. Not losing sight, however, of this expedition, he sent out a squadron of his fleet to cruize upon the English navigation, and to block up their harbours, while he himself prepared to carry a strong army over, both of horse and foot in transports, to attack Canute in the heart of his dominions.

Had not the title of Canute been founded in so much blood, and the affections of the English been strongly biased in favour of the family of Cerdic, he might have despised all the Norman's preparations. But a prince with a disputed title to his throne, when the pretender is supported by foreign power and domestic faction, finds it often necessary, nay wise, to fall into measures which a firmer government would disdain. Such were the circumstances of Canute; for we find him entering into a treaty with the court of Normandy, in which he proposed, by his ambassadors, to resign, during his own life (which, by reason of his bodily infirmities, he believed would be but short) half his kingdom to the exiled princes. This proposition had the effect of suspending, for some weeks, the Norman preparations, which were delayed from time to time, till the inclemency of the season rendered the invasion of England, for that year, impracticable. The next year, a strain of devotion obliged the Norman duke to set out upon a pilgrimage to Jerusalem; resolving, upon his return, to re-attempt the restoration of the young princes: but leaving his son William, then an infant of seven years of age, afterwards the famous conqueror of the kingdom of England, in the hands of guardians, and himself dying upon his journey, Canute thereby gained a respite from that quarter.

The year 1031 is noted only for the excessive liberalities of Canute to the church; and this year we find him performing a journey from Denmark to Rome, where he made large presents to several of the churches, and kept the solemnity of Easter with pope John XIX. From thence, upon his return, he sent over a letter to England, by Living, abbot of Tavestock, which being still extant in Malmesbury, and in itself a great curiosity, I shall give an extract of it, with the original itself in the notes (2).

Canute's liberality to the church. He goes to Rome.

“ Canute,

(1) Some historians, though I think improbably, say, that Canute sent him away on an embassy, and had him dispatched in the Orkney islands.

(2) Cnuto, rex totius Angliæ, et Danamarchiæ, et Norwegiæ, et partis Suavorum, Ailnotho metropolitano, et Alfrico Eboracensi omnibusque episcopis et primatibus, et toti genti Anglorum, tam nobilibus quam plebeis, salutem. Notifico vobis me noviter isse Romam oratum pro redemptione peccaminum meorum, et pro salute regnorum, quique meo subjacent regimini, populorum. Hanc quidem profectionem Deo jam olim devoveram; sed pro negotiis regni, et causis impediens, huc usque non poteram perficere. Nunc autem ipsi Deo meo omnipotenti valde humiliter gratias ago, quod concessit in vita mea, Petrum et Paulum beatos apostolos, et omne sanctuarium, quod intra urbem Romam aut extra addicere potui expetere, et secundum desiderium meum, presentialiter venerari et adorare. Et ideo hoc maxime patravi, quia a sapientibus didici

A. D. 1031.

The curious
letter he
wrote upon
his return.

“ Canute, king of all England, Denmark, and Norway, with part of Sweden, wisheth health to Ailoth the metropolitan, and Alfric of York, and to all bishops, primates, and to all the English nation, both nobles and commoners. Know ye, that I lately undertook a journey to Rome, to pray for the remission of my sins, for the welfare of my kingdom, and that of the people subject to my government. This is a journey I had long vowed to make; but I still, till lately, was prevented by the exigences of my kingdom, and other causes. Now I humbly thank Almighty God, who has, in this life, granted me, according to my desire, leave personally to venerate and adore the holy apostles, Peter and Paul, with whatever is holy or sacred, either within or without the walls of Rome. This I was the more inclined to effect, because I had learned, from wise men, that St. Peter had received from the Lord great power of loosing and tying, and that he was the key-keeper of heaven; therefore I thought it extremely convenient particularly to bespeak his patronage with God. Now be it known to you, that there was present with pope John and the emperor Conrade, a great assembly of nobles at the festival of Easter, who all of them received me with great honour and made me particular presents. The emperor, especially, made me a great many presents of gold and silver plate, as well as of robes and apparel. I then conferred with the emperor, and my lord the pope, and the other princes who were present, with regard to the hardships of my people, both English and Danes; demanding that they might be upon more

easy terms; that they might be more secure in their persons, when upon their journeys to Rome; not meeting with so many obstacles, and being plagued with paying so many tolls upon the road. This was granted by the emperor and king Rodolph, and by all the other princes, who issued out orders that all my subjects, both merchants and they who went to Rome on religious accounts, should be free from all molestations of tolls and impositions, both in their going and returning. I then complained, before my lord the pope, and informed him, that I could not but take it very much amiss, that my archbishops should be so much harrassed, and pay so great sums of money, whenever, as customary, they went to demand their palls at Rome. Upon which the pope made a decree, that the like should not be done in time to come. Every thing which I demanded for the advantage of my people from the pope, the emperor, king Rodolph, and the other princes through whose territories I passed, was most cheerfully granted, and confirmed even under the sanction of an oath, in the presence, and under the testimony of four archbishops, twenty bishops, and a great many of the temporal nobility. I resolved, therefore, to pay my thanks to God, having thus succeeded in every thing I purposed. Now be it therefore known to you all, that I purpose to devote myself, in every respect, to God; to reform my life; to govern with justice and piety the people committed to my care; to distribute impartial justice; and if any part of my past conduct has been inconsistent with the rules of justice, through the folly or inadvertency of youth, to amend the

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didici sanctum Petrum apostolum magnam potestatem accepisse a domino ligandi atque solvendi, clavigerumque esse regni celestis; et ideo specialiter ejus patrocinium apud Deum expetere valde utile duxi. Sit autem vobis notum, quia magna congregatio in ipsa solemnitate paschali, ibi cum domino papa Johanne, et imperatore Cunrado erat, scilicet omnes principes gentium, a monte Gargano, usque ad istum proximum mare, qui omnes me et honorifice suscepere, et magnificis donis honoravere. Maximo autem ab imperatore donis variis et muneribus pretiosis honoratum sum, tam in vasis aureis et argenteis, quam in palliis et vestibus valde pretiosis. Locutus sum igitur cum ipso imperatore et domino papa, et principibus qui ibi erant, de necessitatibus totius populi mei, tam Angli, quam Dani, ut iis concederetur lex æquior, et pax securior in viâ Romam adeundi, et ne tot clausuris per viam arcerentur, et propter injustum telonium fatigentur, annuitque postulatis imperator, et Rodolphus rex, qui maxime ipsarum clausurarum dominator, cunctique principes edictis firmarunt ut homines mei tam mercatores, quam alii orandi gratia viatores, absque omni angaria clausurarum et teloniariorum, cum firma pace Romam eant, et redeant. Conquestus sum iterum coram domino papa, et mihi valde displicere dixi, quod mei archiepiscopi in tantam angariabantur immensitate pecuniarum quæ ab eis expetebantur, dum pro pallio accipiendo secundum morem apostolicam sedem expeterent, decretumque est, ne id deinceps fiat. Cuncta enim quæ a domino papa imperatore, et a rege Rodolpho, cæterisque principibus, per quorum terras nobis transitus est ad Romam, pro meæ gentis utilitate postulabam, libenter annuerunt, et concessio etiam sacramento firmaverunt, sub testimonio quatuor archiepiscoporum, et viginti episcoporum, et innumeræ multitudinis ducum et nobilium quæ aderat. Quapropter Deo omnipotenti gratias magnificas reddo, quia omnia quæ desideraveram, prout mente decreveram, prospere perfici, votisque meis ad velle satisfeci. Nunc itaque sit notum, quia ipsi Deo supplex devovi vitam meam a modo in omnibus justificare, et regna mihi subdita populosque juste et pie regere, æquumque judicium per omnia observare, et si quid per meæ juventutis intemperantiam aut negligentiam hætenus, præter id quod justum erat, est actum, totum Deo auxiliante dispono emendare. Idcirco obtestor et præcipio meis consiliariis, quibus regni consilia credidi, ne ullo modo aut propter meum timorem, aut alicujus potentis personæ favorem, aliquam injustitiam a modo consentiant, vel faciant pullulare in omni regno meo. Præcipio etiam omnibus vicecomitibus et præpositis universi regni mei, sicut meam volunt habere amicitiam, aut suam salutem, ut nulli homini nec diviti nec pauperi vim injustam inferant, sed omnibus tam nobilibus quam ignobilibus sit fas justa lege potiundi, a qua nec propter favorem regium, nec propter alicujus potentis personam, nec propter mihi congerendam pecuniam, ullo modo devient: quia nulla mihi necessitas est, ut iniqua exactione pecunia mihi congeratur. Ego itaque vobis notum fieri volo; quod eadem via qua exivi regrediens, Danamarchiam vado, pacem et firmum pactum omnium Danorum consilio compositurus cum eis gentibus, quæ nos et vita et regno privare, si eis esset possibile, volebant, sed non potuerunt: Deo scilicet virtutem eorum destruyente, quia nos sub benignitate in regno et honore conservet, omniumque inimicorum nostrorum potentiam adnihilet. Composita deinceps pace cum gentibus, quæ in circuitu nostro sunt, dispositoque et pacato omni regno nostro hic in oriente, ita ut a nulla parte bellum, aut inimicitias aliquorum timere habeamus, quam citius hac æstate apparatus navigii habere potero, Angliam venire dispono. Hanc autem epistolam jam præmisi, ut de mea prosperitate omnis populus regni mei lætificetur, quia ut vos ipsi scitis nunquam memet ipsum, nec meum laborem abstinui, nec adhuc abstinebo impendere, pro omnis populi mei necessaria utilitate. Nunc igitur obtestor omnes episcopos meos et regni mei præpositos, per fidem quam Deo et mihi debetis, quatenus faciatis ut antequam Angliam veniam, omnium debita quæ secundum legem antiquam debemus sint persoluta; scilicet elemosyna pro aratris, et decimæ animalium ipso anno procreatorum, et Danarii, quos Romam ad sanctum Petrum debetis sive ex urbibus, sive ex villis, et mediante augusto decimæ frugum, et in festivitate sancti Martini primitiæ seminum ad ecclesiam sub cujus parochia quisque degit, quæ Anglicæ Circescea nominatur. Hæc et alia, si cum venero, non erunt persoluta, regia exactione secundum leges in quam culpa cadit, districtè absque venia comparabit.

A. D. 1031. "same, through the assistance of God. I therefore adjure and command all my counsellors, to whom I have entrusted the management of public affairs, upon no manner of account, either from the dread of my power, or their affections for any one in power, be who he will, that they consent to any injustice, nor suffer my people to be harrassed. I likewise command all my deputies, and the governors of my people, as they value my friendship, or their own welfare, that they do injustice to no man, either rich or poor; but that every one, whether noble or ignoble, whether wealthy or needy, have free access to impartial justice, from which they are neither to deviate through royal favour, through their partiality for the powerful, nor for the sake of amassing money for me, nor for any other motive whatsoever; because there can be no manner of necessity for exacting money for me by unjust means.

"Therefore I am willing you should know, that returning the same way I went, I am now upon my road to Denmark, with the view of reconciling all differences between that nation and those who, if it had been in their power, would have deprived me both of my life and kingdom. But this they could not effect, because God confounded their devices by his grace, which preserved our royalty and honour, and brought to nothing all the forces of our enemies. Therefore, having settled peace with all our neighbours, and after ordering and composing our government in the east, so that we may have nothing to dread from war, or the enmity of our foes, I design to come to England, as soon as I can have a convenient convoy of shipping this summer.

"Now we have sent this letter before, that all our people may rejoice at our welfare; for you yourselves are sensible that I never spared either my person or my pains, and that I never will spare them, to promote the necessary felicity of my subjects."

He then concludes with strict injunctions, that, before his return, all the dues to the church shall be paid, of whatever kind; threatening, that if any are unpaid, he will, when he returns to England, severely, and without favour to any one, punish the offenders.

This letter contains the sentiments of an English king; but of a king under the delusion of religion. I have given a translation of the whole, excepting the uninteresting part, to my reader, because I never remember to have seen it before in English (1), though worthy to be translated in letters of gold. William of Malmesbury adds, that, after his return, he fulfilled all the professions he makes in this letter, by confirming the laws of former English kings, especially of his predecessor Ethelred, and causing them to be observed under great penalties. From all this it appears, that Canute, who was of himself too much of a mere soldier and worldly politician, to be swayed by the uninfluenced dictates of humanity and justice, found the spirit of the English such, under his government, that he was obliged, at last, to appeal to the equity of his administration, and his observance of the English laws, for his title to the crown. So deeply rooted was the spirit of liberty in the minds of this people, under all the oppressions they suffered, and after all the blood they had so lavishly and ineffectually shed.

Canute having returned to England, set out to chastise the king of the Scots, whom our authors at this time call Malcolm; but more probably they mean Duncan, his successor. The Scottish historians mention Canute having forced this Duncan, when prince of Cumberland, to have submitted to him upon the same terms by which he held his principality from the English princes. They add, that Canute was not there in person, but employed his generals, who, after defeating the enemy, lost their army by the perfidy of the Scots. This account, which though romantic, I have given in the notes (2), from Holinshed, agrees, however, pretty well with the general strain of the English history, which says, that he subdued

A. D. 1032.

Canute fulfils the tenure of his letter.

Canute sets out against the Scots.

(1) Mr. Tyrrel has a very mistaken extract of it, in which the reader finds nothing of the spirit and benevolence of the original, and the sense in several places not truly given.

(2) The Scotch historians are extremely ignorant, for the most part, of English affairs; they suppose, that Canute sent thither an army under one Sweyn, a Norwegian; they call him king of Norway:—And, says Holinshed, the cruelty of this Sweyn was such, that he neither spared man, woman nor child, of what age, condition, or degree soever they were; whereof when king Duncan was certified, he set all slothful and lingering delays apart, and began to assemble an army in most speedy wise, like a right valiant captain; for oftentimes it happeneth, that a dull coward and slothful person, constrained by necessity, becometh right hardy and active. Therefore, when his whole power was come together, he divided the same into three battles. The first was led by Macbeth, the second by Banquo, and the king himself governed in the main battle or middleward, wherein were appointed to attend his person the most part of all the residue of the Scottish nobility. The army of Scottishmen being thus ordered, came unto Culros, where encountering with the enemies, after a sore and cruel-foughten battle, Sweyn remained victorious, and Malcolm with his Scots discomfited. Howbeit, the Danes were so broken by this battle, that they were not able to make long chase on their enemies; but kept themselves all night in order of battle, for doubt lest the Scots, assembling together again, might have set upon them at some advantage. On the morrow, when the fields were discovered, and that it was perceived how no enemies were to be found abroad, they gathered the spoil, which they divided among them according to the law of arms. Then it was ordered, by commandment of Sweyn, that no soldier should hurt either man, woman or child, except such as were found with weapon in hand, ready to make resistance; for he hoped now to conquer the realm without further blood-shed. But when knowledge was given how Duncan was fled to the castle of Bertha, and that Macbeth was gathering a new power to withstand the incursions of the Danes, Sweyn raised his tents, and coming to the said castle, laid a strong siege round about it. Duncan, seeing himself thus environed by his enemies, sent a secret message, by council of Banquo, unto Macbeth, commanding him to abide at Incheuthil, till he heard from him some other news. In the mean time, Duncan fell in fained communication with Sweyn, as though he would have yielded up the castle into his hands under certain conditions; and this he did to drive time, and to put his enemy out of all suspicion of any enterprizement against them, till all things were brought to pass that might serve for the purpose. At length, when they were fallen at a point for rendering up the hold, Duncan cifered to send forth of the castle into the camp great provision of victuals, to refresh the army; which offer was gladly accepted of by the Danes, for that they had been in great penury of sustenance many days before. The Scots, hereupon, took the juice

A. D. 1036. dued the king of the Scots, with two other princes, supposed to be kings of the adjacent isles, Melbæth and Jehmare.

Canute settles his succession.

The four last years of Canute seem to have been undisturbed by any military, and unmarked by any civil, transactions; but, in the year 1035, we are told, by most of the historians of those times, that he appointed his eldest son Sweyn to be king of Norway; Hardicanute, his son by Emma, to be king of Denmark; and Harold, his son by Elgiva, a Hampshire lady, to hold the crown of England. Our historians say, with great improbability, that both this Sweyn and Harold were supposititious children, imposed by the artful Elgiva, who was daughter to an English nobleman, the one being the spawn of a priest, the other of a shoe-maker. Canute survived this partition but a year; for in the year 1036 he died, at Shaftsbury, and was buried in the old monastery at Winchester.

His death,

and character.

With (1) Canute died the glory of the Danes in England; with his death the fatal torch, that had lighted up so many woes to this country, began to burn with more faint and less baleful lustre. If interest, habit, and experience can alter the nature of man, the greatest instance of their altering it for the better is in the person of Canute. He was nursed in blood, trained to injustice, and he grew up to barbarity; yet did he go to the grave with the character of the mildest virtues. To attribute this to any superior quality of his nature, which refined as it run, and worked itself clear of its foul stains, is going too far. Interest, as I have already hinted, was his governing principle, and his good sense soon made him perceive, that though, by his military and political accomplishments, he had seized the throne

of England; yet, to retain it, required the exercise of the most amiable virtues. The English spirit could no other way have been kept quiet. A little experience made him sensible that this method was successful; and therefore every day he added some new acquisition in the hearts of his subjects, by a new display of his justice, moderation, but, above all, of his intention to govern by law. His journey to Rome was not quite void of motives of vanity; but the use he made of it proves his great jealousy of his crown's honour, and attention to his people's interest. All our historians have agreed in recounting a circumstance of Canute's private life, which they give us as a specimen of his hating adulation, and of his extraordinary humility; therefore it claims a place here.

Being at Southampton, his courtiers were extolling him with the most fulsome compliments, even at the expence of divinity itself. Canute, despising such flattery, resolved, as an unanswerable argument against all they had been saying, to give them ocular proof, that there was no more divinity about the person of a king, than about that of a cobbler: for he ordered his chair of state to be set within flood-mark, while the tide was flowing, and then addressed the sea in the following terms: "Over thee, " O sea, I have command; and the strand on " which I sit is mine. Disobedience to me " never goes unpunished; therefore, upon " thy peril, advance no farther, nor presume to wet the feet of thy sovereign " lord." But the waves, deaf to the royal voice, rolled on, at first besprinkled, then wet, then all over-dashed the royal person. Whereupon Canute, as if surprized at the disobedience of the element, started up, and chiding his courtiers for flattering him

A. D. 1036.

Instance of Canute's good sense.

of micklewort-berries, and mixed the same in their ale and bread, sending it thus spiced and confectioned, in great abundance, unto their enemies. They, rejoicing that they had got meat and drink sufficient to satisfy their bellies, fell to eating and drinking after such greedy wise, that it seemed they strove who might devour and swallow up most, till the operation of the berries spread in such sort through all the parts of their bodies, that they were in the end brought into a fast dead sleep, that in a manner it was impossible to awake them. Then, forthwith, Duncan sent unto Macbeth, commanding him, with all diligence, to come and set upon the enemies, being in easy point to be overcome. Macbeth, making no delay, came with his people to the place where his enemies were lodged, and first killing the watch, afterwards entered the camp, and made such a slaughter on all sides, without any resistance, that it was a wonderful matter to behold: for the Danes were so heavy of sleep, that the most part of them were slain and never stirred; others, that were awakened either by the noise or otherwise forth, were so amazed and dizzy-headed, that they were not able to make any defence: so that, of the whole numbers, there escaped no more but only Sweyn himself, and ten other persons, by whose help he got to his ships, lying at road in the mouth of the Tay. The most part of the mariners, when they heard what plenty of meat and drink the Scots had sent into the camp, came from the sea thither, to be partakers thereof, and so were slain among their fellows; by means whereof, when Sweyn perceived how, through lack of mariners, he should not be able to convey away his navy, he furnished one ship thoroughly with such as were left, and in the same sailed back into Norway, cursing the time that he set forward on this unfortunate journey.

(1) Saxo Grammaticus, and Albertus Krantius, the writers of the Danish histories, deduce Canutus, by a lineal succession, through the line of their kings in this manner:—He was, say they, the son of king Swaine, surnamed Tingskeg, by Sigred his wife, the widow of Edric, by whom she had Olafæ Scotconning, king of Sweden: unto which Swaine the bare also Ostrid, a daughter, the mother of Thira, the mother of king Swaine the Younger. The elder Swaine was the son of king Harold, surnamed Blaatand, by Gonhild his queen; who bare him also Iringthing of Northumberland, and Gonhild queen of North Wales. The father of Harold was king Gormond, whose queen was Thira, the daughter of king Ethelred, the twenty-third monarch of England; who bare unto him the said Harold and another Canute, both most valiant princes; which two gallants invading this land, were, for their brave resolutions, by their grandfather, proclaimed heirs apparent to all his dominions; the credit of which relations I leave to my fore-named authors. But Canute, the elder brother, died very soon after, being deadly wounded in the siege of Dublin in Ireland; where perceiving death at hand, he gave strict charge to his attendants to keep the same very secret till the city were taken, that so neither his own army should be daunted, nor the enemy encouraged, by the loss of the general. Gurmo, his aged father, (to digress but in a word) so incredibly loved him, that he had vowed to kill, with his own hands, any person whosoever that should tell him the news of his son's death; which when Thira his mother now heard of, she used this policy to make it known to the king her husband: She prepared mourning apparel for him, and all other things fitting for funeral exequies, laying aside all regal robes and ceremonies of princely state, without intimating any cause of this sad solemnity; which the old king no sooner perceiving, but he lamentably cried out, "Woe is me! I know my son is dead;" and with excessive grief he presently died. But to return from that Canutus to close up the reign of this our monarch in hand, in whom the Danish glories having ascended to the highest, began now again to decline towards their wane, by the death of this great king; who, after he had, in great glory, reigned above nineteen years, deceased at Shaftsbury in the county of Dorset, the 12th of November, the year of Christ's incarnation 1035; and was buried in the church of the old monastery at Winchester, which being afterwards new built, his bones, with many other English Saxon kings, were taken up, and are preserved in gilt coffers fixed upon the walls of the choir in that cathedral church. Speed.

into

A. D. 1036. into a belief of his power, which might, upon trial, have proved fatal to his person, represented to them the narrow limits of earthly majesty, compared to that which can bind up the ocean, and say to its billows, "Thus far, and no farther, shall ye go." He then, by way of penance for his presumption, walked home, wet-shod as he was. And our historians add, that, from thenceforth, he never would wear his crown; but commanded it should be put upon the head of the crucifix at Winchester. A fo-

reign author has, ignorantly to this circumstance, referred the custom of hanging up the armour of great men in churches, as offerings of acknowledgment to the divine power, which crowned their arms with success; a practice, than which nothing was more common, in the days of the Greeks and Romans, and to be found even in holy writ. The reader will find, in the notes, an account of this prince's (1) marriages and issue, and an extract of his laws (2).

A. D. 1036.
Mistake of
Peter Picavari-
ensis.

17. H A-

(1) H I S W I V E S.

ALGIVE, by most writers said to be a concubine to king Canutus, was the daughter of a Mercian duke named Elfhelme, who is said to have been earl of Northampton; and her mother's name was Ulfrune Iheretrix, of the town of Hampton in Staffordshire, from her called Ulfruna-hampton, now Wolverhampton. This lady Algive, to make Canutus more firm to her love, herself being barren, is reported to have feigned child-birth, and to have laid in her bed the son of a priest, whom Canute took to be his own, and named him Swaine: him afterwards he created king of Norway, which lately he had conquered from Olaffe, called the Martyr. The like policy, faith Higden and others, she used in bringing forth Harold, her second son, who was (say they) the son of a sower. Notwithstanding, I think the condition of the mother, who lived in disdain and died in disgrace, rather caused this report to be blazed, than any such baseness of birth in the sons.

EMMA, the second wife of king Canute, was the widow of king Ethelred the Unready; and from the time of her first marriage was called, in England, Elgive, after the name of most of the former queens which had succeeded saint Elgive. She was married unto him in the month of July, and year of Christ Jesus 1017; being the first year of his reign; whose wife she was eighteen years, and surviving, kept still at Winchester, unto which church she gave nine manors, according to the number of those fiery plow-shears that she was forced to go upon for her purgation, in the reign of Edward her son, as shall be said. This church she adorned with many goodly vestures, and very rich jewels; and deceasing in this city, the 6th of March, the year of Grace 1052, and ninth of (her son) king Edward's reign, was buried in the church of St. Swithine, near unto Canutus her husband.

H I S I S S U E.

SWEYN, the eldest son of Canute by lady Algive, was born before his father was king of England; and before his father's death was constituted king of Norway, lately conquered from king Olaffe the Martyr, where he began his reign in the year of man's Salvation 1035, being the eighteenth of his father's reign in England; and after he had, with dislikes, ruled that realm the space of five years, he was rejected of the Norwegians his subjects; and deceasing without heir of his body, left the kingdom to the native heir, Magnus, the son of Olaffe, who had been wrongfully dispossessed by Canute.

HAROLD, the second son of king Canute and of lady Algive, was also born before his father obtained the English crown, and for his exceeding swiftness was surnamed Harefoot. He remained with his father in England after he had disposed of Denmark to Hardicanute, and Norway to Sweyn, his brethren, expecting something in reversion; but perceiving, at his father's death, that England was also appointed to his brother Hardicanute, he took the advantage of his absence, and assumed the sovereignty of this kingdom himself.

HARDICANUTE, the third son of king Canute, and his first by queen Emma his wife, was born about the beginning of his father's reign, and towards the end of the same was constituted king of the Danes, and designed to succeed him after his death in his kingdom of England; but being absent then in Denmark, was disappointed by his brother Harold, who succeeded his father; after whose death he also succeeded him.

GUNHILDA, the daughter of king Canute, and of Emma his queen, was the first wife of Henry, the third Roman emperor, son of the emperor Conrad, the second of that name, surnamed Salike. She was a lady of a surpassing beauty, which either moved her husband's mind unto jealousy, or the over-lavish report thereof to breed surmise of incontinency, for accused she was of adultery; and to defend her cause by combat, none could be found, till, lastly, her page, brought with her from England, seeing no other would adventure for her innocency, entered the list himself; but a youth in regard of the other combatant, being a giant-like man; yet in fight, at one blow cutting the sinews of his enemy's leg, with another he felled him to the ground, where presently with his sword he took his head from the shoulders, and redeemed his lady's life. After which hard usage, the empress Gunhilda forsook her husband's bed, and by no means could be brought again unto the same; but took the holy veil of a nun in the town of Bruges in Flanders, where she spent the rest of her life; and, after her death, was buried in the collegiate church of St. Donation, being the principal of that town, where her monument remaineth, besides the north door of the same church, unto this day.

Another lady, of the like sanctity, is reported to be the daughter of king Canute, and the second wife of Godescalke, prince of the Vandals; by whom he had Henry, king of that nation. They both are said to have suffered martyrdom for the faith of Christ; he first, at the city of Lenzim; and she after, at Michelenburg, being most cruelly tortured to death with whips. This lady, upon sundry strong inducements, cannot be reputed legitimate; which moved Andrew Velley, a Danish writer in our time, to be therein of a diverse opinion from Adam of Breme and Helmoldas, who lived five hundred years before him. Speed.

(2) We shall now, as usual, give an abstract of this prince's laws. They begin thus: "This is the law, or decree, which Canute, king of all England, Denmark, and Norway, hath ordained with the consent of his wise men at London, as well for the maintenance of his own royal dignity, as for the benefit of his people." And were made at Winchester in Midwinter, i. e. at Christmas; which, you must note, was one of the stated times when all the great men of the kingdom, both clergy and laity, used of course to attend upon the king, whether he summoned them or not. But since these laws are very long, and contain a repetition of diverse laws formerly made by his predecessors, I shall only here extract some of them, and refer the reader to Mr. Lambard for the rest.

The first, of civil concernment, commands justice to be faithfully and indifferently administered both to poor and rich, and abolishes all unjust laws.

The second requires mercy to be used, and that no man be put to death for a small offence.

The eighth ordains, "That all people keep the peace, and orders one and the same good money to be current, and no man to refuse it. If any embase the coin, his hands shall be cut off without any redemption; and if a reeve or magistrate be accused, that it was done by his consent, he shall purge himself by a treble purgation; and if he be cast, incur the punishment with the same offender."

The twelfth is remarkable, since it comprizes all those forfeitures which the king challenges as due to himself, in the counties of West-Saxony, except he please to confer them upon any other, viz. the penalties incurred for the breach of the peace, for breaking into a house, stopping up a passage, and forsaking a man's colours. If also, for any crime, a man be out-lawed, the restitution of him to his former state belongs to the king. He also that possesseth bockland, i. e. land conveyed by deed, forfeits to the king, let his lord be who he will; as also whoever relieves or harbours a fugitive.

The fourteenth law appoints mulcts for diverse offences, and particularly, "That if any judge have, out of hatred or lucre, perverted justice by the law of the English, he is to pay to the king the value of his head; and also to be removed from his place, or redeem it, as the king shall please; except he plead, that what he did was from ignorance, and then he must confirm this assertion by oath." And, by the law of the Danes, he is to incur the mulct of the breach of that law, except he can plead ignorance.

The nineteenth renews the former laws of king Alfred, commanding every one of free condition to enter himself into some hundred or tything; that being in a condition to purge himself, he may also be in a capacity to claim from another the value of his head; otherwise, none that exceeds twelve years of age, in case he receive any wrong, shall be capable of enjoying the same privilege with a freeman. And be he a master of a family, or a retainer, he must be entered into some hundred

17. HAROLD I. surnamed HAREFOOT,

THE

Second DANISH King of ENGLAND.

A. D. 1036.

THE history of the reign we are now to open, may be compared to a quantity of materials, now lying loose and disjointed, but sufficient for erecting a regular fabric, provided the architect knows how to fit one member to another, so that they may fall into a whole.

State of England at this period.

Emma, the wife of Canute, had, during her late abode in England, sufficient experience of the temper and disposition of the English nation, to perceive, that the quiet of Canute's reign was owing to his personal virtues; and that it would be difficult, if not impracticable, for any prince, unpossessed of like qualities, if not of the Cerdic race, to hold the English scepter during any space of time, or with any degree of safety. This conviction seems to have been the true reason why the late king altered the terms of his marriage-settlement, by leaving to the son of Emma his hereditary crown; while Emma, knowing the worthless quali-

ties of Harold, whose legitimacy was suspected, consented that he should have the nomination to that of England. The accession of so unpopular a prince she thought would pave the way to her own race by Ethelred; and her son Hardicanute being possessed of Denmark, where his title was firm and undisputed, she imagined, that, in him, she would ever find a sure support to make her influence in England of decisive weight. These views were wise and natural; but duty and affection, so often among princes, give way to interest and ambition; that the politics built upon a presumption of the former, without regard to the latter, are ever precarious and tottering.

A. D. 1036.

Emma's views to restore the blood of Cerdic.

By the best light we have, the kingdom, upon the death of Canute, was divided into three factions. That of Harold, which was supported by the Danes and Londoners, whose interests, long intercourse, and vicinity of situation had made them the same.

The parties then in England.

hundred or other, and must find pledges or sureties for his appearance, in case he be accused of a crime. "Some great men, says the king, if they can do it, will protect their servants, giving out sometimes, that they are free; other times, that they are slaves; but we, not enduring any such unjust practices, enjoin, That every one of twelve years of age, shall give security by oath, that he will neither steal himself, nor be accessory to the theft of any other." Thus doth he revive what king Alfred had before ordained, "That no freeman should be out of tything, or live at random, without this most efficacious tye of suretyship;" and to what was enacted before, adds this caution of twelve years, beyond which, for the public peace and security, none were to live without being received and admitted into some hundred or tything.

The twentieth law of king Canute so far indulges a man, unblameable and of good repute, who never brake his oath in the hundred, nor was cast by the ordeal, that his single purgation shall be accepted; but a man of contrary reputation, shall either be compelled to take his single oath in three hundreds, or a three-fold one, according to the custom of that court, or be put to the ordeal; but a single purgation is to be made with a three-fold preparatory oath.

By virtue of the fifty-fourth law, whosoever conspires against the king, or his lord, shall forfeit life and fortune, except he purge himself by the three-fold ordeal.

The sixty-first declares breaking down or burning houses, as also theft, manifest murderers, and betrayers of one's lord, according to human laws, to be crimes for which there is no bote or satisfaction to be made, by way of mulct or compensation; which is an alteration of the former laws, by which all these crimes were redeemable by money.

The next wills, "That mercy be shewn, as much as may be, to such as truly and unfeignedly amend their ways."

And, by that which follows, the king declares, He will put a difference between small and great, rich and poor, young and old, infirm and healthful; forasmuch as some men may offend out of a kind of necessity; and that a distinction is to be made between a forced and a voluntary act; therefore he promises to succour where there is most need of his help.

The sixty-seventh contains an act of grace of the king to his subjects, whereby he relieves such as were formerly oppressed. He also enjoins all his officers, that they make provision for his house out of his own lands and tillage; and that they compel no man to furnish him with any provisions in this kind, upon pain of paying the value of their heads, if they impose any mulct upon refusers.

The sixty-eighth ordains, "That in case any man, by neglect, or sudden death, depart this world intestate, his lord shall take nothing of his goods, except what is due to him as an harriot; but all is to be distributed by his judgment to the wife, children, and next kindred, justly according to their several rights."

The sixty-ninth settles the rates of all harriots to the King; ordering that the harriot of every one be according to his dignity; as first, "That of an earl, eight horses, whercof four with furniture, and four without; four helmets, as many corselets, eight spears, and as many shields, four swords, and two hundred mancuses of gold. That of the king's chief thane, four horses, whercof two with furniture, and two without; two swords, four spears, and as many shields, one helmet, one corselet, and fifty mancuses of gold. The harriot of an inferior thane, an horse, with furniture and arms; or, among the West Saxons, the sum of money that is paid, called halfange; in Mercia and East-England, two pounds: but among the Danes, the harriot of a king's thane, who has free jurisdiction, is four pounds; and if he be nearer to the king, his harriot is two horses, whercof the one with furniture, and the other without; a sword, two spears, as many targets, and fifty mancuses of gold; but the heriot of a thane of the lowest condition, is two pounds." This word heriot (or as the true Saxon word is written) Heregeate, signifies furniture for war, given by the vassal to his lord, probably at first designed for the driving away thieves and robbers, which abounded when the Danish or northern nations so frequently invaded the land. For though the word here does, in the Saxon language, signify an army; yet it is, in our Saxon authors (when without composition) generally taken in the worst sense, for invaders and spoilers; a lawful army, collected by the king for the defence of the nation, being called by the name of fyrd.

The seventy-first requires widows to continue in widowhood for the space of twelve months, and then permits them to marry. If a woman marry before her twelve months be out, she shall lose her dower, with all that her husband left her, which is to come, in such case, to the next of kin; and he that marries her shall pay the value of his head to the king, or to whomsoever he assigns it.

The seventy-sixth law deprives him of life and estate, who, either in an expedition by land or sea, deserts his lord, or his fellow-soldier; and, in such case, the lord is to have back the land he gave him; or if it was bocland, it goes to the king. But in case any one die in fight in the presence of his lord, either at home or abroad, his heriot shall be remitted, and his children shall succeed both to his goods and lands, and equally divide them.

The seventy-sixth gives him liberty that hath defended his land, and cleared it from all doubts and incumbrances in the sciregemote, or county-court, to possess it quietly while he lives, and to leave it to whom he pleases when he dies.—From whence we may observe, that before the conquest men might bequeath their lands by their last will.

The seventy-seventh gives liberty to every man to hunt in his own grounds; but forbids all men, under a penalty, to meddle with the king's game, especially in those places which he had fenced by privilege.

That

A. D. 1036. That of Hardicanute, who was backed by the West-Saxons, upon the principle of primogeniture, and their right to be treated upon the footing of a people, whose sovereignty was to depend upon the laws of regular succession, and not upon the caprice of any monarch. The last faction was that of the house of Cerdic, whose cause being proscribed and abjured, could not be openly avowed; but had many secret, and those powerful abettors, with the queen dowager at their head. The past experience of calamities arising from disputed successions, and the yet bleeding wounds of their country, alarmed the English to such a degree, that, according to an author who lived in, or very near those times, the most cautious among them retired with their effects to fenny and inaccessible places, till the sword should decide the differences of succession. But the great spring of all political movements rested upon the famous earl Godwin. This person possessed all the vices of Cataline, but without his indecencies; all the ambition of Cæsar, but without his virtues; and all the dissimulation of Tiberius, but without his politeness. He had been high in favour with Canute, and, by him, left as a kind of executor to his money and effects, which he had bequeathed to his beloved Emma.

Ingulphus.

Character of the famous earl Godwin.

A meeting of the states at Oxford.

A partition made of the kingdom between Harold and Hardicanute.

The accession of the Danish prince was far from suiting with Godwin's views, his interest being chiefly among the West Saxons, and with the queen dowager, whom he flattered with being able to restore the blood of Cerdic to the crown of England; but as his intention was to hold the scale so even between all parties, as that his interest should ever be able to cast the balance, he found means to manage so, as that a meeting of the states should be held at Oxford, in the year 1036. Here the several interests of the candidates came into competition. It appears, from the face of the history, that Hardicanute, finding his affairs in Denmark required his presence, had sailed thither, and had left his concerns in the hands of his mother and the earl Godwin. The last will of Canute was vigorously urged by the Danish party; and precedents were not wanting for setting aside the objection of his illegitimacy, even supposing it to have been justly founded. The West Saxons, on the other hand, made a vigorous opposition in favour, as would appear, of Hardicanute; but the politic Godwin, finding the Danish interest both resolute and powerful, did not chuse that things should come to an extremity. With all the professions of regard and loyalty to the blood of Cerdic he privately persuaded the queen, that the most effectual way to serve the exiled princes was by preserving her own interest with the party of Hardicanute; to endeavour to get that part of Canute's will which was in her favour confirmed; to obtain the regency of Wessex during the absence of Hardicanute, while he himself should be appointed by the states to act as deputy under her. This, if effected, he persuaded her would always

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enable her to keep the door open for readmitting the Cerdic family; and, at worst, it was much more eligible that Hardicanute, who was likewise her son, should be vested in those dominions, than to endanger the whole, by coming to an open breach with the Danes in favour of the exiled princes. The result of the whole was, that Harold was to possess the countries lying northward of the Thames; while Hardicanute was to enjoy the southern provinces; queen Emma to keep her court at Winchester, to be regent of all West Saxony; while Godwin was to act under her as its governor, or lord-lieutenant. Our modern historians have taken no notice here of what is very strongly implied by our oldest writers, as if Hardicanute was secretly in the interest of the exiled princes, who were descended by the same mother with himself. Nor is it at all unreasonable to think, that he looked upon this tie as stronger than his connection with Harold, whom the general voice of our history disclaims from being of Canute's blood.

Whether those sentiments were inspired by Hardicanute's affection for his mother, or wrought up by the arts of Godwin, imports not us. It is sufficient to observe, that if Harold was not of royal blood, he had royal ambition; for, upon the late treaty of partition being concluded, before Emma returned to Winchester, he privately detached a party of his guards, who seized on the treasures of Canute, which were then in the custody of his dowager. Whether a secret correspondence between Harold and Godwin was not by this time entered upon, I shall not venture to affirm. Most probably it was; and that Harold had won over to his interest Godwin, whose great view was aggrandizing his own family, by promising to marry his daughter, and to declare her succession heirs to the crown.

So tempting a bait could not fail of bringing over a man of Godwin's principles; but many difficulties still lay in the way. The close connection between Hardicanute and his mother, and the affections of the latter for the sons of Ethelred, gave him strong apprehensions from that quarter. Something therefore must be done to break the union of these interests, and nothing so probable occurred, as getting the two exiled princes, Alfred and Edward, into their power. For this purpose a letter was contrived, as if wrote from the queen mother, earnestly inviting the two princes over into England, gently chiding them for their delay, which served only to encrease the power of the usurper, and to render the restoration thereafter the more difficult; at the same time informing them, that the English were universally well disposed to receive one of them for their king; and that if they immediately set out for her, she would concert with them proper measures. This letter, written so much in the stile of what Emma had always professed, imposed upon the princes; and Alfred, the most active of the two, trusting himself with a few Normans on board some ships, landed

A. D. 1036.

Harold seizes the treasures left by Canute,

and meditates the death of Alfred and Edward.

He forges a letter to bring it about.

Alfred comes to England,

A. D. 1036.
betrayed by
Godwin.

The Normans
who attended
Alfred put to
death, as he
is himself.

Harold seizes
the whole of
the English
monarchy.

History of the
Welsh at this
period.
Character of
their nation.

in England. Soon after, being met by Godwin, whom he still imagined to be in his mother's interest, mutual caresses passed between them; but the treacherous earl, taking advantage of Alfred's confidence, seized him in the night-time, after putting to death such of his followers as he most dreaded, and sent him bound, as the victim of his ambition, to Harold. As to the attendants of the young prince, they suffered a Danish decimation, that is, nine in ten were put to cruel deaths; while the prince himself was sent prisoner to the isle of Ely, where the tenderest mercy he met with from his enemy, was the finishing his lingering tortures by an inhuman death.

This murder perpetrated, Harold and Godwin contrived next to take advantage of Hardicanute's absence, and Emma's weakness, to seize the whole of the English monarchy into their hands. Hardicanute, either by tacit compact with the heads of the Cerdic party, or through natural indolence, gave a plausible handle for stripping him of his dominions, by the long stay he made in Denmark; while the late attempt to invade Harold's dominions, and the countenance given by the queen-mother to the exiled party, served as matter for impeaching her of high treason. Both these charges had their wished-for effect: for, about a year after the partition already mentioned was made, sentence of banishment passed upon Emma; and Godwin surrendering his deputation into the hands of Harold, the latter was declared king of all England. Emma retired to Bruges in Flanders, where Baldwin, earl of Flanders, generously protected her; the nonage of the Norman duke, with the dissensions that generally follow a minority, rendering it less safe for her to reside in her native dominions.

This year opens a considerable revolution in Wales, which affected the English affairs, and therefore claims a place here. That people, like the Spartans, inhabiting a country ill-suited to the luxuries, but sufficient for all the conveniences, of life, like them retained a spirit of independent dominion; and every family having its followers to abet its pretensions, they had almost as many princes as leaders. These, descending of British blood, imagined themselves filled with the souls, as well as entitled to the rights, of the Caractaci, the Vanocs, the Boadiceas, and the Arthurs. Such a spirit, if united in one common principle of action, might, as we have hinted before, have again filled the throne of England with British princes: but far from that, with the sentiments of their ancestors, they retained their failings; high opinion of descent begot obstinacy, in maintaining what each conceived to be his right; diversity of claims produced confusion of titles; rivalships propagated animosities; and these qualities which separately, perhaps, were right, when directed by affections more ambitious than virtuous, more partial than general, in the whole, effected languor of popular vigour, dissipation of public strength, and disunion of national counsel. The ex-

cellent Lewellyn being slain by Howel and Meredyth, the sons of prince Edwin or Owen, pretenders to his throne, was succeeded by Jago, son to Edwal, late prince of Wales, who had been long divested of his right; but, in South Wales, one Rhythric ap Justin seized upon the government, and held it by force. But Howel and Meredyth applying to the Irish-Scotch, were by them furnished with troops to wrest their rights from this usurper, whom they defeated and killed in battle. Seizing then upon the government, after a short and unquiet joint reign, they were attacked by the family of the late usurper, whom they likewise drove from the field after a bloody fight. But next year they themselves were attacked by the sons of the late Lewellyn, and prince Meredyth fell in the dispute.

In the year 1037, the principality of North Wales (which, as we have already mentioned, was then governed by Jago) was invaded by Griffith, the son of Lewellyn. The merits of his father brought over to this prince a strong party, which placed him on that throne after the defeat of his rival. For some time he governed with paternal virtues; and the affections which the people had to his person and family, might have gone far in uniting all Wales in a common interest, had not the government of England, justly jealous of his power and policy, interposed. For we find him, in the very first year of his reign, fighting with the English and Danes at Crossford upon Severn, where, it appears, he was victorious; for he from thence led his army to Lhanpadarn vawr in Cardiganshire, which he destroyed; and then penetrating into South Wales, he drove Howel, the surviving son of Edwin, from his throne, which he took possession of, and then returned home laden with laurels. The next year, Howel applying to Edwin, brother of Leofric, earl of the Mercians, one of the most powerful subjects then of the English government. Either family connections, or views of interest, or personal attachments prevailing in his favour, he attacked Griffith with a powerful army of English and Danes. But the British prince bravely meeting them in the field, defeated the confederates in a pitched battle, and slew Edwin at Pincadair. Howel himself, with difficulty, escaped. But the Welsh, at this time, retaining so much of their ancestors as to bring their ladies to be witnesses of their valour in battle, the fair wife of Howel was taken prisoner, and appeared so amiable in the eyes of the victor, that Griffith in her arms forgot all the dissitudes he had suffered from her husband. We shall now turn our eyes to the history of England.

The year 1038 is remarkable only for the translations and deaths of prelates and bishops. But we accidentally know, that about this time, or perhaps a little before, a very unpopular tax was raised upon England; and that was, eight marks to every trower, who were to man sixteen large galleys appointed for the guarding the coasts. The reader may be justly surprized at the English looking upon

A. D. 1038.

North Wales
invaded.

Griffith victo-
rious.

A great tax
laid upon Eng-
land.

A. D. 1039. upon this as a severe tax; but, probably, it was not the tax which they murmured at, so much as the purposes to which it was to be applied. Harold was looked upon not only as an usurper, but as a tyrant; the English expected their deliverance from the progeny of Emma; every thing was now ripening towards that event, which those galleys were employed to defeat. It was no wonder then that the people murmured at this tax, though far from being burthensome; and at this armament, though by no means formidable; if we consider this as the whole charge of the English navy.

Harold dies.

The year 1039 was the last of Harold's life. By this time he was detested by the body of his people, and nothing could have prevented his fate, but the great interest of earl Godwin, Leofric, and the other noblemen, who found their account in supporting his government. The English, in vain, cast their eyes on Edward, the surviving son of Ethelred, at that time in Normandy. This prince, if we are to believe some authors, had ventured over to England much about the time his brother Alfred was put to death; but of this I think there is little probability, since his mother could not have had power enough to screen him from the tyrant's jealousy and Godwin's cruelty. The Norman court, however, at this time, was in no condition to assist him, so that he seemed to be then almost out of the question with regard to the succession. It must likewise be fairly owned, that the men of sense in England had strong reasons for disputing his proximity of blood, since the primogeniture of the Cerdic family undoubtedly ex-

isted in the person of Edward, the son of Edmund, and an exile at the Hungarian court; but either the distance of his residence, or the dissatisfaction of the people in general, with regard to his father's legitimacy, occasioned his being less talked of, to fill the throne of England, than even the other Edward.

Hardicanute, therefore, who was an Englishman, and whose succession was ascertained by an act of the states, was called upon to assert his own property, and the liberty of the English. To effect this, he had power, was not destitute of capacity, and required only inclination. Filial piety supplied this; for Emma, despairing to make good the claim of her issue by Ethelred, requested him to stretch forth his hand to his native country, now imploring his assistance, and ready to join his banners. Hardicanute, upon this, fitted out a strong fleet, which he ordered for England; while he himself repaired to Bruges, to concert measures with the queen-dowager. At this critical juncture it was that Harold died, having done nothing, either virtuous, popular, or humane, to prove him the son of Canute. Thus his character well suiting with the report of his birth, he is at this day a reproach to the English annals. He was called Harold Harefoot, from the swiftness of his feet, as is most probable. And as for his laws, we have only one mentioned by Mr. Selden, which was, "That whatever Welshman, coming into England without leave, was taken on this side Offa's ditch, should have his right hand cut off by the king's officers."

Hardicanute prepares to invade England.

Harold's character.

18. CANUTE II. commonly called HARDICANUTE,

T H E

Third DANISH King of ENGLAND.

A. D. 1039.

Hardicanute succeeds to the English throne.

THIS prince, at the time of his accession to the crown of England by Harold's death, found his affairs upon the continent very much embarrassed; for the Norwegians were now become very rebellious, and gave strong indications that they were ready to return to their allegiance under the race of Olave, and to make reprisals upon Denmark, for its usurpation of their crown. This untowardly state of affairs has given occasion for some authors to write, that he was in Denmark, or was obliged to return thither, at the time of Harold's death; but this is contrary to what is delivered by better authorities, since both Florence, Matthew of Westminster, and Simeon of Durham expressly mention his being then at Bruges.

Reflection upon his title.

A circumstance which has fallen from the same authors is of great weight to induce us to believe, that the late invasions of or-

der in the succession to the crown of England had thrown so much power into the hands of the states, that they looked upon themselves as the disposers of that succession. For though the crown of Wessex, the patrimonial kingdom of England had been expressly stipulated to Hardicanute, and though that prince had upon the coast a powerful fleet, which was actually designed to invade England during his brother's reign; yet we find him making no dispositions to seize his right upon Harold's death, till he received a solemn deputation from the states of England, inviting him to come, and to wear their crown. William of Malmesbury gives us a very ill-natured reason for the facility of his accession: "It was, says he, because the blood of Ethelred was despised, not so much on account of the Danish power, as the remembrance of their father's indolence." I have placed, in the notes, the

A. D. 1039.

A. D. 1039. the several expressions of our most ancient authors upon this occasion (1). The Romish publican, indeed, has stifled all the circumstances of this invitation, for reasons too obvious to be marked here.

Hardicanute, joyfully accepting of this spontaneous invitation, landed at Sandwich about the 13th of June, attended by a powerful fleet and army. As the poverty of his own country must have rendered it extremely inconvenient for him to have paid those forces, we find him beginning his reign here by a very unpopular act; for the first thing he did was to renew the tax of eight marks, which had been laid on in his brother's time for only sixteen ships, and extending it to all the rowers of his own fleet, which consisted of sixty vessels, with an additional tax of twelve marks to every commander. I have given this fact as I find it in our best historians; but I am far from thinking, with some authors, that the renewing this tax was merely an act of power. The English, even at that time, were apt to spoil their kings at their first accession, by their natural fondness for novelty, which they seem to have transmitted to their posterity; and there is nothing at all absurd in believing, that earl Godwin, a person of the most artful address, and, as we are told, of the most persuasive eloquence, with the other noblemen in the Danish interest, had made this tax the price of their pardon with Hardicanute, for their conduct in the late reign. It was easy for them to bring over the assembly of the states, or, if the reader will, the parliament, to grant it, upon the plausible pretence that this fleet was originally fitted out, even in the late tyrant's life-time, to deliver England from his yoke, and it was therefore but just that England should pay it. But the effects of this and other taxes which succeeded, had almost proved fatal to Hardicanute's government as shall be seen hereafter.

After his coronation, which was performed by the archbishop of Canterbury, he sent the archbishop of York, the earls Godwin, Edric, and Sture, with another of his courtiers, who appears, by his (2) post, to have been an officer of state, one Trondus, or Trouhd, the hangman, to take up the body of the late king. This unmanly revenge was pursued, that he might give his mother, whom he tenderly loved, the only proof that was in his power of his detesting Harold's person and government; and that the English might have this public testimony of his disapproving of his predecessor's conduct, the body was dug up, the head cut off, and

the whole flung into the Thames: but, soon after, being fished up, it was privately buried in the church of St. Clement's, near London, the common burying-place of the Danes. Hardicanute's next civil transaction was his sending to Normandy for Edward. Queen Emma's confidence in Hardicanute's piety was such, that notwithstanding the fate of her other son, she made no difficulty to suffer Edward to pass over into England, where, during his brother's time, he might have the opportunity of studying the genius and government of a people, over whom she hoped he was one day to reign.

Though Hardicanute was without the glaring vices of his family, and possessed many of its virtues; yet his disposition suited ill with the times in which he lived. He had a cast for pleasure and magnificence, which led him into indolence, and to reign at second-hand; for the reins of government were, during his life-time, entirely managed by the Danish party. His sister Gunhilda was celebrated for beauty and sanctity of manners. She had been courted, in her father's life-time, by the emperor Henry III. The lustre of this match gilded all the woes which others easily foresaw must arise in matrimony with a person of this prince's dispositions. The humbler crowds of admirers, because subjects, though they were of the first rank, were disdained; and the friends of Gunhilda thought she could not be miserable if she was great. The match, therefore, was concluded between her and the emperor; while Hardicanute, conceiving he could not have a fairer opportunity of displaying his magnificence, ransacked all art and nature to celebrate the nuptials. This was done with such exquisite luxury, with such memorable profusion, that it got even into the songs of the bards of those days, and was transmitted, by the rude minstrels of the times, in lays which survived to the age of Westminster the historian. At last the effusion of pomp and luxury being over, the fair bride was sent over to her consort. But Henry took in such draughts of love as intoxicated his brain; while jealously, prompted by conscious demerits, whispered him that so many charms were not made for him alone. Suspicion was strengthened by the adulation of those, who found it more easy to soothe than to combat the prepossessions of princes; and, at last, imagination forming circumstances, Gunhilda was accused of adultery. Such accusations, in those days, were too arbitrary and too delicate to be handled in the common way of evidence and defence; to be

(1) Haroldus rex Anglorum, obiit Lundoniæ, et in Westmonasterio sepelitur, quo sepulto procures ferme totius Angliæ, legatos ad Hardicanutum Briggæ, ubi cum matre sua morabatur, mittentes et se bene facere putante, rogaverunt illum ut Angliam veniret, et sceptrum regni suscipere. Florence. — Tunc procures, tam Anglorum quam Danorum in unam concordantes sententiam, legatos ad Brigges in Flandriam, ad regem Daniæ Hardicanutum, qui cum matre sua ibidem morabatur, sententiam convenientibus propter Hardicanutum missum, ille per Normanniam in Angliam mense Augusto venit. Nam filii Ethelredi jam fere omnibus despectui erant propter paternæ secordiæ memoriam quam propter Danorum potentiam. Malmesbury. — Quo sepulto procures Angliæ cum Londoniensibus pro Hardiknuto filio Kanuti usque Bruges in Flandriam miserunt, quia tunc ibidem cum matre sua morabatur. Brumpton.

(2) That the reader may not think this circumstance too ludicrous, I shall set down the words of Simeon of Durham: Altricum Eboracensem archiepiscopum, Godwinum comitem, Styr majorem domus, Edricum dispensatorem, Trouhd suum carnificem et alios magnæ dignitatis viros Londoniam misit,

A. D. 1040. suspected, was to be guilty; and nothing could wipe off that guilt but the precarious success of (1) single combat between two champions, one for the accuser, and one for the accused. We must suppose that the fair Gunhilda had, in all her numerous train, only one Englishman, his name, from his diminutive size, Mimecan, bred about her own person, and an ocular witness to her purity of conversation.

Combat between an English dwarf and a German giant.

The day of combat being come, a gigantic champion for the accusation stepped into the lists, and swaggering about like another Goliath, threw out his defiance against the power of living beauty. The wretched Gunhilda in vain cast round her fair eyes, but unable to read, in the countenance of any person present, one sentiment of manly compassion for her fate, was just fixing them upon the prospect of death and infamy, when the generous Englishman stepped forth, as the champion of her honour. He was her own page; his years too tender to make it suspicious that he had any motive for danger, besides the vindication of injured innocence, and his person too diminutive for Gunhilda ever to entertain a thought of him for her champion. However, supplying weakness with courage, and aiding courage by cool dexterity, the beardless champion, with his sword in his hand, advanced against his enormous antagonist. The security of the latter proved his destruction; for endeavouring rather to tread out his adversary's life, than to fight with him, Mimecan was tall enough to reach the giant's hams with his sword, and to cut them so, that his bulk thundering to the ground, the gallant boy gave him his death's wound; then dividing his head from his body, laid it at the feet of his lovely mistress.

Gunhilda retires from the world.

While Gunhilda, with a soul truly royal, looked upon the event of this combat as her deliverance, her narrow-hearted lord considered it as her vindication. With open arms he invited her to her former place in his heart; but she, at once abhorring the fury of his jealousy, and disdaining the easiness of his reconciliation, sought peace where it can be best found, in retirement from worldly grandeur, with virtuous affections. In vain were menaces and blandishments applied to shake this purpose of her soul; she obtained a divorce from his bed and person, and died an illustrious example of innocence triumphing over malice, and wisdom adorning innocence, by a seasonable retreat from farther temptations, and therefore from farther dangers. My readers will not imagine that I have embellished the

above narrative, when I inform him, that, with the variation of but a very few phrases, I have kept strictly to the facts, as I find them unanimously recorded in all our oldest, gravest, and most creditable historians.

To return now to the affairs of England. By Edward's abode in England, and the influence of the queen mother, the interest of the Normans was greatly strengthened at court; for in the year 1040, being the first after Hardicanute's succession, Living, the same clergyman who had carried Canute's letter to the English, and the famous earl Godwin, were accused, by the archbishop of York, of aiding and abetting the murder of prince Alfred, the king's uterine brother. The charge being proved, the prelate was deprived of his bishopric, and Godwin was in danger of falling a victim to public justice, had he not been saved by his address in the arts of corruption; for he found means to appease Harold's pious resentment, by presenting (to translate the words of our authors) the king with a galley most magnificently equipped, having a gilded stern, and furnished with all conveniences both for war and pleasure, and manned with eighty choice soldiers, every one of whom had, upon each arm, a golden bracelet, weighing sixteen ounces, with helmet and corslet all gilt, as were also the hilts of their swords, having a Danish battle-ax, adorned with silver and gold, hung on his left shoulder, whilst in his left-hand he held a shield, the boss and nails of which were also gilded, and, in his right, a lance, in the English Saxon tongue called hategar. But such a gross piece of corruption would have as little satisfied decency as it did justice, had not Godwin, by solemn oath, purged himself of advising the murder of Alfred, and excused the whole of his conduct in that affair, by his being obliged to obey the commands of his prince.

A. D. 1040.

Earl Godwin and bishop Living accused of prince Alfred's death.

The former buys his pardon.

Notwithstanding Hardicanute's filial piety, it is certain that he shewed a scandalous partiality in favour of the Danes in England. We are told, by the authors of the times, that the Danish insolence was such, if at any time a Dane and an Englishman met on a bridge, the latter was obliged to stand and make a low reverence till the other passed by. This insolence was aggravated by additional imposts, which Hardicanute was ever craving to supply his luxuries, and his degenerated nobility were ever ready to grant, to screen their offences. For, in the same year 1040, no less than twenty-nine thousand twenty-nine pounds were raised, and eleven thousand forty-eight pounds be-

Hardicanute's partiality for the Danes.

Farther taxes.

(1) This manner of deciding differences by duel, prevailed in other matters besides those of defamation; even civil cases were determined thereby: for he that had his lands taken from him by another, might prove it to be his by due witnesses; but if the invader or occupier contradicted that proof, it was to be determined by battle: Campo adjudicetur L1 Saxonum, c. 15. Si quis adalungum occiderit, 600 solid. componat; si negaverit cum 12 juret, aut in campum exeat L1 Angl. et clear himself by twelve compurgators, or go into the field (id est) try it by battle. Si mulier maritum veneficio duatur occidisse, &c. If it be said a woman poisoned her husband, her next relation may right her by battle; but if she have no champion, let her be tried by nine red-hot plough-shares. Ibid. tit. 14. All cases of theft and wounding, which deserve a mulct of two shillings and upwards, to the highest mulct or composition, are to be judged by battle, if the fact was denied. Ibid. tit. 15. This way of judgment, by battle, was so prevalent and frequent among the Lombards in Italy, in the time of king Rotharis, who began his reign about the year 640, according to Helvicus, that although, as he says, they were uncertain concerning the judgment of God, and that they had heard many had by duel or battle lost their causes without reason; yet such was the custom of his nation (the Lombards) and so pertinacious were they in it, that he could not prohibit that wicked law. L1 Long. lib. i. tit. 9. c. 23.

A. D. 1041. fides, for payments of the debts of the navy. This awakened the English to feeling; a general murmur run through the whole country; and Hardicanute was obliged to send out his huisceorles, or household-troops, to collect the revenue. The city and county of Worcester stomaching such treatment, took up arms in defence of their liberties and properties, and slew two of the chief publicans. Hardicanute, dreading the effects of such commotion, instantly dispatched Leofric, earl of Mercia, earl Godwin of Essex, and Siward, lord-lieutenant of Northumberland, the three noblemen of greatest power in all his kingdom, to reduce the rebels. Their orders were to fall upon their lands with fire and sword, to plunder and burn their city, to waste their country, and to put all its male inhabitants to death. But the latter foreseeing their fate, though unable to resist it, as being far inferior in number to the forces sent against them, had taken care to shift for themselves, by retiring into wilds and inaccessible places; while the inhabitants of Worcester seized upon and fortified a little island in the Severn, called Beveridge, resolving there to sell their lives, or purchase their freedom. The loyal generals punctually obeyed their inglorious orders. On the 12th of November their ravages began, and continued till the evening of the 16th. They then marched to attack the retrenchments of the Worcester men; but the latter received them so warmly, that, after several unsuccessful attacks, the generals were obliged to grant an honourable capitulation to the besieged, who returned with safety to their own city, which they rebuilt, and in a short time restored to double lustre.

The inhabitants of the city and county of Worcester rebel.

Their brave resistance.

In the year 1041, Hardicanute ignobly

and suddenly finished his life and reign, at Lambeth, in a debauch, while he was celebrating the nuptials of a Danish nobleman, one Tovy Prudan, with the daughter of another nobleman of the same nation. The character of this prince is neither so detestable nor so amiable as it has been represented by interested writers. His filial and fraternal piety was signal; but especially the latter, in his suffering a brother to live honoured and unmolested in his kingdom, with so formidable a title to the crown as Edward had. Liberal he was likewise, and particularly to the church; but his liberality and luxury together forced him upon several acts of government, equally unpopular and mean; witness his restoring Living to his bishopric for a sum of money, after that prelate had been convicted of his brother's murder; and the commutation he accepted of from Godwin, for the same atrocious act. The charges of gluttony and intemperance, which have been so strongly urged against him, seem rather to have arisen from the openness of his temper, than to have been founded in his personal character: for Huntingdon owns that his bounty led him to allow his court four meals a day; and he was willing that the dishes should be carried away untouched from the guests, rather than that there should be any want of victuals. His partiality to the Danes rendered him extremely unpopular in England; for with so little ceremony did the English treat his memory, that they observed the day on which he died as an anniversary holiday, calling it Hock-wednesday, and obliging the people who passed along the streets to give them money to make themselves merry. Hardicanute was buried at New Winchester.

A. D. 1041. Hardicanute's death, and character.

19. EDWARD III. surnamed the CONFESSOR.

A. D. 1041. IT is amazing that some of our most early historians after the conquest should bring the death of this prince's brother Alfred so low down as the time of Hardicanute's death, while all probability, and many facts, are repugnant, and relate it in the manner I have already done.

The situation of Edward, at the time of Hardicanute's death, was particularly delicate. Godwin, who was notoriously known to have been the betrayer of his family, and the murderer of his brother, was the head of the English party in the kingdom. The fate of the rest of the kingdom depending upon the disposal of the crown of Wessex, and Godwin being master of that, rendered his power decisive. But though he, by his father, had neither the blood of a king nor a gentleman in his veins, his pretensions were almost as formidable as his power. He was married, according to some, first to Thyra, sister to earl Ulphon, husband to Estritha, Canute's sister, and duchess-dowager of Normandy; but other and more ancient historians make his first wife to have

Great power of Godwin.

[Malmesbury.]

been the sister of Canute, of whom we are told, that she drove a trade in mending the brood of her native country, by sending hence, for money, English boys and girls over into Denmark. This lady had a son to Godwin, who was drowned in the Thames, as he was riding an unruly horse. The second wife of Godwin was Githa, sister to Sweyn, who succeeded Hardicanute in the kingdom of Denmark. By this lady he had seven sons, Harold, Tofton, Sweyn, Ulnoth, Gurth, Elfgar, Lewin; and a daughter, whose name was Editha. The tide of honours flowed so fast upon him, that he was now too great to be a subject; and his ambition was so apparent, that all discovered, though none durst thwart, his views. He had, by this time, been created earl of Kent, duke of Wessex, lord high treasurer of England, with several other great governments in the hands of his sons and family. In this inter-reign he possessed all the substantial part of sovereignty; for, being an Englishman, he affected to patronize that interest; and the Danes, after Hardicanute's death, being

A. D. 1041.

His alliances,

and preferences.

A. D. 1041.

being held in universal detestation, the crown, as we have hinted, became at his disposal. As his own title to it, or that of his sons, could only be Danish, he foresaw, that, to attempt to make it good, must ruin his interest with the English: he therefore laid hold of the first favourable opportunity of bringing his family in by another race. The only two competitors of English blood were Edward, the son of Ethelred, and Edward, the son of Edmund Ironside. The latter had ever lived in Hungary, and was termed the Outlaw. His right, in point of blood, was undoubtedly preferable to that of the other Edward, supposing his father to have been legitimate; but the English being unacquainted with his person and dispositions, seem to have had but little thought of him; and his being married rendered him unfit for Godwin's purposes.

He is applied to by Edward,

Godwin, as duke of Wessex, seems to have acted, in some measure, as a regent, during the vacancy of the throne. His treatment of Alfred, Edward's brother, gave the latter every thing to apprehend for his own person; while Godwin had the address to delay the meeting of the states for appointing a successor until he could secure his own views. Fortune met his wishes more than half way; for Edward, the son of Ethelred, in a miserable suspense between hope and fear, repaired to him in disguise, and meanly falling at Godwin's feet, put his life, his dignity, and his fortunes into his hands. Godwin, at first, behaved so mysteriously, that Edward capitulated for his life, and liberty to return to Normandy; but Godwin, feeling that the pulse of his ambition beat strongly towards a throne, told him, that it was better to live a glorious king of England, than to die a beggared exile in France. In short, he promised Edward his friendship and interest upon the terms of the latter's marrying his daughter, the fair Editha. Thus did he at once bestow upon his prince a crown, with the most beautiful and virtuous lady of her sex. The agreement being made, Godwin first required an oath of the tender-conscienced Edward, that he would stand to the terms, and then he sent him back to his mother Emma, who was now at Winchester, with assurances of speedy success.

A meeting of the states.

Godwin's great address lay in the management of popular assemblies: he possessed eloquence, which rendered him master of every man's passions who heard him; and happy had it been for England, had he been the master of his own. A meeting of the states was immediately summoned, the professed design of which was, to elect a king of England. Godwin, sensible that diversity of claims and interests might have wrecked his ambition, on this occasion struck a bold, but masterly, stroke; and such as he knew, from the state of the nation, could not fail of success. For the assembly being met, he privately introduced Edward, whose hood was for that purpose drawn over his face; and while all were in

awful expectation who should begin this important debate, Godwin took prince Edward by the hand, raised him from his seat, and uncovering his face, "Behold, said he, your king! This is prince Edward, the son of king Ethelred and queen Emma, and to him I pay my allegiance." This ceremony, which was something between an election and recognition, struck the assembly; but all discontent and debate was soon stifled by the example of Godwin and his friends.

A. D. 1041.

He elects Edward king.

I have been the more particular with regard to the circumstances of Edward's accession, because I look upon it as important to the English history, as it proves that he succeeded not, as has been ignorantly insinuated, merely by popular election, but in right of Cerdic's blood. To speak candidly, it must be owned, that when all other circumstances were equal, the English generally gave preference to primogeniture; yet, in many cases, they conferred succession on the most worthy and most proper; but in no case, without regard to family. The facts which proclaim this are so loud and so stubborn, that systematic writers, whether advocates for primogeniture or popular rights, may dash their foam about the basis of this rock, upon which our establishment is founded; yet never can they be able to shake a truth so deeply founded in the English history and constitution, that it has grown with their growth, and strengthened with their strength. But it has been the unhappy fate of this nation, in its political tenets, to be distracted by diametrically opposite writers, who have sought truth every where, but, where she is to be found, in a candid mean. Now to return to our history after this, I hope, pardonable digression.

Reflections upon this incident.

Many were the Danish pretenders who still might have aspired, in right of blood, to the crown of England; but Godwin and his party gave a seasonable and a wise proof of their resolution to stand by the restored government, in the blood of Cerdic. A constitutional act was drawn up, by which the Danish race was abjured, and a limited time appointed for their leaving England. The eloquence of Godwin, and the intrigues of Living, the ambitious prelate of Worcester, who was studious to efface suspicion by zeal, did not a little contribute to those desirable events. But the reader is not to imagine, that the expulsion of the Danes in England extended to all their blood: universal expulsions and universal massacres, however frequent in history, are impracticable, and therefore incredible. What is meant by this act, was only an expulsion of the Danes lately arrived, and who had been the ministers of Hardicanute's rapaciousness, or the companions of his luxury. It could never mean to extend to the Danes who had been so long settled in England, and had such connections here by blood, alliances and interest, that they were now, in effect, become Englishmen. But the pleasure the English received from all those salutary acts of government, was this year chastised by an inclement

The Danish blood abjured.

and the Danes expelled.

A. D. 1042. clement season, which blasted the fruits of the earth, and threatened universal famine.

Edward crowned.

In the year 1042, Edward was anointed and crowned king of England, by Eadsige, archbishop of Canterbury, who, upon this occasion, preached the first coronation sermon we meet with in the English history.

His character.

It is difficult to draw the character of Edward, or indeed to find in him any character at all. He was severe and placable in extremes; but the first, generally when interest prompted, or power supported, him; and the latter, when conscience stung, or fear over-awed, him. And yet he was so capricious in his affections, that, by his severity, he sometimes endangered his crown; and, by his mildness, he exposed his person, as unreasonable obstinacy directed either. He was bred up in affliction, under the wing of his mother; and therefore one should think, that in him, softly disposed as he was, filial affection would have been most prevalent: he lay by the side of the finest woman in that age; and therefore it might be presumed, that he was not untouched by the power of beauty: and yet this endeared son, and happy husband, was cruel to his parent, and insensible to his wife. He owed his greatness to the interest of Godwin, and the quiet of his reign to the affections of the English: yet this happy man, and fortunate king, exasperated the former, and affronted the latter. Without address to hide the most glaring failings of nature, he knew how to turn them to account, by ever affecting a simplicity, which begot in the minds of the people a high opinion of his sanctity, and threw all the odium of his government from his own person upon his favourites. Upon the whole, he was a poor cowardly, shuffling prince, with all the bad qualities of a priest, with not a good-one of a king, and wanted only courage to have become an unsupportable tyrant.

His inhuman treatment of his mother.

The first public act of his government we meet with after his coronation, is his sending surveyors to take an account of all the lands held by his mother from the crown. These he seized into his own hands, together with all her ready money, jewels, and plate. The reason assigned by our historians for this barbarous usage, is too childish to be credited, it being only because of her treating him ill when an exile; but as we have not one particular instance of this, it is but fair to ascribe it to rank avarice, prompted

by the ambitious Godwin and his other counsellors. But this treatment of Emma was

tender, when compared to what she afterwards suffered: for having reduced her to a pension only sufficient for the necessities of life, a charge of incontinency was trumped up against her, as being guilty of criminal correspondence with Alwin, bishop of Winchester. Robert the Norman, who was afterwards archbishop of Canterbury, was the chief manager of this charge, to which other two infamous articles were prefixed; that of consenting to the death of Alfred, the king's elder brother; and that of obstructing the accession of Edward to the throne. As to the first of those two charges, it is void of all probability; for, not to insist upon the unnaturality of the act, she must have been betrayed by Godwin, who had been so often attacked upon that account. As to the second charge, the whole tenor of her conduct proved it false, nor do we meet with one circumstance to confirm it; nay, the very nature of the barbarous trial is a proof of her innocence; for we find that the treasonable and unnatural part of the charge was dropped, and the prosecution reduced to the article of incontinency with the bishop. This made it a matter cognoscible only by the clergy.

Accordingly a synod was convened, and in the mean time the bishop was committed to prison, while Emma was sent to the abbey of Werewell. But the lady proved an overmatch for all the arts of her prosecutors: she wrote to the bishops, before they went to the council, a state of her case, and with great art professed, that her own treatment, shameful as it was, touched her but slightly, when compared to what she felt at the usage the good bishop of Winchester suffered on her account. When the synod met, the members easily perceived that the whole was a piece of artful malice, cooked up between the king and the Norman; but not willing to expose either, they laboured to make matters up. But the pragmatical churchman stiffly opposed this; yet not being able to prove his charge, took the benefit of the law, and demanded that the queen should undergo the trial of the ordeal. The reader will find the nature of this trial explained in the note. It is sufficient to remark here, that, by the English law then subsisting, this trial could only be administered in cases where the proof was not clear (1). The queen joyfully accepted of this

A. D. 1042. She is charged with incontinency with the bishop of Winchester.

A synod called.

She is cleared by undergoing the ordeal.

(1) This ordeal was not peculiar to the English; it prevails strongly through all the northern nations; and is compounded of the negative particle *on*, and the word *saie*, difference, as if expressing impartiality. It was of two sorts, the one by fire and the other by water; the latter of which, to the stain of human reason, has not been for above half a century extinguished in Britain. Verstigan makes the ordeals, in all, four, and gives a different account of the etymology of the word from what I have done. As we have no better authority upon this subject, I shall set down his words, which are curious, and give the reader a clear idea of this celebrated purgation.—The English Saxons, says he, had among them four sorts of ordeals, which some in Latin have termed *ordalium*; or is here understood for due or right, deal, for part, as yet we use it; so as ordeal is as much to say, as due part; and at this present it is a word generally used in Germany and the Netherlands, instead of doom or judgment. These sorts of ordeal they used in doubtful cases, when clear and manifest proofs were wanted, to try and find out whether the accused were guilty or guiltless. The first was by camp-fight, which in Latin is termed *duellum*, and in French combat; the second was by iron made red-hot; the third was by hot water, and the fourth by cold water. For the trial by camp-fight, the accuser was, with the peril of his own body, to prove the accused guilty, and by offering him his glove to challenge him to this trial; which the other must either accept of, or else acknowledge himself culpable of the crime whereof he was accused. If it were a crime deserving death, then was the camp-fight for life and death, and either on horseback or on foot. If the offence deserved imprisonment, and not death, then was the camp-fight accomplished when the one had subdued the other, by making him to yield, or unable to defend himself, and so be taken prisoner. The accused had the liberty to chuse another in his stead; but the accuser must perform it in his own person, and with equality of weapons. No women were admitted to behold it, nor no men-children under the age of thirteen years.

A. D. 1042. this purgation; preparations were made; and when the day of trial came, she was brought forth in the presence of the king, the prelates and the court; and, to the amazement of many, she passed, unhurt, over nine plough-shares of red-hot iron, walking barefooted, dressed like an ordinary person, and naked up to the knees, with her eyes always fixed upwards.

Thus Emma met with her deliverance, which is so celebrated by our credulous historians, and which excited so much surprise in that ignorant age. But the whole, upon the very face of the narrative, and from the nature of the law, appears to be an impious delusion of the senses of mankind, to swell the bags of mercenary priests; for to them the party was committed, in safe and sole custody, for some days before. The que-

stion was life or death: no price, at the expence either of property, or of virtue, if in the power of the accused, was thought too dear for deliverance. If nothing was to be gained, the unhappy criminal suffered; but if they could bid up to the priest's demands, either of lust or avarice, they were saved by a preparation of oil, then a secret with the clergy, but now common with every circumforaneous mountebank.

Edward, upon this wonderful deliverance of his mother, ran up, and embraced her with tears of repentant affection, asking pardon for his credulity; but was obliged to purchase it of the prelates, at the expence of being stripped naked, and receiving of them a certain number of lashes on his royal back (1).

In the year 1043, a cloud gathered in the

years. The priest and people, that were spectators, did silently pray, that the victory might fall unto the guiltless; and if the fight were for life or death, a bear stood ready to carry away the dead body of him that should be slain, that none of the people might cry, shriek out, make any noise, or give any sign whatsoever. And hercunto, at Hall in Swevia (a place appointed for camp-fight) was so great regard taken, that the executioner stood before the judges, ready with an ax to cut off the right-hand and left-foot of the party so offending. He that, being wounded, did yield himself, was at the mercy of the other, to be killed or to be let live. If he were slain, then was he carried away and honourably buried, and he that slew him reputed more honourable than before; but if, being overcome, he were left alive, then was he, by the sentence of the judges, declared utterly void of all honest reputation, and never to ride on horseback nor to carry arms.—The trial by red-hot iron, called fire-ordeal, was used upon accusations, without manifest proofs, though not without suspicion that the accused might be faulty; and the party accused, and denying the delict, was adjudged to take red-hot iron, and to hold it in his bare hand; which, after many prayers and invocations that the truth might be manifested, he must adventure to do, or yield himself guilty, and so receive the punishment that the law (according to the offence committed) should award him. Some were adjudged to go, blind-folded, with their bare feet over certain plough-shares, which were made red-hot, and laid at a little distance one before another; and if the party, either in passing through, did chance not to tread upon them, or treading upon them received no harm, then by the judge he was declared innocent. And this kind of trial was also practised in England upon Emma, the mother of king Edward the Confessor, who was accused of dishonesty of her body with Alwin, bishop of Winchester; and being led blind-folded to the place where the glowing hot irons were laid, went forward with her bare feet, and so passed over them; and being past them all, and not knowing whether she were past them or not, said, “O good Lord! when shall I come to the place of my purgation?” and having her eyes uncovered, and seeing herself to have passed them, she kneeled down, and gave thanks to God for manifesting her innocence by her preservation from being hurt. A much-like trial unto this is recorded of Kunigund, wife unto the emperor Henry II; who being falsely accused of adultery, to shew her innocence did, in a great and honourable assembly, take seven glowing irons, one after another, in her bare hands, and had thereby no harm.—The trial called hot-water ordeal, was in cases of accusation, as is aforesaid, of glowing iron; the party accused, and also suspected, being appointed by the judges to put his arms up to the elbows in seething hot water; which, after sundry prayers, he did, and was by the effect that followed judged faulty or faultless.—Cold-water ordeal was the trial which was ordinarily used for the common sort of people, who having a cord tied about their arms, were cast into some river; and if they sunk down unto the bottom thereof, until they were drawn up, which was within a very short limited space, they were held guiltless; but such as did remain upon the water were held culpable, being (as they said) of the water rejected and kept up. And to this day, in some places of Germany, and also in the Netherlands, this kind of trial is used for such as are accused to be witches; who being cast into the water with a cord fastened unto them, are said, if they be witches indeed, to float upon the same, and in no wise to be able to sink into it.—These aforesaid kinds of ordeals the Saxons, long after their Christianity, continued; and in some of them the priests, who were present, used some exorcisms and sundry ceremonies; using also, in all of them, most earnest invocations unto God, as unto the most Just Judge, that it would please him, by such way of trial, to make the truth apparent, that the innocent might be preserved from hurt, and the unjust justly punished. But seeing these terrible kinds of trials had their beginning in Paganism, and were not thought fit to be continued among Christians, at last, by a decree of pope Stephen II, they were utterly abolished. It may be proper to observe here, that the fire-ordeal was applied to persons of distinction, and the water-ordeal to their inferiors; and that there seems somewhat particular in obliging Emma to walk over the nine heated plough-shares, since I find nothing in the Anglar-Saxonic laws to countenance that manner. The laws of Athelstan, and of other princes, are indeed very particular as to the nature of the ordeal; but then it is of a different form from this prescribed to Emma. I shall therefore, for the reader's satisfaction, and for the cause of some remarks I shall throw in upon this celebrated trial, give the particulars of it from Athelstan's laws. In the first place, the party who was to undergo the ordeal, is to go three nights before to the mass priest, who is to hallow it, and (I use the words of the law) live on bread and salt, water and herbs, before he go to it; and let him stand at his masses these three days, and make his offering, and take the sacrament the same day that he goes to ordeal, and take an oath that he is not guilty, according to the common law of the accusations. And if it be water-ordeal, let the rope go two ells and a half below the surface; if it be iron-ordeal, let it be three nights before the hand be undone; and let all his accusers be first demanded to give their oaths; and let them that are there, of either side, be fasting, according to the injunction of God and the bishop; and let there not be more than twelve of either party; if he that is accused bring more, let the ordeal be null, except they will be gone from him.—But the following is still a more particular description of this trial, and though not to be found in Saxon, is given in Latin by Sir Henry Spelman, and has been admitted as authentic by him and Sir William Dugdale, and all our other antiquaries: As to ordeals, we charge, in the name of God, and by the precept of the archbishop and of all my other prelates and bishops, that no one go into the church after the carrying in of the fire with which the ordeal is to be heated, but the priest and the person to be tried; and let nine foot be measured out from the stake to the mark, according to the length of the person's foot who is to be tried. (And if it be water-ordeal, let it be heated till it boils; and if it be a single accusation, let the hand be dipped to the fist only, to take out the stone; but if the accusation be three-fold, then let it be dipped to the elbow.) And when the ordeal is ready, let two of each party come in, to see that it be sufficiently heated; and let an equal number of both sides enter, and stand on each side of the ordeal along the church; and let them all be fasting, without having been with their wives the foregoing night; let them humble themselves at the priest's sprinkling the holy water upon them; and let the priest give them the holy gospel book, and the sign of the holy cross, to be kissed. And let no man increase the fire after the consecration is begun, but let the iron lie in the fire till the last collect; then let it be laid on the pillar, and let nothing be said but prayers to God that he may reveal the truth. And let the person accused drink holy water, and let the hand in which he is to carry the ordeal be sprinkled with it. Let the nine measured feet be divided into three parts, containing each three feet. Let him place his right foot at the first mark at the stake; at the second mark let him put his right foot foremost; when he is come to the third let him throw down the iron; let him speed to the holy altar, and let his hand be sealed up. On the third day, let inspection be made whether there be any filth or not in the place that was sealed up. If any one break these laws, let the ordeal be null, and a mulct of a hundred and twenty shillings paid to the king.

(1) Some modern writers have treated the whole of Emma's purgation as a forgery; but as it has been related, with all its circumstances, by Brompton and other historians, and carefully preserved by our moderns, I have not dared to reject it.

A. D. 1044. the north, which threatened to discharge a tempest of war upon England: for Sweyn, king of Norway, son to Canute the Great, now prepared, with the assistance of his father's friends, to assert his claim to the throne of England. Edward had speedy notice of his preparations, and both he and the English were greatly alarmed at the news. Preparations were made to repel the invasion; for the king this year failed to Sandwich with five and thirty ships: but a war breaking out between Denmark and Norway, which ended in the deposition of Sweyn, the invasion never took place. For Magnus, the son of Olave the Martyr, who succeeded Sweyn, carried the war into Denmark, where another Sweyn reigned; and this, for some time, procured respite to England. But other authors, I think more probably, with Simeon of Durham and Hoveden, tell us, that this invasion was threatened by Magnus himself; though it must be owned, notwithstanding the lateness of the period, the history of the northern nations at this time is so confused, that nothing certain can be concluded (1).

Edward marries Editha.

Her character.

This year Edward, who was a religious observer of his word, married the fair Editha, daughter to earl Godwin. It is more than probable, that the match being delayed so long was occasioned by the impuberty of the young bride. Ingulphus the historian, who lived at her court, gives us an extraordinary character of this lady, both for beauty and learning: for he tells us, that when he was a boy, she used to meet him coming from school, and pose him in verses: that she often examined his progress in grammar and logic: and that, when she had done, she used to order her waiting-woman to give him money. All our historians concur in giving the greatest praise to her beauty, and mildness of temper; and a line, which well sheweth the sentiments of the people, with regard both to father and daughter, became then proverbial, viz.

Sicut spina rosam, genuit Godwinus Editham.

“As from the prickly stalk the fragrant rose,
“From Godwin so the fair Editha grows.”

Yet all the profusion of her charms, all the graces of her mind, could not move the insensible Edward to one amorous embrace; for, either though fastidious piety, natural impotence, or family aversion, his bed remained barren, and her virginity untouched.

The following year, which was 1044, seems to have produced an enquiry into some of the Danish practices in England; for we

find, that this year Gunhilda, the niece of Canute the Great, was banished, with all her family out of England; and next year, the insolence of Godwin's family rose to such a height, that Sweyn, one of his sons, de-flowered the abbess of Leominster in Herefordshire. The crime was so great in the eyes of Edward and the clergy, that though the young gentleman offered to expiate his crime by marriage, all his father's interest could not procure his pardon, and he was obliged to retire to Bruges in Flanders. Having waited there for some time, expecting pardon, he retired to Denmark, where he found means to get together a small squadron of eight ships, with which he infested the coasts of England. In the mean time, in the year 1046, two Danish soldiers of fortune, Lothen and Yrling, invaded England, and landed at Sandwich with a fleet of twenty-five ships. Here they committed great ravages, and carried off large booty. From thence they sailed round Thanet; but attempting to land in Kent, they were vigorously repulsed by the inhabitants: but had better success in Essex, from whence they carried away both men and effects, and went over to Flanders, where they disposed of their booty.

Simeon of Durham, in this year places the conquest of Denmark by Magnus, king of Norway, who drove Sweyn from his throne. The distressed prince applied to England for succours, and a council was held to deliberate upon his request. Earl Godwin was of opinion, that it was the interest of England to promote differences in the north; but this nobleman's aspiring views became now too evident not to be checked by the other noblemen, who foresaw that if any fleet was ordered out, the command would fall upon him, or one of his sons. Siward, the palatine of Northumberland, and Leofric earl of Mercia, were the two noblemen then most eminent in England; inferior, perhaps, to Godwin in parts, power, and interest; but before him in the esteem of the people. These uniting in their sentiments, counterpoised the credit of Godwin in the council, and therefore his project came to nothing. It is an amazing proof of Godwin's abilities, that notwithstanding such powerful antagonists, he was able, so long as he did, to keep his place as the first minister to Edward, and his rank as the first subject of the kingdom, when we reflect that he was personally hated by his prince, who sought only to be supported, in order to emancipate himself from his power.

A. D. 1046. Gunhilda and her family banished; as is Sweyn, son to Godwin.

who turns Pyrate.

The Danes invade England.

Sweyn, king of Denmark, applies to England for succours.

Earl Godwin's advice is overruled.

An anachronism is urged with regard to Robert not being at this time archbishop of Canterbury; but this might have been a casual mistake, since he certainly was then bishop of London, and, according to Rudburn, he was vicar of Canterbury; and as he was afterwards archbishop, the mistake of an after-writer calling him so was natural enough.

(1) About this time was founded a noble monastery near Coventry in Warwickshire, by Leofric, earl of the Mercians, and the lady Godiva his wife, who was not only one of the most beautiful, but most pious, women of that age. They also enriched this monastery with great presents, both of gold and silver. By reason of which monastery the town adjoining became much more flourishing, and took the name of Coventry from this convent. And we further read in Brompton's chronicle, that this worthy lady Godiva, being desirous to exempt the said town from the grievous taxes and tolls imposed on it, she earnestly and frequently solicited her husband to take them off, but yet was still denied: however, she ceasing not to renew her request, he told her jestingly at last, that if she would be content to ride naked through the town, he would grant her petition; which she readily undertook to do; and so commanding all people at that time to keep within doors, she covered her body with her own hair, of which she had so great a quantity, that it served instead of a mantle. Thus did she generously free the citizens from those heavy exactions which they then lay under, though by the no-very decent exposing of herself; and afterwards gave them a charter of exemptions, affixing her husband's and her own seal to it.

Edward

A. D. 1047.

The Danes
again invade
England.Edward treats
with Sweyn.Bearn mur-
dered.The Danes
infest the
coasts of Eng-
land.

Edward finding such sentiments in his chief nobility, thought now of curbing the ambition of his father-in-law; when, in the year 1048, the Danes having almost depopulated the Coasts of South Wales, threatened a descent upon England. This called for all the attention of Edward and his court, and obliged them to lay aside, for some time, the thoughts of checking Godwin. The king set out with a large fleet of ships for Sandwich; and the state of his affairs requiring him to have as few enemies as possible, he was prevailed upon by Bearn, a friend of the Godwin family, and a nobleman of great interest, to admit of a conference with Sweyn, who kept the sea with eight ships. Landing therefore at Bosham in Suffex, he received a kind of promise from Edward, to be restored to all his patrimonial inheritance; but Harold, his brother, either prompted by interest, or dreading the restless temper of Sweyn, privately opposed this, and prevailed with Edward to go from his word: so that he sent notice to Sweyn to be gone in four days to his ships. In the mean time, the Danes actually landed in Wesssex, part of which they plundered. No other general was found so fit to command against them as Godwin, because of his great interest in that kingdom. Accordingly he sailed round with two capital ships of the king's, commanded by his two sons, Harold and Tosti; himself leading the Wesssex division, consisting of forty-two ships. They had the misfortune, by stress of weather, to be forced into Pevensey in Suffex, where being obliged to continue a few days, they were met by Sweyn, earl Godwin's son, and by him intreated to make up his matters at court. They all very readily undertook his cause; but it appears that earl Godwin privately acquainted Sweyn of the part Bearn had acted against him with Edward. The latter, however, to wipe off all suspicion, undertook to be Sweyn's safeguard to the king, who was then at Sandwich, and accordingly they set out together. While they were upon their journey, Sweyn pretending to receive advices of a mutiny in his squadron, earnestly entreated Bearn to return thither till he should quell it. Bearn, not suspecting the other's intention, readily agreed; but when they came to the place where the ships lay, he began to be apprehensive of Sweyn's designs, and absolutely refused to go on board. Sweyn had gone too far to suffer him to escape, therefore he ordered his men to lay hold of him, then forcing him into a pinnace, and from thence on board his squadron, carried him to Axminster, where he murdered him. In the mean time, Sweyn hoisting sail, went over to Bruges, where he remained all winter.

Next year, which was 1047, Sweyn's squadron, when joined with the Danish pirates, proved extremely troublesome to England, and gave a handle for earl Godwin to press the king, by means of Aldred bishop of Worcester, to grant Sweyn a full pardon. The circumstances of the kingdom, now destitute of a proper marine to curb the in-

fuls of both Sweyn and the Danes, made Edward comply, and re-admit Sweyn into England; while he sent out a squadron of nine ships to cruise upon the other Danes, and kept other five in port for extraordinary emergencies. It is probable that the submission of Sweyn, and the weakness of the Danish pirates, now destitute of his assistance, rendered it impracticable for the latter, this year, to make head against this armament, which, though small, consisted of stout ships.

But this year opened a scene of civil commotion, which shook the throne of Edward, and proved the occasion of many calamities to England. The case was as follows: Eustace earl of Bulloign, Edward's brother-in-law, and the same who was father to the illustrious Godfrey and Baldwin, who were afterwards successively kings of Jerusalem, came over, either through affection or business, to pay a visit to Edward. Upon his return he came to Canterbury; here he made a kind of triumphal entry, with his retinue all in armour, and insolently took up their quarters in what houses they liked best: but one of the inhabitants stomaching this usage, a fray ensued between him and one of the foreigners, in which the latter was killed; but not till he had given the other sufficient provocation, by striking him first. This produced a more general tumult, in which Eustace himself and all his retinue took part; but, in the end, the foreigners were driven out of the city, with the loss of nineteen men, having killed of the townsmen twenty.

Insolence of
earl Eustace
and his at-
endants.

Edward, with an ignorance which shewed him equally void of the principles of common justice, as of the laws of England, immediately pronounced upon the inhabitants of Canterbury a sentence of fire and sword, with orders for earl Godwin to see it put in rigorous execution. Godwin now laid hold of an opportunity for establishing his popularity, and practising that patriotism he had ever professed. He knew that if he obeyed the king's orders, he must for ever forfeit the favour of his countrymen, an advantage of much more importance to his views than that of Edward; therefore, doing a very right thing upon very bad principles, he flatly refused to obey the king's orders; giving this popular reason for his disobedience, that the laws of England did not admit that any Englishman should be put to death not only unconvicted, but unheard. The truth is, that the king had been palpably abused by Eustace, in his representations of the matter, and was so biased by his fondness for his kinsman, that he had never given the Canterburymen any opportunity of vindicating their conduct; while Godwin, who saw his own credit endangered by the growing influence of foreigners, resolved to risk every thing, rather than suffer it to gain ground. In the mean time, he laid before the king a proposal, which was at once wise and honest; for he moved, that the offenders should be summoned to appear before the king's court of justice, there

Edward's
injustice.Godwin's po-
licy.

A. D. 1047.

Edward implacably incensed at Godwin.

Preparations for a civil war.

A meeting of the states called by Edward.

to answer for their conduct, in order to be discharged, if innocent, and punished, if otherwise. Edward, whose education, as well as disposition, was of an arbitrary strain, looked upon this proposal in a very improper light. He considered Godwin's declining to execute his unjust commands as downright contumacy; and that it would be a demeaning of his majesty in the eyes of foreigners, if he should either suffer his commands to be disputed, or his subjects to enjoy the benefit of the law, when it thwarted his royal pleasure. Those reflections led him gradually into a dislike of Godwin's person, which being improved by the suggestions of his courtiers, settled at last into a rivetted aversion to him, his family, and party. But it would have been difficult for Edward to have succeeded in his resentment, had not an accidental cause furnished him with a more plausible handle for revenge.

The Welsh, about this time, had erected a fort upon part of earl Sweyn's estate, and had committed great disorders upon his tenants. This gave Godwin and his family a fair pretext for drawing together a body of forces to defend themselves, in case the former was attacked, for his late disobedience. The popularity of their pretences soon levied a considerable army; for Godwin raised the militias of Kent, Essex, and Wessex; Sweyn drew together another body from the counties of Oxford, Gloucester, Hereford, Somerset and Berks; while Harold headed the men of East-Anglia, Cambridge, and Huntingdonshire; their general rendezvous being at Beverston in Gloucestershire. Edward was not insensible of Godwin's intention to bring those troops into the field; but was unable to check, far less to punish, him. He fell, however, upon the only measure which could either recommend his own cause, or distress that of his antagonist; for he ordered a meeting of the states to be summoned at Gloucester; and, in the mean time, wrote to Leofric and Siward to repair to his assistance. The assembly being met, application was made, by deputies from Wales, to Edward, to vindicate their countrymen from the charge of provoking the English government. They had a favourable hearing; and it quickly appeared, that the grounds of their quarrel lay entirely between themselves and Sweyn, who had greatly oppressed and provoked them. This gave Edward a strong handle against Godwin, and served to open the eyes of the public; while Leofric and Siward arriving, strengthened the royal party so much, that peremptory orders were sent to Godwin and his sons, commanding them to appear before the assembly, with threatenings in case of disobedience. Godwin, upon the popular principles by which he pretended to act, could not, consistently with himself, decline this summons; nor could he, with safety, obey it. He knew, by this time, that Edward was implacably exasperated, and that his own ambition was become odious to the other noblemen of the assembly; he therefore gave his conduct another turn.

He said, that the state of the nation required the sharpest remedies: that the Welsh had trampled upon the majesty of England, and the Normans had engrossed the affections of the king: that his interest and station in the government could not suffer him to be an unconcerned spectator of the miseries which he foresaw would quickly fall upon England, unless some vigorous measures were taken; and therefore he had raised forces to punish the insolence of the Welsh, and to rescue his prince from the power of the Normans. Demanding, at the same time, with great appearance of the warmest patriotism, that the persons of Eustace and his retinue, who had murdered so many of the king's liege subjects, should be delivered into his custody, that they might be tried by the laws of England.

This answer alarmed the principal nobility. Leofric and Siward knew that Edward, by his partiality to the Normans, had given but too good grounds for popular discontent; but they hoped that a meeting of the states would soon bring all again to rights. They had therefore avoided giving any umbrage to Godwin, by repairing to the meeting at the head of their troops; but perceiving, by this answer, full of insolence and confidence from numbers, that Godwin struck at the very fundamentals of government, they immediately dispatched messengers through all parts of their estates, with orders instantly to raise all the troops they could furnish, and advance towards Gloucester. Godwin, upon this occasion, seems to have been a little wanting to himself; for he was contented to lie by during this weak interval of the royal party, and to stand entirely upon the defensive; whereas, had he immediately advanced, he might have dissipated his enemies, and have got the person of Edward into his own hands. But it is more than probable that this misconduct was not owing either to ignorance or pusillanimity; but to the great regard his own forces had for the authority of the assembly and the character of their sovereign. So that Godwin was forced to be contented with acting the part of reluctant rebellion: for, according to William of Malmesbury, the earl proclaimed his orders at the head of his army, that none of his followers should act offensively against the royal party, and only stand upon their defence, if attacked; while an expression in the Saxon annals intimates, that, had his orders been otherwise, he would not have been obeyed by his soldiers. "They stood, says that author, resolutely upon their own defence, though it seemed a hard thing for them to fight against their natural lord."

In the mean time, the orders of the earls Leofric, Siward, and the others of the royal party, were obeyed with amazing expedition. Edward soon found himself at the head of a numerous army, and surrounded by all the nobility of England, the Godwin family alone excepted. It was now in his power to turn the scale of war; nor was it at all contrary to his inclination, through his

A. D. 1047.

Godwin's high demands.

Edward's friends prepare to force Godwin into terms.

Their great army.

A. D. 1047.
Leofric's and
Siward's wife
conduct.

resentment against Godwin. But Leofric and Siward wisely considered, that however ambitious Godwin might be, and however dangerously his views might point, yet some part of his defence was at least good and constitutional; that the season of the year would not permit him to keep his men long together in a body; and that a little moderation on the king's part would soon open their eyes, and convince them they had nothing to fear from that pretended partiality for foreigners, the most popular handle the disaffected had made use of. At the same time they thought, that the danger which Edward had escaped would prove a wholesome lesson, to teach him that Englishmen were to be governed only by English laws and maxims. Therefore, while the sword of civil dissention was just ready to sheath itself in the bowels of England, those two worthy noblemen laboured so effectually, that all the arbitrary views of the king were disappointed, and all the dangerous ones of Godwin defeated: for, after several conferences, the season being now pretty far advanced, Godwin found his forces daily melting away. The great weight of authority on the other side, the meeting of the states, and the presence of the sovereign, with the necessities of their own private affairs, proved considerations which out-weighed all the interest of Godwin and his family. The latter, therefore, were forced to accept of the terms rather prescribed than offered by the royal party; which were, that another meeting of the states should, in a certain number of days, be called at London, for the adjusting all differences; and that Godwin and his sons should repair thither, attended by no more than each by twelve persons.

Godwin
forced to submit.

Returns to
Wessex.

Raises an
army,

and marches
to London.

Godwin summoned to appear in parliament.

Godwin, being obliged to submit to those terms, returned to Wessex, as his sons did to their several estates; and, by their artful representations, soon disposed the inhabitants again to join their banners. The time for opening the assembly of the states being come, Godwin pretended that he had discovered a strong conspiracy of the foreign faction against his person, and that it would be by no means safe to venture to London without a strong guard. This prevailed with the people; and Godwin, in a little time, finding himself at the head of a great army, set out for London, while his army took up their quarters in Southwark. In the mean time, the royal party was not idle. Godwin, by his late conduct, had broken the convention, and was guilty of treason: this gave them a proper and a justifiable handle to arm for the defence of their sovereign and his government. Accordingly an army was raised much superior to that of Godwin, and a summons was sent to the latter, commanding him and his sons, upon their allegiance, to appear, attended only by twelve persons, at the assembly. Godwin could find no better pretext for not obeying this summons, than to insist upon the danger his person was in through the practices of his enemies; and to prove that he did not decline his appearance through contumacy, he told the mes-

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sengers, that he was ready to obey the king's commands, provided he had hostages given him for his safe return and that of his sons. Reply was made to this demand, that he was a subject, and obliged by his duty to give his sovereign suit and service when lawfully summoned; and therefore, that it did not become him to stand upon terms with the government in a matter that concerned his allegiance as an Englishman. Godwin was now in the utmost perplexity; he found that his army was daily lessening, while that of the royalists was increasing; that there were no hopes of any commotion in his favour within the city of London, and that the government was firm and determined to humble him. But to have tamely complied, and to have appeared in the character of a private subject, was equally disagreeable to his proud spirit, as it was inconsistent with his personal safety, since the government wanted neither proof nor inclination sufficient for legal conviction and punishment; he therefore again refused to obey his summons. Upon this the law had its course; Sweyn was out-lawed, having been guilty of many overt acts of rebellion; and Godwin, with Harold his other son, had but five days allowed them for departing the kingdom, upon peril of their heads; while the great business of the nation went quietly on in the assembly.

A. D. 1047.

I have been the more solicitous to set these great transactions in their true light, because I find they have been miserably misrepresented by all our modern historians, and very confusedly by our old ones. Whoever reads them with attention, will be thus early convinced of that truth which all history and observation confirms; that domestic faction never will be able to shake the throne of a king of England who reigns by law, and that the people of England never can be brought to act against their parliament. Godwin had more power than any subject ever known in England, with as great abilities and as popular a cause; but the moment that the difference came to be between him and the parliament, he found his followers prove like a broken reed which run into his hand, and he was obliged to abandon all his mighty possessions, and to leave his friends to the mercy of the crown.

Reflection.

He was not, however, destitute of support; for he had amassed treasure enough to make him a welcome guest in whatever country he should chuse his residence. Setting, therefore, out with his son Sweyn for Bosham, they went on board their vessels and sailed for Flanders (the common receptacle of those who had aught to spend) where he was kindly received by earl Baldwin, the father-in-law of his son Tosti; while Harold and Leofwin went to Brickston, where they found a ship sent by their brother Tosti, on board of which they embarked and went to Ireland. Thus far Edward's resentment was proper and constitutional; but no sooner did the assembly of the states break up, and his wisest noblemen had left his court, than he fell upon an unmanly piece of resentment

Godwin goes beyond sea.

A. D. 1052. against the family of Godwin, by stripping his own queen of all her money, jewels and effects, and then shutting her up in the nunnery of Werewell, under the tuition of his own sister.

His estate confiscated.

Godwin being thus banished, Edward made a gift of his estate in Devonshire, Somersetshire and Dorsetshire, to earl Odda, whom he likewise appointed warden of the marches of Wales; and bestowed the estate of Harold upon Algar, son to the great Leofric, earl of Mercia.

Edward releases the tribute of Dane-gelt.

But it must not be forgot here, that about this time, or soon after, Edward, in gratitude for the loyalty of his subjects, or overawed by their murmurings, released them from the heavy imposition of Dane-gelt, under which they had so long groaned. The effects of this generosity were extremely beneficial to Edward's government during the remaining part of his reign; and his being now rid of so insatiable a minister as Godwin was, rendered his munificence the less inconvenient for his own private affairs. But Ingulphus tells us, that he not only released this tribute for the future, but actually restored, to the several proprietors from whom it had been collected, all that remained of it in money in his exchequer. Florence places this release in the year 1051, and tells us, that the same year William duke of Normandy, Edward's cousin, came over to England, where he was generously received by the king. But this visit proved afterwards fatal to England, as it gave a handle for William to pretend, that Edward then appointed him heir to his crown; a pretext upon which he afterwards founded the claim that overthrew the English constitution.

Emma's death.

In the year 1052 died the famous queen Emma. Her character has been differently represented, as the several writers who have drawn it were affected; but, as we have already hinted, there is no positive fact which can be fixed upon her memory to prove, that she was either an unworthy queen or a bad woman. Her affection for the Norman interest was natural; and if she had a greater esteem for the memory of Canute than for that of Ethelred, her partiality was excusable, because owing to the different merits of the two princes.

Edward's partiality for the Normans.

In the mean time, Edward still continued to confer marks of distinction upon his Norman favourites; for we find them, at this time, in possession of a fort in the west of England, and marching, in conjunction with the English, to repress the inroads of Griffith prince of Wales, into Herefordshire: but they were defeated by the Welsh, who returned to their own country laden with plunder. Whether the Welsh prince had any encouragement from Godwin or his party, does not appear; but it is certain, that about this time Harold, who, as we have seen, had taken refuge in Ireland with his brother Leofwin, entered into a concert with their father for distressing their native country, and forcing the government to re-admit them to their power and possessions. For this purpose Godwin sailed from Bruges, and

Godwin again invades England in conjunction with Harold.

Harold from Ireland, much about the same time. The former appears to have had the most formidable squadron; for no sooner did he appear upon the coasts, than Edward ordered his two admirals (the earls Rolfe and Odda) to repair on board his fleet, then lying at Sandwich. Their first intelligence after this of Godwin was, that he was lying off of Romney in Kent; upon which they put to sea with a design to attack him, ordering at the same time a body of land forces to observe the motion of the main fleet, and to be in readiness upon all events to oppose any descent if attempted by Godwin. But the latter had timely advice of their motions, and not finding himself a match for the royal navy, retired to Pevensey. In the mean time, the king's fleet was distressed by a storm, so that it could not make after the rebels; while Godwin made the best use he could of this interval, by landing on the shores of Kent, Suffex and Essex, his agents, who represented his injuries and distresses in such moving terms, as disposed them to an universal insurrection in his favour. But still he was not master by sea, the royal navy consisting of forty well-appointed ships. To obviate this inconveniency, having secured the inhabitants of the southern coasts in his interest, he gave the king's admirals, whom stress of weather had forced back to Sandwich, the slip, and sailed for the isle of Wight, the place of rendezvous appointed between him and Harold. The latter, all this time, was improving the superiority his forces gave him on the quarter where he acted. Landing at the mouth of the Severn, he penetrated into Somersetshire and Devonshire, laying waste all the country which held for the royal party. Some resistance was made indeed by the inhabitants; but they were soon put to the rout, leaving thirty of their countrymen dead upon the spot. From thence Harold set sail for the isle of Wight, where he knew his father was; and their squadrons joining, rendered them superior in force to the royal navy.

Edward, hearing of this junction, was instantly alarmed for the safety of his capital, and sent orders for his admirals to make all the haste they could to guard the mouth of the Thames: but the sailors, either for want of pay, or murmuring at the incapacity of their officers, deserted in such numbers, that there were not so many hands left on board as were sufficient to work the ships, and thereby a ready and an easy passage was opened for the rebels.

Edward in danger.

It was not long before they improved their good fortune; for, according to Simeon of Durham, no sooner were the two squadrons joined, than their leaders gave over the low piratical war which they had exercised ever since they had put to sea, taking no more from the country than was just necessary for supporting their men. They then coasted to Pevensey, where they took all the ships lying in that harbour; they did the like by all that were in any of the harbours on that coast; they next came to Dover, and from thence to Sandwich, still seizing and bringing

Godwin's progress.

A. D. 1052. ing along with them all the ships that fell in their way. Having thus secured themselves from all possibility of any resistance or surprise behind, they stood for the mouth of the Thames, which they entered without opposition: and leaving there a small squadron, they proceeded up the river with the main fleet.

He comes to London.

Edward, by this time, had found means to man fifty ships; but they, not able to face the rebels, were drawn up as far as Westminster, where they served to prevent any surprise upon that side of London. But Godwin proceeding boldly up the river as far as Southwark, there landed all the soldiers he had on board, and was joined by forces from all parts of the southern division, and from all the counties where any part of his family estate lay. All together they formed a great army; and being drawn up on the shore, they presented a terrible appearance to the king's forces and to the citizens of London, many of whom were deeply in the interest of the rebels. But, upon this occasion, the loyalty of the English to their prince again saved his government from ruin, and the nation from civil war: for Edward, possessing the north strand of the river, ordered his forces, which were very numerous, to be drawn out likewise; and for some days both fleets and both armies continued facing one another, without coming to any hostilities. The truth is, neither Edward nor Godwin had interest enough with their own officers to prevail with them to act offensively against their countrymen, until all possible means were tried, and proved ineffectual, for an accommodation. Those dispositions in his own army prevailed with Godwin to humble himself before Edward by his messengers: he represented the services he had formerly done to the government, his zeal for the honour of England, and his resolution to live and die a dutiful subject. Those offers, when weighed with the grounds of complaint which every Englishman had against Edward's partiality for the Normans, turned the thoughts of his council towards peace. But Edward, by his obstinacy, had almost undone both them and himself; for the Norman faction, knowing that his countenance was all the support they had, and that if Godwin should again prevail they must be absolutely ruined in England, wrought so upon his narrow mind, that he for some time refused all offers of accommodation. This exasperated the party of Godwin, who still continued his proffers of submission, so much, that they had well nigh lost all patience, and were ready to have fallen upon the royal forces, when Edward's council, in a manner, forced him to agree to a truce.

This respite was employed in summoning a meeting of the states, wherein Godwin's offers being considered, a deputation was ordered to treat with him. Hostages being interchanged, the terms were soon agreed upon, which were, that Godwin, his wife and sons, should be restored to their respective ranks, power and possessions; that

the queen-confort should be reinstated in her former dignity, and that all Edward's foreign counsellors should be expelled the kingdom. The Normans were soon sensible that they were to expect no quarter after this treaty; and the most obnoxious among them, taking guilt upon themselves, laid hold of the first opportunity of flying. Robert, the Norman archbishop, in particular, with another bishop and a great retinue, broke out of London by Aldgate, which was guarded by a body of citizens to prevent their flight: but the Normans over-powering the guard, escaped to a castle of the archbishop's in Essex, and soon after went on board a ship for France. The assembly, however, tender of the king's particular affections, when not detrimental to the public, were far from extending the sentence of banishment indiscriminately to all foreigners: several of them, conspicuous for their virtue, were excepted, especially those who, having a share in the king's favour, had ever employed it in doing good offices between him and the people. Others, being possessed of castles, voluntarily surrendered them; among whom were Osbern and Hugh, who receiving safe conduct from Leofric earl of Mercia, retired to Scotland, where they were kindly entertained and protected by Macbeth, who then held that crown.

We have already hinted, that the recalling Godwin was by no means agreeable to Edward's inclinations: his reasons against it had great weight: it was notorious that he had been concerned in the death of Alfred: so that, supposing Edward might have pardoned him for his misconduct with regard to himself, yet the cries of a brother's blood, inhumanly shed, were not to be stifled. He therefore made it an absolute preliminary, that Godwin should be tried for this murder. Godwin readily submitted to this; and, in compliance with Edward's farther demands, gave hostages both for his standing his trial, and the performance of his other engagements; which hostages were by Edward sent over to William duke of Normandy, and committed to his custody.

Godwin tried for the murder of Alfred.

Mr. Selden has, I think, with great probability, referred to this occasion the account which we have in Brompton of Godwin's trial before the assembly of the states. The last-named author is indeed confused and uncertain as to dates and circumstances; but as it has been presumed, by several great men, that he extracted the fact, as it stands now in his chronicle, from certain authentic records, it claims a place here, as being (notwithstanding all the disfiguring it has met with from the ignorant officious transcriber) one of the most important facts we meet with in the Anglo-Saxon history.

We are told, that the king, having convened an assembly of his states, as soon as Godwin appeared in it, accused him of his brother's death in the following terms: "Thou traitor Godwin! I impeach thee of my brother Alfred's murder, whom you yourself slew." Godwin's reply was; "Most gracious sovereign, with all due respect

The form of the trial.

A peace concluded.

A. D. 1052.

A. D. 1052.

Debates
thereupon.

“spect to your majesty, peace and dominion,
“I never did betray nor kill your brother;
“and I put myself upon trial, as to this im-
“peachment, before your court.” The king
then replied, “My well-beloved lords, earls,
“and barons here assembled, and who have
“heard my impeachment and earl God-
“win’s answer, I will, that you award
“judgment, and do strict justice upon this
“impeachment.” Upon this a strong de-
bate happened in the house, and variety of
sentiments were urged: it was said, in God-
win’s vindication, that at the time of the
murder (for so Brompton’s words are to be
understood) the earl was no subject of the
king, and that he had not with his own
hands committed the murder. But others,
who were enemies to Godwin, urged his
late rebellion as a proof of guilt, and were
willing to lay hold of the one charge as the
most proper way to punish him for the other.
I can by no means be of opinion here, with
some authors who contend (from the words
of Brompton, who is always a very inac-
curate transcriber, and therefore an ignorant
writer) that no allegiance to the kings of
England was due by birth, nor until a man
had actually performed homage or sworn
fealty to the king. This seems to be con-
trary to the strongest evidence of our history
and constitution: but be this as it will, it
was very warmly urged by Godwin’s ene-
mies, that no earl, baron, or other subject
of the king, could by law wage battle against
him in his appeal; but ought, upon the whole
matter, to submit himself to the king’s mer-
cy, and offer him reasonable amends.

Leofric’s opi-
nion and
speech.

This opinion seems to have carried it;
for we are told, that when the question was
put, Leofric, as being the most respected in
the assembly, both before God and man,
delivered his sentiments in the following
manner: “Earl Godwin, said he, must be
“admitted, next to the king, to be the
“person of the highest quality in England;
“and he cannot deny, that he had a hand
“in advising the murder of Alfred, his ma-
“jesty’s brother. My opinion therefore is,
“that he himself, his son, and twelve of
“us earls, who are all of us his friends and
“kinsmen, shall humbly come before the
“king, each laden with as much gold and
“silver as he can carry between his arms,
“and offer the same for his offence; and
“most humbly supplicate his pardon, be-
“secching him to lay aside all ill-will, ran-
“cour, and malice towards the said earl,
“and peaceably restore him to his lands,
“after taking his homage and fealty.” This
award, which probably was before con-
certed among all parties, took place. The
procession instantly set out; and Edward ac-
cepted, with seeming acquiescence, of the
atonement.

Remarks.

Many are the remarks which modern hi-
storians have made upon this event. What
is of real importance to us, is to observe the
great authority of a meeting of the states in
those days, and that it extended to causes
which lay personally between the king and
his subjects; that commutation, in cases of

murder, was even at this time admitted,
though of the highest nature; that Godwin
was tried by his peers, but that the king in
his own realm had no peer. This last maxim
is implied by an expression of the historian,
which, if not considered, may be wrested
to very bad purposes: for, giving an account
of the debates upon this question, it is urged,
that no earl or baron, nor any subject of the
king, can by law wage battle against him
in his appeal; but this is far, as has been
ignorantly imagined, from taking away
the lawfulness of all civil resistance. By the
battle here mentioned is only meant the sin-
gle combat by which every man, in those
days, had it in his power to convict his ad-
versary, and clear himself; and it was then
undoubtedly a maxim in the government,
that the king of England had no peer, and
therefore was obliged to answer no challenge
of that kind. This passage has, I know,
never been considered in this light; but to
consider it in any other, is giving up the
principles of civil liberty, the common sense
of our ancestors, and the genius of this con-
stitution.

Godwin was now reinstated in his fortunes
and power with double lustre: his family
and sons were restored to their possessions,
all but Sweyn, whom remorse, at the death
of Bearn, drove into a pilgrimage to Jerusa-
lem, where he died upon the road.

Sweyn dies on
a pilgrimage.

Many of our historians say, that in this
year Griffith, prince of Wales, made a fresh
inroad upon England, and was opposed by
the inhabitants of Herefordshire, with a de-
tachment of Normans from their garrison in
Hereford castle. The Welsh prince, how-
ever, attacked them boldly, killed a great
many of them, and routing the rest, return-
ed in triumph, and laden with booty, to
his own country. But the next year, viz.
1053, according to Simeon of Durham,
Rees, brother to Griffith, having committed
great depredations upon Edward’s subjects,
was taken prisoner at Bulendon, and by Ed-
ward’s orders put to death. As we have no
particular account of this prince’s fate from
the Welsh annals, it is reasonable to suppose,
that this Rees had carried on war with the
English in so inhuman a manner, as deprived
him of all right to the regard due to princes
or prisoners of war: for had not this been
the case, their historians would not have
failed to have commemorated his sufferings,
and to have aggravated Edward’s barbarity.

History of the
Welsh.

Notwithstanding the late solemn trial and
acquittal of Godwin, it is pretty plain, that
Edward was by no means satisfied of his in-
nocence with regard to his brother’s murder:
for we are told, that this year, the court
being at Windsor, or according to others at
Winchester, where the king celebrated the
festival of Easter, mention was made of Al-
fred’s name. Edward, upon this, looking
with an angry frown upon Godwin, the lat-
ter, as he was putting a morsel in his mouth,
protested his innocence in the strongest terms,
wishing that the morsel he was then to eat
might be his last, if he was guilty of aught,
either against Alfred’s life or Edward’s in-
terest.

A. D. 1054.

Curf-sworn
ordeal.Godwin
choaked.Other ac-
counts of his
death.Revolution in
Scotland.Murder of
Duncan king
of Scotland
by Macbeth.Duncan's sons
killed.

terest. This imprecation partook of the nature of a voluntary ordeal. The curf-sworn, that is, the devoted morsel, was, upon cases of suspicion, administered to the suspected party; our ancestors being of opinion, that, if guilty, he would lose the power of deglutination, and be choaked with the morsel. Godwin's guilt was proved by the event; for heaven taking him at his word, he fell down choaked, speechless and breathless, all means of recovery being ineffectual. Thus the death of this great man is related by the Norman monks, but without consistency of circumstances; for it is highly improbable, after he had been found guilty by his peers, by his nearest relations, and his own tacit acknowledgments, that he would have professed his innocence, in so strong a manner, after such evidence of his guilt. All our historians (Simeon of Durham in particular) admit, that he died this year, while he sat at table with Edward: and the last-mentioned author says, he was suddenly seized with so violent a distemper, that he fell down speechless from the chair in which he sat; that three of his sons, Harold, Tosti and Gyrth, being present, they instantly removed him into the king's bed-chamber, hoping it was but a sudden fit of illness; but that Godwin, after languishing for four days, died on the fifth. Thus fell the greatest subject any king of England ever had, and one of the greatest men the nation ever produced, had his virtues been equal to his abilities; but enough has been already said with regard to his character.

The year 1054 was distinguished by a great event in the north, equally glorious for England as it was happy for Scotland. Duncan, king of the Scots, a prince more eminent for civil than for military virtues, is by Fordun compared to Vespasian, for the noble contempt he, on all occasions, discovered as to informations of conspiracies against his own person. With laudable zeal he made anniversary circuits round his kingdom, and restored to his people that order which their late wars with the barbarous Danes had greatly subverted. Such a character might have made his people happy, and have brought himself to the close of his days with peace and satisfaction; but Duncan had in his dominions another Godwin, though exceeding him in frontless ambition, and in the inhuman methods he took to gratify it; for, watching his opportunity when the king was upon a progress, he privately murdered him. His great interest with the army, his reputation in military affairs, and the riches he lavished in corrupt practices, soon found him the means of seizing the government, which he held plausibly, if not worthily, for several years. In the mean time, Malcolm the eldest, and Donald the second, son of the late king, found the usurper's power to be so firmly established, that both of them left Scotland; the one retiring to his government of Cumberland, from thence to Edward's court; and the other into Ireland.

Duncan's want of caution, and his fatal example, made his son Malcolm to run into

another extremity; nor without reason; for the usurper had found means to bring the court of Rome over to his interests, and thereby to fill that of Edward with his spies, all of them watching to betray the exiled prince. But Malcolm, who was a man of sense and spirit, found means not only to guard against the tyrant's arts, but to form, even in Scotland, a strong party in favour of the blood of Fergus. Macbeth now found himself under a necessity of laying aside the gentle deportment he had affected ever since the commencement of his usurpation: he saw the royal party strong, numerous, secret, and therefore hard to be come at in the methods of legal evidence. With detestable policy, therefore, he applied to the arts of assassination: the dagger, or poison, took off those who could not be reached by the axe or halter; and the confiscation of their estates, by swelling the tyrant's treasure, added to his security. Macduff, the thane of Fife, much distinguished by his possessions, but more by his virtues, was now the principal object of the tyrant's fears: but the thane eluded his jealousy, by escaping into England, being obliged to leave his lady and young family exposed to the fury of Macbeth, who, with unmanly resentment, put them to the sword, and proclaimed Macduff a traitor. The reflections of Fordun, upon this occasion, are well worthy of being transcribed into English history.

"There arose, says he, a great discontent all over the kingdom, especially among the nobles, by whom Macduff was greatly beloved; because the tyrant, swayed not by justice, but by passion, had banished and attainted a nobleman of such worth and power, without the award of a general meeting of the nobles and states. They exclaimed, it was unjust that any person, be his rank noble or private, should be either banished or attainted by a sudden arbitrary sentence, without having a day prescribed to him for his appearance at court in a legal manner; and when appearing there, to be either cleared by law, if innocent; but, if found guilty, to make satisfaction to the king in his person or effects. But in case he should neglect to attend the court, then sentence of banishment ought to take place; or, if the nature of his crime so require, he ought to be attainted." The reader cannot be displeased with this remarkable quotation, since it serves to shew the wonderful analogy that subsisted between the constitution of England and that of Scotland in those days; and the ignorance of the bigotted writers of the latter nation, who have invested their kings with despotic power over the persons and estates of their people.

The great merit and sufferings of Macduff did not render Malcolm less upon his guard. He first sounded him; and having put his constancy to repeated trials, all which it stood, he embraced him as his friend, opened to him his schemes, and they mutually agreed to apply instantly to the deliverance of their country. A foreign force was ab-

A. D. 1054.

Malcolm's
caution.

His character.

Macbeth de-
generates into
tyranny.History and
character of
Macduff.Fordun's re-
flections
thereupon.Malcolm and
Macduff unite.

A. D. 1056.
Siward assists
them in re-
covering Scot-
land.

folutely necessary for this; and none so near and natural as the power of Siward, governor of Northumberland, and grandfather to Malcolm. Edward's consent and countenance being obtained, a fleet was immediately fitted out, and the old earl set out upon his expedition, at the head of ten thousand English; while Macduff repairing to Scotland, there raised all the royal party, who immediately joined with Malcolm. The tyrant, on the other hand, was not wanting to himself; though thus powerfully attacked by sea and land, he made head against his enemies on both elements. Besides the Scots who were devoted to his interest, he was assisted by the Normans, who, upon their expulsion from England, had taken refuge, and found a generous protection, in Scotland. With those he opposed the vanguard of the English army, which was commanded by Siward's son, a youth of great hopes; but the contest proved fatal to him: for he fell, as some historians write, by the hand of Macbeth. The news of his death reaching his father, the old man discovered no other emotion, than by asking, whether the wounds by which his son fell were before or behind. Answer being made, "Before." "Then, said he, I am satisfied; for now I can give him a soldier's burial." His parental affection, however, prompted him to redouble his efforts against Macbeth, who finding himself overmatched by the combined armies of Malcolm and Siward, abandoned all the south part of his country, and betaking himself to almost inaccessible fastnesses in the highlands, held out for some time: his forces, however, daily diminishing, through desertion or disease, he was surprized by Malcolm, who, after a short resistance, put him and his troops to the sword (1).

He loses his
son.

His expression
upon that oc-
casion.

Macbeth de-
feated,

and slain.

Thus an English nobleman had the glory of restoring a king and a grandson to the throne of his ancestors; an event fixed by Fordun on December the 5th, 1056; by which we may conclude, that the resistance made by Macbeth was long and obstinate, since all our English historians are agreed, that Malcolm left England in 1054. But Siward did not long survive this glorious action; for being recalled by Edward soon after, to oppose Griffith prince of Wales, who

had been guilty of great excesses, he fell sick of a bloody-flux. Finding his end approaching, he disdained to meet his death in any other dress than that which he had often courted him in, the field; therefore calling for his armour, he put it on: "Thus," said he, a soldier ought to die." And so saying, he expired.

A. D. 1056.
Siward's
death.

Edward had, in his temper, a jealousy which was ill fitted for government; but being void of a stirring spirit, his reign cannot be said to have been other than peaceable, though that peace was void both of comfort and tranquility. While Godwin lived, he and his family had so much the ascendant over him, by being feared and hated at the same time, that all his suspicions and jealousies rested upon them. Godwin being now dead, as was old Siward, whose descendants were as yet under age, the affairs of the kingdom began to wear another Aspect. Harold, the eldest son of Godwin, possessed all his father's spirit, ambition, courage, and power; with more virtues, but fewer abilities. His eye was firmly rivetted upon the crown of England; but the great opinion the people had conceived of Edward's sanctity, his close alliance with William the aspiring duke of Normandy, and the support of Malcolm king of Scotland, so lately restored by Edward's good offices, rendered it impracticable for Harold to think of doing aught in an open way. He therefore wisely applied himself to the arts of submission, loyalty, and devoted regard for Edward's person and government; thereby hoping to bring about a nomination to the throne in his favour; a circumstance which always had great weight with the people of England. Leofric, the wise earl of Mercia, was now the only survivor of that powerful triumvirate, which had restored and supported the blood of Cerdic on the throne. He appears to have been at this time old; but his authorities and virtues were supplied by his son Algar. This nobleman, as we have already seen, during the troubles of the Godwin family, obtained a grant of Harold's estate, which he enjoyed rather as a trust than as a forfeiture; for, upon the return of that family, he generously restored it, without diminution, into Harold's hands. We are in the dark as to the parti-

State of Eng-
land at this
juncture.

History of Al-
gar duke of
Mercia.

(1) The story of Malcolm and Macbeth, with the subsequent restoration of the former, is thus told by archbishop Spotswood:—The thane of Fife, called Macduff, a man of great power, out of a suspicion he conceived, fled into England; where meeting with Malcolm, the lawful heir of the crown, after he had expounded the misery whereunto the country was brought by the cruelties of Macbeth, and the reasons of his own flight, he persuaded him to return and repeat his father's kingdom. Malcolm, who often before had been solicited to return by such as Macbeth did suborn, made answer, that he understood all these things to be true which were related: "But if, said he, you knew how unfit I am for government, you would not be so earnest, as you seem, to call me home; for, not to dissemble with you whom I esteem my friends, the vices which have overthrown many kings, lust and avarice, do reign in me: whilst I live obscure and in a private sort, these faults are not espied; but, if I were in place of rule, the same would soon appear and break forth." That these were no reasons to keep him back, for that marriage and time would quench lust; and for avarice, when he should have abundance, and be out of fear of want, it would cease. "That, said he, possibly may be; but I have an imperfection greater than these; for I can trust no man, and have found such falshood in the world, as I am jealous of every one, and upon the smallest suspicions (for I measure every man by myself) I break and alter all my courses." "Away then, said Macduff, I am unfortunate, and thou unworthy to reign:" and with this word he made to depart. Then Malcolm, taking him by the hand, said, "I do now know thou art a man worthy of trust, and I will not refuse to undergo any hazard with you; for, as to these vices we have been talking of, I thank God, none of them do reign in me, only I speak this to discover your mind and disposition." Thus both agreeing upon the enterprize, they gave private notice to their friends of their coming; and obtaining a supply of ten thousand men from king Edward, under the leading of Siward, earl of Northumberland, Malcolm's grandfather by the mother, they entered into Scotland. The rumour of this army did cast Macbeth into a great terror; and not knowing what to do (for he was deserted of all) he shut up himself at first in the castle of Dunsinnan, a fort that he had lately built. The army marching thither, how soon they came in sight, Macbeth, out of a new fear, forsook the fort, and made to fly by horse; but being pursued by some of Malcolm's friends, he was overtaken and killed.

A. D. 1056.

He is prosecuted,

and banished.

He invades England with Griffith prince of Wales.

Opposed by Rhodolph,

who is defeated.

Hereford destroyed.

culars of a charge of treason brought against him this year, before an assembly of the states. It is more than probable that his alliances with the Welsh, and his great family interest, had raised Edward's jealousy; and that Harold was not displeased that he should be proceeded against by form of law. On the other hand, Tosti, the brother of Harold, upon Siward's death, being appointed to succeed him in his government, and administrator of all his real and personal estate during the non-age of his issue, could not but give Algar a good deal of uneasiness, since such an accession rendered the Godwin family more powerful than ever.

Algar found his interest in the states too weak for that of his prosecutors, and sentence of banishment was passed upon him, to the great sorrow and indignation of all unprejudiced Englishmen. Being thus unjustly thrown out of the protection of his country, he fell into that train of thinking which has in all ages been so fatal to great states; I mean, that exile absolves from allegiance. The Irish and the Welsh had at this time great connections with one another; their laws and languages were almost the same; and Griffith, the politic prince of Wales, had found means to secure them entirely in his interest. Algar, as the ally of Griffith, therefore, sailing over to Ireland, soon got together eighteen ships, with which he landed in Wales, where Griffith and he concerted an invasion upon England. Accordingly they marched towards Hereford, laying waste the country round with fire and sword. Rhodolph the Norman, and nephew to Edward by his sister, had a great interest and following in that country, and seems to have been at the head of the Normans, who were very numerous there. To him, therefore, it naturally belonged to repel this incursion. Accordingly, getting together an army of Englishmen and Normans, he marched out to meet the enemy, about two miles from Hereford. As he had neither courage nor experience for war, our historians remark, that he committed a capital oversight in obliging his English soldiers, contrary to their custom, to fight on horseback. The battle being joined, the cowardly Rhodolph, with all his Frenchmen, ran away on the first charge, leaving the English exposed to the fury of the Welsh and Irish, who, after killing four or five hundred, obtained an easy victory. Griffith and Algar presently after entered Hereford, where they were guilty of much severity, if not cruelty, to its inhabitants; for seven canons and several other inhabitants were put to death, the houses and churches of the town rifled, many of the citizens led into captivity, while Griffith and Algar returned with great booty into Wales.

Those insults and devastations alarmed Edward, and gave the English party about his person an opportunity of remonstrating how little he ought to depend upon his Normans,

and how necessary it was to employ an English general. A commission of array was immediately issued out, for a general levy to be made all over England; the rendezvous appointed to be at Gloucester, and the brave Harold was declared commander in chief of all the forces. As the enemies were no strangers to his name and character in arms, they instantly changed the nature of their operations. They wisely resolved to withdraw behind the inaccessible passes of their country, and to act upon the defensive. Harold, however, advanced into Wales as far as Snowdon; but found it impracticable either to force the enemy to an engagement, or to make farther progress (1). However, not chusing to be idle, he left part of his army to oppose any offensive attempts of the enemy, while he himself returned and fortified Hereford. In the mean time both parties grew weary of the war; and Harold, who was of an open, generous temper, mindful of the obligations he lay under to Algar, agreed to the preliminaries of a peace. A conference was held at a place called Bylegefiage, where a mutual pacification and friendship was concluded upon the terms, That Algar should be restored unto the king's favour, and his paternal estate, and receive a sum of money from the government to pay off his ships, which, in the mean time, were ordered to lie at Chester.

There is some reason to believe, that Griffith, the prince of Wales, was not comprehended in this pacification; for in the year 1056 we find him renewing his hostilities, and putting to death Scafgar, the bishop of Hereford, with the sheriff and all his followers, at a place called Glastbyrig. Some of our historians mention, at the same time, that he again burned the city of Hereford; but be that as it will, he grew now so formidable to the English government, that both old earl Leofric and Harold himself were at last obliged to prevail with Edward to grant him a safe and honourable peace.

The greatness of Harold's merits and power revived in Edward's mind all the jealousy and suspicion he had formerly entertained of his family. It was now plain that his views pointed directly at the succession; and had it been declared in favour of a man so powerful and so popular, what had not Edward to dread? Nay, if Harold should have peremptorily demanded the nomination, what means had Edward to oppose him, or to prevent that nomination from being confirmed by the states? Aldred, bishop of Worcester, seems to have then been Edward's bosom favourite. He was a man of address and penetration; and the old earl Leofric happening to die about this time, rendered it still more necessary for Edward to call in a counter-poise to Harold's power. Edward, the son of Edmund, was still at Hungary, forgetting, and forgotten by, the world. He had, by his wife, who was

A. D. 1056.

Edward raises a great power,

which Harold commands.

He advances into Wales,

and fortifies Hereford.

A peace concluded.

Griffith not included.

His excesses.

Forces Edward to a peace.

Edward alarmed at Harold's power.

(1) The reader, by comparing Mr. Rapin's account of this, and indeed almost all other transactions, with his originals, will perceive how very unfaithful he has been. I have kept close to facts, sentiments, and characters, as I find them delivered by our best and oldest historians, the only authorities that can or ought to be depended upon,

A. D. 1057.

Aldred bishop
of Worcester
advices him
to call in Ed-
ward and his
family.

daughter to Salomon, king of Hungary, a son, named Edgar, with two daughters, Margaret and Christina, all of them born in Hungary. The prelate immediately suggested to Edward, that his surest and most natural refuge against Harold's ambition, was to call in his true heir, Edward and his family, who would quickly be at the head of a party sufficient to counter-act all the designs of Harold. The unassuming temper of the exiled Edward rendered this counsel very agreeable to the monarch; but two difficulties lay in the way: the first, how to manage the transaction so, as to prevail with the king of Hungary to give leave for his son-in-law and his family to leave Hungary: the second, how to conceal Edward's intention from the knowledge of Harold. The artful prelate undertook to remove both those difficulties. He pretended a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, and taking with him letters from Edward to the emperor Henry II. who had great influence over Salomon, he went directly to the imperial court, without communicating to any one his commission. The purport of those letters was to solicit Henry to employ his good offices in prevailing upon Salomon to suffer Edward and his family to come to the English court. The negotiation had the desired effect, and the royal exiles were brought over, to the disappointment of Harold, and the unexpected satisfaction of the nation, which was overjoyed at seeing a descendant of the brave Edmund Ironside so near to the throne of England.

Which is
done.

Edward dies.

Had Harold shewn any resentment at this measure, which was both wise and well-timed, it might have endangered his credit with the people, and have given Edward a plausible handle for pushing his ruin; but that nobleman was soon eased of half his uneasiness, by the death of Edward the Outlaw, soon after his arrival. Edgar, his son, being by birth a foreigner, had not personal recommendations enough to the affections of the English, to render him so powerful a

rival to Harold's hopes, as his father had been; besides, his years were too tender for him to reign, in case of Edward's demise; and Harold, in that event, had the fairest chance of governing as regent during the minority. There lived, however, still one obstacle to his hopes; I mean, William duke of Normandy, whose great power, ambition, and interest in England, gave Harold the most uneasiness.

At this period, though perhaps not precisely falling then out, we ought to place the fatal voyage of Harold to the continent, since it may be difficult otherwise to connect the history of this great man. Our historians are greatly divided, not only with regard to the views, but to the manner and circumstances, of this voyage. I shall in the notes set down their (1) different opinions, and here give the reader what suggests to me from an attentive consideration of the whole. It appears, therefore, that Harold, though he found his schemes greatly disconcerted by the arrival of the royal exiles, began about this time to resume his thoughts of the succession, and meditated how to fix the Norman duke in his interest; at the same time he was unwilling to discover his true intentions to Edward. To him therefore he pretended, that he wanted to go into Normandy, in order to treat about the return of his brother Wulnoth, and his nephew Hacune, whom the reader may remember were delivered to the Norman duke, as hostages for the good behaviour of Godwin. This pretence was the more plausible, since Godwin, the principal contracting party, was now dead, therefore there could be the less reason for detaining these noblemen in Normandy. Edward, unable to restrain, but unwilling to encourage him in this voyage, shewed a manifest dislike to it. "I foresee, said he, nothing but damage and ruin can thereby happen to England, since my cousin of Normandy is not of so impolitic a turn, as to let those hostages out of his hands, but upon

A. D. 1058.

Harold goes
into France.

The pretence
he made use
of.

(1) To this year we may refer earl Harold's going over into Normandy, which some of our historians place a year or two sooner; but they differ much more about the manner and occasion of it, some making it to be a mere casualty, others saying it was on purpose. But William of Malmesbury's account of it is thus:—That Harold being at his house in Bosham in Suffex, near the sea-side, he for his recreation, with some of his retinue, took a fisher-boat, meaning only to row up and down; but sailing a little farther to sea than they were aware, a tempest rose, and carried them across the channel to the French coast, where (glad to be safe any where) they were forced to land in the territories of the earl of Ponthieu. The men of that country (according to their custom, and that barbarous practice which is in use in most places, to make a prey of the distressed and ship-wrecked) presently fell upon them, and being many and well armed, they easily seized upon earl Harold and his followers, who were without arms; so that they not only took them prisoners, but also fettered them. Then Harold, considering with himself what was to be done, hired a messenger to go to duke William, and acquaint him how he was sent over by the king of England, by his word and presence, to confirm what other lesser envoys had only whispered; but that he was kept prisoner, and hindered from the discharge of his message by Gwido earl of Ponthieu; and that it would become a man of so great honour as himself not to suffer a villany so derogatory to his authority to go unpunished, since he had appealed to his justice; but if his liberty was to be purchased with money, he would willingly pay the price to earl William, but not to so mean-spirited a man as Gwido. Upon this, Harold, by the command of duke William, was soon set at liberty, and sent to court; where being honourably received, he was also invited to an expedition into Little Britain, where at that time the Norman duke made war. But, by his wit and valour, he so well approved himself to the duke, that he was very much taken with him; to whom, that he might also the more endear himself, he promised by oath, that in case king Edward died, he would deliver up to him the castle of Dover, which was then under his command, and procure him to succeed in the kingdom of England. Hereupon the duke's daughter, as yet too young for marriage, was betrothed to him, and so he was sent home with very rich presents.—This is William of Malmesbury's, and diverse other historians, relation of it. But Brompton's chronicle, as he is singular in many things, so he is in this, and relates the cause of Harold's voyage into Normandy thus, viz. That he had asked leave of king Edward to go over to duke William, to procure him to set his brother Wulnoth and his nephew Hacune free, who were there detained as hostages; whereupon the king told him he might go with his leave, but not by his advice: "For, said he, I foresee that nothing but damage and ruin can happen to England thereby; for I know earl William will not be so ignorant and impolitic as to grant their deliverance, unless it shall tend to his own advantage." So Harold going on shipboard, and intending for Normandy, was driven by a tempest on the coast of Picardy, and there seized by the earl of Ponthieu, and by him at last was sent to duke William, as hath been already related. The rest of the story is much the same, and needs no repetition; only this is added, That earl Harold, at his return home, having told the king all that had happened to him in France, the king is said to reply to him thus: "Did not I tell thee that this voyage would prove neither for thy profit, nor that of the kingdom." Tyrrel.

A. D. 1058. "terms advantageous for himself." He hinted, at the same time, that if Harold was determined to proceed, he would not impose his commands to the contrary. Harold, blinded by ambition, and perhaps ignorant of the engagements that had passed between the Norman and Edward, resolved privately to pass the sea, hoping, by his success, to merit Edward's approbation. Getting on board a small ship, therefore, he put to sea; but either through ignorance of the pilots, or stress of weather, he was forced to land in the territories of the earl of Ponthieu, where he fell into the hands of an abbot, who delivered him up to the earl. The duke of Normandy immediately claimed him, and by his authority obliged the earl to give him up. William was then at war in Britany; but came to Rouen in order to receive his illustrious guest. The Norman was charmed with his noble qualities; and Harold had the address to make him believe, that his voyage thither proceeded merely from his great regard to the court of Normandy, and his strong inclinations to enter into such engagements with William as might be for their mutual interests; and then he proposed a marriage between himself and William's daughter. He was in hopes, that so glorious a distinction as being father to a queen of England, might have prompted the ambition of the Norman to urge him upon having the succession declared in his favour; but William was far from meeting his wishes, and either gave broad hints, or an absolute declaration, that he himself expected to succeed to the throne whenever Edward died. Harold thereby found himself on the brink of a dangerous precipice; one step farther must have broken the neck of his ambition; and therefore he artfully pretended to be satisfied with William's right, to acquiesce in his views, to aspire to no farther honour than that of being his son-in-law, and continuing in the same rank and station he then enjoyed. William, either perfectly satisfied with his behaviour, or appearing to be so, redoubled his caresses, and gave him the last test of his affection, by betrothing him to his daughter, who was as yet too tender for a matrimonial embrace. He then dismissed Harold to England, loaded with rich presents, and the most affectionate assurances of friendship and protection.

This is the best account I can give of this fatal visit from the pure fountains of our old historians; I have presumed to advance nothing which I find not in them, nor to give a loose to a range of imaginary reasonings, which are of themselves improbable, unwarrantable, or obvious to the meanest capacity. Upon the whole, it is, I think, fairly to be concluded, that Edward pursued that policy which is peculiar to narrow minds, in love with indolence, I mean, amusing different parties with the same hopes. That his affection for the Normans, and his gratitude to that court, had brought him under some personal engagements with re-

gard to the succession, which William might look upon as more than a bare promise, is, I think, extremely probable. That his dread of Harold had induced him privately to amuse that nobleman with the same hopes, is, I think, likewise pretty plain. No historian can give us reason to believe, that the succession had ever been declared in favour of either Edward the Outlaw, or his family; Harold therefore had the more reason to hope, that, by the Norman's assistance, he might get it fixed upon himself. And lastly, Edward's sending at the critical juncture he did for the family of Ironside, laid asleep all the fears and jealousies of the virtuous part of the nation, who wished to see the crown devolve on the line of Cerdic. After this irresolute management, it was no wonder that Edward dreaded lest William and Harold should come to any personal conference, which might clear matters up; and foresaw that their collision, however amicable, must strike out a spark which would fire the torch to light the English Saxon government to its funeral. That he was sensible of this, is evident from what fell from him at the first interview he had with Harold after his return: "Did I not tell thee, said he, that this voyage would prove neither for thy profit, nor that of the kingdom?"

During, or a little before, this transaction, earl Algar again fell under Edward's jealousy, and was again banished the kingdom; but he had recourse to his old friend, Griffith the prince of Wales, and both together engaged a Norwegian fleet, which happened then to lie off of the coast, to their assistance. The dread of this, and the experience of Griffith's valour, joined perhaps to the absence of Harold, determined Edward to lend an ear to proposals of accommodation. Accordingly peace was made, and Algar restored again to his possessions; but this nobleman soon after died, and left them all to his sons, Edwin and Morchar.

Upon his death, Edward declared war against Griffith; and himself advancing as far as Gloucester, he sent Harold into Wales to ravage the country. The latter advancing as far as Rutland, there burnt Griffith's palace, and the ships which lay in the neighbourhood. Some circumstances of this incursion make it a little suspicious, that it was made in breach of faith, and that Edward took advantage of the security into which the late treaties had thrown Griffith: for we are told, that Harold surprized him, so that he had but just time to get on ship-board; a circumstance which scarce could have happened to so vigilant and active a prince as Griffith was, had he not thought himself in a state of perfect security. Harold, having done all the damage he could in that country, returned about Mid-lent to Edward: but soon after Easter, Wales was again invaded both by sea and land. Harold was appointed admiral of the fleet, which sailed from Bristol; while Tosti, his brother, invaded Wales with a strong body of

A. D. 1064.

land forces, mostly consisting of cavalry, the foot being put on board the navy. At last, the junction being made, the operations of the campaign were carried on with so much vigour, that the brave Griffith found himself deserted by many of his subjects, whom nothing but his former power and success had kept in their allegiance. Those traitors, now going over to Harold, consented to pay tribute to the English government, to abjure Griffith as their prince, and to give hostages for their performance. Griffith, however, made one gallant push; but his treacherous followers, making their peace with Harold at the price of his blood, basely put him to death, and carried his head to the English camp. Harold immediately sent it to Edward, together with the gilded stern of his ship; and thus fell the most formidable enemy the English government had for many years encountered. It appears, from our historians, that his own two brothers served under Harold against him, and thereby got possession of the throne of Wales upon his death, after swearing homage to Edward, and, according to some authors, to Harold likewise.

He is basely put to death.

History of Scotland at this time.

Malcolm invades Northumberland.

Tofti's tyranny.

It is now time to turn our eyes northward, to Scotland, and Northumberland, which the reader may remember was lately bestowed upon earl Tofti. Malcolm, the king of Scotland, sensible of what importance the friendship of the English would be to his newly-recovered government, entered into a close friendship with Tofti, and, to use the expression of all our historians, became his sworn brother. But Tofti happening, through a fit of devotion, to go to Rome, his possessions were invaded by Malcolm. We have no hint, either from the Scots or English historians, of the grounds of this quarrel; but the Scot probably was encouraged to it by the disaffection of the Northumbrians. We are told, by Simeon of Durham and other historians, that Tofti had carried it with a very high hand over the Northumbrians, and had been guilty of great oppressions and exactions. Whether Morchar, the son of the late earl Algar, and the king of the Scots, had any correspondence together upon this occasion, does not appear from any positive proof; but it is probable they had. When a people are oppressed, the smallest spark kindles up the flames of rebellion. Tofti having a quarrel with one Gospatrick, a man of interest in Northumberland, he found means to have him murdered at court, and laid the odium of the murder upon his sister Editha: next, to compleat his treachery, he decoyed, under a shew of friendship, to his own palace, two of Gospatrick's friends; Gammel the son of Orne, and Ulf the son of Dolphin, whom he there murdered. Upon this, three or four of the principal thanes of the country, (Gammelbearne, Dimestan the son of Agelnoth, and Gloincorn the son of Eardulf)

with two hundred men in arms, surprized York; and, after killing Tofti's domestic servants, who fell into their hands while they were endeavouring to fly, they seized upon his magazines there. Next day they set upon, and cut in pieces, two hundred of his guards, upon the south-side of the Humber; and after that, made themselves masters of all the treasure and effects he had in that country. They then applied to Morchar, the son of earl Algar, and invited him to take upon him the government; but as Tofti held his lands by virtue of the royal gift, he immediately appealed to Edward. Harold, upon this, with some other noblemen, at Tofti's request, were appointed commissioners to decide all differences between him and the Northumbrians; but in their journey thither, the popular detestation against Tofti rose so high, that the commissioners were met at Northampton by the inhabitants of almost the whole country. A conference was immediately appointed at Northampton, where the Northumbrians laid before the commissioners their grievances, and concluded with a flat declaration, that their provocations were such, as could admit of no reconciliation with such a tyrant as Tofti was; adding, that they were born free, that they would continue free, and die free; that they would never endure the insolence of an earl, having learned from their ancestors to chuse either liberty or death. The hearing of this important cause was from Northampton adjourned to Oxford, where the complainants were ordered to appear. On the appointed day they had another hearing, and laid out their grievances with so much strength and resolution, that Harold thought he could not shew a more popular proof of his justice than to make a report to the king much in favour of the complainants. In the mean time, the Northumbrians demanded earl Morchar for their leader, and had already invited him and his brother to take upon him the government.

A. D. 1064. York surprized, and Tofti's magazines seized,

with his treasures.

Difference between Tofti and the Northumbrians, referred to Harold and other noblemen.

Their proceedings.

Harold favours the Northumbrians.

Quarrel between Harold and Tofti.

While Edward was deliberating upon the means of appeasing this dangerous insurrection, Tofti considered his brother Harold as his greatest enemy. Both of them had posts about the king's person; and while Edward was at dinner, he ordered Harold to perform some service which Tofti looked upon as (1) his own right. The latter, then stomaching what had lately passed, flew in such a passion, that jumping upon his brother, he pulled him to the ground by the hair, without regard to Edward's presence. Being quickly parted, Tofti, still seeking revenge, got on horseback, and, with his ruffian retinue, rode down to a house of Harold's at Hereford, where great preparations were made to entertain Edward, who was expected there in a few days. Tofti setting upon his brother's servants, killed some of them, and destroying all their provisions, he threw their mangled limbs into

(1) Huntingdon and other historians have given this incident as the original cause of Tofti's disgrace and banishment; but as it seems to have been no more than an accidental one, I have endeavoured to restore it to its true state.

A. D. 1066. the vessels of wine, beer, and other liquor, prepared for Edward's reception. This insolence immediately determined Edward to banish him, which he did to the great satisfaction of his subjects; and we shall here leave him, till fresh commotions shall call him forth to action. In the mean time, the Northumbrians, not satisfied with the delay they found to their request, assembled at Northampton, with Morchar and Edwin at their head; who were not able to restrain their people from committing several ravages, and driving a good deal of booty from the more southern counties. Harold again set out to meet them, and acquainted them that the king was fully sensible of their grievances, and had resolved to give them satisfaction of Tosti, by depriving him of his government, and driving him into exile. But the Northumbrians, having likewise petitioned for a confirmation and renewal of king Canute's laws, insisted upon their demands being satisfied in that respect likewise; which Harold, by Edward's orders, readily agreed to.

Harold meets the discontented Northumbrians.

The year 1065 is marked only for some commotions in Wales, and a few ecclesiastical transactions.

Edward consecrates the monastery and church of Westminster.

The next year, Edward put in execution a work of great importance, which was, consecrating the monastery of Westminster. Though this may be properly looked upon as an ecclesiastical transaction, yet the present importance of the place, as receiving the remains of our greatest kings, statesmen and scholars, demands that some notice should be taken of it in this part of the history. He had, for many years, been under a kind of a vow, which his subjects would never suffer him to perform, of taking a journey to Rome. To compensate for this vow, he had for some time laid himself out in endowing this monastery, and building it with great magnificence: and towards the beginning of this year, but more probably at the close of the year 1065, he summoned a great council, to confirm his charter of endowment of the said foundation. At this council were present the queen Editha, with all the lords, both spiritual and temporal. The charter, after the recital of the pope's bull, contains this clause: "The king, for the expiation of his own vow, and also for the souls of the kings his predecessors, as well as successors, had granted to that place (viz. Westminster) all manner of liberty, as far as earthly power could reach; and that

"for the love of God, by whose mercy he was placed in the royal throne, and now by the council and decree of the archbishops, bishops, earls, and other of his great men, and for the benefit and advantage of the said church, and all those that should belong to it, he had granted these privileges following, not only in present, but for future times." Then follows an exemption from all episcopal jurisdiction; as also another clause, where he grants it the privilege of sanctuary; "so that any one, of whatsoever condition he be, for whatsoever cause, that shall fly unto that holy place, or the precincts thereof, shall be free, and shall obtain full liberty." And at last concludes thus: "I have commanded this charter to be written and sealed, and have also signed it with my hand with the sign of the cross, and have ordered fit witnesses to subscribe it for its greater corroboration." Then immediately follows the king's subscription, in these words: Ego Edwardus, Deo largiente, Anglorum rex signum venerandæ crucis impressi. Then follows the subscription of queen Editha, with those of the two archbishops, seven of the bishops, and as many abbots; and so come on the subscriptions of the laity, viz. of Raynald the chancellor, and of the earls Harold and Edwin, who write themselves dukes; and six thanes, besides other of inferior order.

A. D. 1066.

Then follows a third charter, of the same nature with the former, containing Edward's letters to pope Nicholas, with the bull of the latter, reciting the privileges granted to the church; the subscriptions being much in the same order as the former; only one Osbold, and another of the king's chaplains, subscribe before the lay nobility; and besides the thanes, several subscribe under the denomination of milites.

Another charter.

This was the last act of Edward's life; Edward falls for after appearing at the assembly in all pomp and majesty, he found himself seized with a slow fever. He concealed his illness for two or three days, and appeared in public at his meals as usual. At last, finding death drawing nigh, he ordered every thing to be got ready for the consecration of the church, at which he assisted, with all his peers, both spiritual and temporal. Next day, growing worse and worse, he was forced to take his bed, where he continued speechless and roving for two days (1). At last, recovering

sick,

He calls a great council.

His charter to Westminster monastery and church.

(1) He lay speechless, and almost without life, for two days; and the third, awakening as it were from a trance, both William of Malmesbury and the abbot of Rievall relate, that after a devout prayer he told them, that in a vision he had lately seen two holy monks, whom he had in his youth known in Normandy to be men of meek and pious conversation, and whom he therefore had very much loved; and now appeared to him as sent from God, to tell him what should happen to England after his decease, shewing him, that the iniquity of the English, being now full, had provoked the Divine Vengeance: for that the priests, despising God's laws, treated holy things with corrupt hearts and polluted hands; and not being true pastors, but mercenaries, exposed the sheep to the wolves, seeking the wool and the milk more than the sheep themselves. That the chief men of the land were infidels, companions of the thieves and robbers of their country, who neither feared God nor honoured his law, to whom truth was a burden, justice a make-game, and cruelty a delight; and that he, and made it ready; for that he would shew his people his wrath and indignation, by sending evil angels to punish them, for a year and a day, with fire and sword. But when the king replied to them, that he would admonish his people to repent them of the evil of their ways and doings, and then he hoped God would not bring those dreadful judgments upon them, but would again receive them into his mercy. To this they answered, That now it could not be because the hearts of this people were hardened, and their eyes blinded, and their ears stopped; so that they would neither hear those that would instruct them, nor be advised by those that should admonish them, being neither to be terrified by his threatenings, nor melted by his benefits. And the king asking them, when there would be an end of all these judgments, and what comfort

A. D. 1066. recovering his senses, his behaviour was edifying and moving: he in particular recommended to the care of his nobility, his queen Editha, whom he declared, by his dying words, to be a virgin for him; requesting them that her jointure never should be seized on. He recommended to them, at the same time, his servants who had followed him out of Normandy, desiring that they might have liberty either to return to their native country, or remain in England. He then appointed his body to be buried in St. Peter's church at Westminster; and, after receiving the sacrament, he resigned his breath, in the four and twentieth year of his reign.

and dies.

Some personal stories of him.

His adventure with a thief,

and at hunting.

Thus died Edward, surnamed the Confessor. We have little to add to his character, besides one or two personal stories, which may let the reader a little more into his nature; and prove that the milkiness of his blood, and the softness of his disposition, adapted him extremely well to be the tool of designing priests, and the ladder of ambitious statesmen. His imagination was strong, in proportion as his parts were weak. The execrations of his subjects against the payment of Dane-geld worked it up to such a height, that the reason he gave for remitting it was, because one day entering into his treasury, he saw the devil dancing upon the bags which contained that tribute. A writer of his life gives us an instance of his good-nature: that one day reposing himself, with the curtains drawn round his bed, a servant boy, not knowing any one was there, came into the room, and the royal coffers being left open, filled his pockets with as much money as he could conveniently carry off. Edward saw, but did not chuse to interrupt the thief, who intending to improve the opportunity, returned to fill his pockets anew; but Edward soon checked his boldness, by calling out to him, "Sirrah, " you had best be contented with what you " have got; for if Hugolin come (for so " was the chamberlain called) he will not " only whip you soundly, but likewise take " away all you have purloined already." The felon, upon this, instantly disappeared; but the chamberlain coming in soon after, and finding how matters stood, was in a violent passion, which Edward had good-nature enough to endeavour to remove, by bidding him rest contented: "For the poor rogue, " says he, who has the money, wants it " more than we do." As another instance of his good-nature and patience under injury, we are told, that being one day at hunting (a diversion of which he was passionately fond) a country fellow happened to spoil his sport; upon which the king riding up to him in great wrath, told him, "By the mother of " God, said he, I would be even with " you if I could." But this forbearance was perhaps more owing to the provisions

of the law, than to the lenity of the monarch. He was the first king of England we know of, who ever touched for that scrophulous distemper known by the name of the king's-evil; on which I shall forbear making any other observation, than that this gift, whether real or fancied, was not peculiar to the kings of England; nor can the most supercilious enquirer into nature determine the effects which effluvia from bodies of a certain constitution have upon the human frame.

A. D. 1066. He touches for the king's evil.

The great encouragement he gave to the Normans, to whom he owed his protection and education during his youth, was the effect at once of mistaken gratitude and policy; for the past experience he had of their friendship led him to depend more upon them than upon the affections of the English, whom he looked upon as under the dread and influence of the Godwin family. I am apt to believe, that his conduct, in this respect, went much farther than is commonly imagined; and that, even in his reign, the court was rather Norman than English; nay, that not only French customs, language, and manners, but even French laws and institutions began now to prevail.

Errors of Edward's reign.

Edward, in his person, was tall and comely, his complexion fair and ruddy, and his long silver beard, towards the latter part of his reign, gave great dignity and veneration to his aspect. In short, William of Malmesbury rightly remarks, that if we consider his simplicity and easiness of temper, he was very unfit for government; but he found the art, by the great opinion the world had of his sanctity, to sit very firm on his throne, and to reign in the affections of his people. I cannot finish this period better, than by giving from Speed a picture of the English nation at this time, which is excellently well drawn from an old author, and his own remarks. "The clergy, says he, likewise altogether unlearned, wanton and vicious; " for the prelates neglecting the offices of " episcopal Function, which was to tender " the affairs of the church, and to feed the " flock of Christ, lived themselves idle and " covetous, addicted wholly to the pomp " of the world and voluptuous life, little " caring for the churches and souls committed to their charge. And if any one " told them (says Higden) that their lives " ought to be holy, and their conversation " without covetousness, according to the sacred precept, and virtuous examples of " their elders, they would scoffingly put " them off with

Description of his person.

Speed's reflections upon his reign.

" Nunc aliquid tempus, alii pro tempore
" mores.

" Times have mutations,
" So have mens fashions.

" And then, saith he, they planed the

fort they might be like to receive under all these great afflictions? those holy men only answered him in a parable of a certain green tree, that should be cut down, and removed from the root about the distance of three acres; and when, without any human hand, the tree should be restored to its ancient root, and flourish and bear fruit, then, and not till then, was there any comfort to be hoped for.

A. D. 1066. "roughness of their doings with the smoothness of their answers. Briefly, the whole people were so loose and riotous, that, as Gervacius Dorobornensis recordeth, they fell so fast to commit wickedness, as to be ignorant of sinful crimes was then held to be a great crime itself. And by the testimony of Malmesbury, the sins of those times evidently foreshewed a general destruction; for the Englishmen, faith he, transformed themselves into the strange manners of the French, and that not only in their speech and behaviour, but in their deeds and charters. Their use was then to go fantastically appointed, their garments reaching but to mid-knee, their heads shorn, and their beards shaven all but the upper-lip, which grew with long mustachoes; continually wearing massy bracelets of gold about their arms; carrying marks upon their skin, pounced in of sundry colours; and the clergy con-

tenting themselves with trivial literature, could scarcely hack and hew out the words of the sacrament. These then were England's dolorous times of blindness and lewdness, drawing down God's wrath for their destruction." As to Edward's personal character, the same author concludes it thus: "He was naturally courteous and gentle to all (and thereby too prone and credulous to suggestions) loving to his subjects, and over-loving unto strangers. A prince of much virtue and integrity of life; notwithstanding which, had it not been veiled under the fair shew of chastity, he had not so easily been canonized for a saint; wherein yet the seeming wisest taxed his wisdom, whilst, under a godly pretext of religion and vowed virginity, he cast off all care of having issue, and exposed the kingdom for a prey to the greedy desires of ambitious humours (1)."

20. H A-

(1) We shall now, as usual, give an extract of this prince's laws, as they are to be met with in Hoveden and Lambart's collections; but it is not to be taken for granted, that Edward was the author of those laws, or that they owe their origin to his reign. All we know for certain is, that they were, with some variation, the rules of his government, and the same which the Conqueror and his successors were obliged afterwards to confirm, though it is now impossible to assign the several reigns to which they owe their origin. That this was the case, appears from the preface to those laws, which is as follows:—King William, in the fourth year of his reign, after the conquest of England, by the advice of his barons, caused the English noblemen, that were men of knowledge and learning in their own law, to be summoned together, through all the provinces of England, that he might, from themselves, hear their laws, rights, and customs: therefore twelve men, chosen out of every county of the whole nation, did make oath before the king, That they would make known the sanctions of their own laws and customs, proceeding in a direct way, without swerving to the right hand or to the left; without making omissions, additions, or prevaricating variations: therefore, beginning with the laws of the holy mother, the church, because by her the king and kingdom stands upon a solid foundation, they declared her laws, liberties, and protection, saying,

I. The first of these laws confirms all clerks and scholars in their goods and possessions.

II. The second appoints the times and days of the king's peace, making it more penal to violate it from the advent of our Lord to the octaves of the Epiphany; and, in like manner, from Lent to the octaves of Easter, i. e. eight days after that feast; and from our Lord's ascension to the octaves of Pentecost; and also on all Saturdays, from nine o'clock, to the Monday morning following; likewise on the vigils of all holidays, as well as on the holidays themselves; as also in parishes, when the feast of the saint (to whom the church is dedicated) is kept. So that if any one come devoutly to the celebration thereof, he was to have security in going, staying, and returning home; and besides, in many other cases, too long here to set down.—The third is not material.

IV. The fourth is as follows: Wherever pleas are held in the court of the king, or of any other person, if the bishop's messenger come thither, and open a cause that concerns holy church, let that be first determined; for it is fit that God be every where honoured before others.

V. Whoever holds any thing of the church, or hath his mansion upon church-ground, shall not be forced to plead in any court but the ecclesiastical, although he have incurred a forfeiture, unless justice there fail, which God forbid.

VI. Whenever a guilty or noxious person flies to the church for safety, let him be seized by no person after he is in the church-yard, except by the bishop or his ministers; and if he flies into the house or court of the priest, he shall have the same security or protection as in the church, so that the house or court stand on church-ground. If the refugee be a robber or thief, let him restore what he hath taken away, if he have it in his keeping; if he have wholly destroyed it, let him make full restitution to the injured person out of his own goods, if he has wherewithal. If the robber has made it his practice, and has often escaped to the church, or the house of some priest, let him, when he has restored what he had stole, forswear the province, and not return into it; and let no one dare to entertain him if he do return, without the king's licence.

VII. If any one violently infringe the church's protection, it concerns the bishops courts. If the guilty person decline, or arrogantly despise, their sentence, let complaint of it be brought to the king after forty days; and the king's court shall put him under security and pledges, if he can find them, to make satisfaction first to God, and then to the king and church; and if he cannot be found within thirty-one days, either by his friends and neighbours, or by the king's court, the king shall outlaw him by the word of his own mouth: but if afterwards he be found, and can be taken, let him be surrendered to the king alive; or if he defend himself till he be killed, let his head be yielded to the king; for, from the day of his outlawry, his head is a wolf's head. And this is the general law to all that are outlawed.

VIII. The tenth sheaf is due to God of all corn, and therefore to be paid. If any one keep a family of mares, let him pay the tenth colt; let him that has one or two, only pay a penny for every colt. So let him that has many cows, pay the tenth calf. Let him that makes cheeses, pay to God the tenth cheese; let him that does not, pay the milk every tenth day; likewise the tenth lamb, the tenth fleece, the tenth cheese, the tenth butter, the tenth pig.

IX. Likewise of bees, the tenth of the profit; likewise the tenth is to be given to God, who gives the nine parts, as well as the tenth, of wood, meadow, waters, mills, parks, warrens, fisheries, officers, gardens, and negotiations. Let him that detains it be constrained to pay it by the bishops court, and by the king's, if that be necessary: for the blessed Austin preached and taught this, and it was granted by the king, and barons and people. But afterwards, many detained them by instinct of the devil; and priests, being rich and negligent, did not care to be at the pains to get them, because they had sufficient maintenance; for there are now three or four churches in many places, when then there was but one. And thus tithes began to be diminished.

X. On the day there is but an ordeal, let the bishop's ministers, with his clerks, come thither, and likewise the king's justice, with lawful men of the province, to see and hear that all be done with equity; and let those whom the lord is willing to save by mercy, not by merits, be acquitted and depart in peace; and let the king's justice deal with them according to justice, whom their own guilt, and not the lord, condemns. Let those barons who have a court of their own, deal with their own men in such a manner, as not to sin against God, nor to offend the king. And if a plea between men, that belong to other barons, happen in their courts, let the king's justice be present at it; for otherwise, the plea can have no final issue. If any barons have no judicatures, it must be determined at the next church, where the king's judicature shall be, in the hundred where the plea was held, with a saving to the right of the barons.

XI. Every one that hath thirty penny-worth of living stock in his house, of his own, by the law of the English, and half a mark by the law of the Danes, shall pay St. Peter's penny. Now that penny ought to be demanded at the feast of the apostles Peter and Paul, and to be levied at the feast called ad Vincula, so as not to be detained beyond that day. If any do detain it, let complaint be made to the king's justice, because this penny is the king's alms. Let the justice cause the penny to be paid, and the forfeiture to the bishop and the king. If any one have more houses than one, let the penny be paid from that house where he was resident at the feast of the apostles Peter and Paul.

20. HAROLD II.

A. D. 1066.
Disputes about the succession.

THE Anglo-Saxon government now hurries to its grand catastrophe. Short, active, and important was the reign of Harold II; but various are the opinions of authors with regard to his right. Hoveden, with some other historians, tell us, that Edward, before his death, had expressly declared Harold his successor. With this account

A. D. 1066.

XII. The twelfth law never could be intended for a law, because it neither commands nor forbids any thing. It seems, however, to have been penned by Glanville, and is a piece of curious history, therefore it deserves a place here.—The payment of Dane-gelt was first ordained against the pirates, for they laid waste the country with all their might. To suppress their insolence, it was ordained, that Dane-gelt should be annually paid (that is, twelve pence) from every hide of land in the whole country, to hire men who might put a stop to their invasion. Every church was free, and acquitted from this Dane-gelt; and all the land, wherever it lay, that was the property of the church; because they trusted more in the prayers of the church, than in the protection of their arms. [Here ends this law, or assement, in the Cotton. MS. but the rest thus go on:] The church of the English preserved this liberty till the times of king William, jun. called Rufus, who, in order to keep Normandy, while his brother Robert, called Curtois, was in his expedition to Jerusalem, required an aid of the barons of England. Then it was allowed to him, in this case of necessity, but not ordained or confirmed by law, that four shillings should be paid him out of every hide, the church not excepted. But while this levy was made, holy church, with a loud voice, demanded her liberty, but to no purpose. Yet my reader will observe, that only hides or plough-lands were taxed by him, not manse or tythe.

XIII. The king's protection is manifold; for there is what the English call peace, given with the king's hand. Another upon his coronation, which lasts eight days. Eight days at Christmas, eight at Easter, eight at Pentecost. Another is granted by the king's writ. There is another which belongs to the four high-ways, Watling-street, Foss, Ikenild-street, and Erming-street; two of which are extended the length of the kingdom, two the breadth. There is another which belongs to the waters of the famous rivers. Manbote is the satisfaction to be paid to the lord for the murder of his man, that is, three marks to the king and archbishop for one of their men, by the law of the English; but twenty shillings to the bishop of the shire, and to the king's earl, and the steward of his household; ten shillings to other barons.—From whence it appears, that this peace of the king was a privilege or exemption granted to persons, not to be sued, or answer at law, in any action brought against them, during certain solemn and stated times, and in certain of the most famous and frequented high-ways of the kingdom.

XIV. The fourteenth declares, that all treasure-trove should be the king's, unless it were in a church or church-yard; in which case, if it were gold, it was all the king's; but if silver, one half was to go to him, and another to the church.

XV. The fifteenth treateth of murder, and declares, if any one was murdered, the murderer should be enquired after in the village or town where the body was found; and if he was discovered, to be delivered up to the king's justice within eight days after the fact was committed; and in case he could not be found, a month and a day was allowed for search after him; within which term, if he could not be seized on, forty-six marks were to be collected out of that town; and if it was not able to pay so much, then the hundred was obliged to make it good. And forasmuch as this payment could not be made in the towns, and great inconveniences arose, the barons (i. e. the freeholders of the county) took care that six-and-forty marks should be paid out of the hundred; which being sealed up with the seal of some one baron of the county, they were to be sent to the treasurer, and by him so kept, sealed up, for a year and a day; within which time, if the murderer was found out, upon his being delivered to the king's justice, they were to be repaid; but in case, within that time, he could not be discovered, then were the kindred of the murdered party to have six of the said marks, and the king the other forty. If he had no kindred, his lord was to receive it; and if he had no lord, then his sworn friend and companion; but if there was none of these, then the king should have the whole sum to himself.

XVI. The sixteenth article shews us how this way of discovering murder, and punishing the hundred, came to be in use where the murderer could not be found, viz. that king Canute, when he had gotten England, and settled it in peace, and at the request of the English barons had sent back his army into Denmark, those barons became sureties, that all the Danes that stayed behind with him should in all things enjoy perfect peace; so that, in case an Englishman killed any of them, if he could not clear himself by the judgment of God (that is, by water or iron, meaning the ordeal) justice was to be executed upon him; and in case he ran away, payment was to be made as is afore said.

XVII. The seventeenth declares the office of a king in these words: The king, who is the vicegerent of the Supreme King, is appointed to this very end, that he may govern and defend his earthly kingdom, and the people of the Lord; and, above all things, should reverence his holy church, and extirpate evil doers out of it; which, unless he shall do, not so much as the name of a king shall remain to him, but he shall utterly lose it, as pope John witnesseth.—Then follows the occasion of this opinion of pope John's, viz. his having given it in answer to the letter which Pepin, and Charles his son, wrote concerning a foolish king of France, whether they should still continue him on the throne, or not; which being no material part of the law, I omit.—And then there is somewhat concerning barons which have courts and customs of their own, in these words: The archbishops, bishops, earls, barons, and all those who have sac, soc, thol, theam, and infang theof, shall have their knights, servants, and all other sorts of dependants under their fribourg; that is, should either have them forth-coming, or else should answer for them, that if they shall forfeit to any one, and a complaint be made by the neighbours against them, they must bring them forth to have justice done them in their own court.

The eighteenth, nineteenth, twentieth, and one-and-twentieth, are explanations of the Saxon terms in the above-mentioned law; which being explained already in the introduction, I thither refer you.

XXII. The two-and-twentieth declares all Jews that were in the kingdom to be under the protection of the king, so that none of them could put himself in the service of any great man without the king's leave; for that the Jews, and all that are there, are the king's.

XXIII. By the three-and-twentieth, king Edward forbid all usurers to continue in his kingdom; and if any one were convicted that he exacted usury, he should forfeit his goods, and be looked upon as outlawed.

After which follows, in Mr. Lambard's copy, another law, declaring the king's power, by virtue of his royal dignity, to pardon life and loss of member, but with this proviso; That the malefactor make satisfaction to such as he hath injured, according to his power; and besides, find sureties for his good behaviour; which if he did not, he was to be banished. From whence you may observe, that this prerogative of pardoning in the king was not to extend to the prejudice of the party injured, or his kindred, to whom an appeal was hereby reserved. Concerning which, the nineteenth, in like manner, declares his royal prerogative to be such, that the king may set at liberty any captive or prisoner, whenever he comes in any city, borough, castle, &c. or if he meet with him in the way, by his mere word or command; yet was he that was thus set at liberty bound to make satisfaction to the injured party: but a murderer, traitor, or one guilty of such-like crimes, although the king should pardon him as to life and member, according to law, he shall in no wise stay in the country, but shall swear he will depart to the sea-coast within a stated time set him by the justice, and pass over as soon as he can get opportunity of a ship and wind; and in case any such prove perjured, and shall stay in the land beyond the time, any one that meets them may do justice upon them, i. e. take away their lives. From whence you may observe the antiquity of the law for abjuring the realm for such great offences, to which the king's pardon did not then absolutely extend. The rest of this law, which only recites the penalties for the harbouring or favouring such malefactors, I omit.

XXVII. The twenty-seventh article gives leave to harbour a stranger or foreigner (whom in English they termed couth or uncouth, that is, known or unknown) as a guest for two nights; in which space if he transgress, he that harboured him shall not be answerable for him; but if any one be injured, and complaint is made, that it was by the council and advice of him that lodged him, he shall, with two honest neighbours, by oath, purge himself as to the advice and fact, or otherwise shall make satisfaction. The reason whereof was, because, after the third night, the law then was such, that this stranger was to be looked upon as one of the family, and the matter was to answer for him if he transgressed.

XXVIII. The twenty-eighth appoints how money or cattle, brought into a town, (and said by him that brought them, that they were found) shall be disposed of, and who shall have the custody of them.

XXX. The thirtieth enjoins, that those who have the king's peace, either by his hand or letters, shall take care not to injure others, under a double penalty.

XXXI. The

A. D. 1066. account agrees that of the Saxon chronicle; and all concur that this nomination, if there was any such, was confirmed by the election of the nobles; and that on the same day Harold was anointed king by Aldred archbishop of York. This hurry, so unusual in the beginning of reigns, together with the readiness of the great council to recognize Harold's right, make it, I think, probable that he looked upon it as very disputable. One Selgrath, who wrote a chronicle in the reign of Edward I, and which is now in the Cottonian library, tells us of some circumstances, which however unwarranted by other writers, are very agreeable to Edward's character. He says, that Harold came to him on his death-bed, and desired Edward to appoint him for his successor. Upon which the king replied, that he had already made the duke of Normandy his heir. But Harold and his friends still insisting on their demand, the king turning his face to the wall, "When I am dead," says he, let the people raise either the "duke or the earl to the throne." This I am apt to believe to be the truth. It is true, William of Malmesbury, with some other writers who favoured the Norman title, pretends, that Harold, as soon as Edward was dead, extorting an oath of fidelity from the English noblemen, stepped into the throne, and had himself instantly crowned. Henry of Huntingdon mentions the great desire which many of the English nobles had to make Edgar Atheling king; but that Harold, relying upon his great quality and power, seized the diadem. But Ingulphus, who, as we have before observed, lived then at the English court, says expressly, that Edward perceiving Edgar Atheling to be unfit, both in body and mind, for the weight of government, and that the viperous brood of Godwin was daily increasing both in numbers and power upon the face of the land, set his heart upon the Norman duke, and, with an irrevocable decree, nominated him to the succession of England's crown.

History of Harold's nomination.

Edgar Atheling's weakness.

Number and claims of the competitors for the crown.

Thus we are in the dark as to some circumstances; but I think this much, in the main, may be fairly concluded, that there were, even at this time, three competitors for the succession; Edgar Atheling, who had the undoubted right of blood, but was destitute of power to support his claim; William of Normandy, who founded his title upon the prior nomination of Edward, which he pretended to be unrevoked; and lastly, Harold, who claimed by virtue of a subsequent nomination, and was supported by the chief noblemen of England, who dreaded to fall under a foreign yoke.

Harold's great abilities fitted him for em-

pire, and with a right policy he began his reign with many popular acts of government. The English clergy, almost to a man, were on his side; an interest not procured by mean concessions and ill-judged profusion, but by Harold's own modesty, affability, and deference to the sacred order; and, to their own conviction, that their charters and possessions never could be so well established as under an English prince, whose disputable title to the throne rendered their friendship necessary to him. The distribution of justice was his next care; on which account he ordered the laws to be revised, and such as were unjust or unpopular, to be abolished, while better ones were put in their place. All robbers and disturbers of the public peace, who had met with too much encouragement from the lenity of the late reign, were suppressed. And lastly, he took such precautions as might most effectually secure his territories from foreign insults.

A. D. 1066. Harold's laudable policy.

The first enemy he had to deal with, was his exiled brother Tosti. This nobleman, after his banishment, could not brook the preference given to Harold, who was but his younger brother, in raising him to royalty. He first applied to the duke of Normandy, who resolving openly to avow his claim to the crown of England, thought him a proper engine to play off against Harold. He therefore furnished Tosti with some money and credit, by which he was enabled to put a squadron of ships to sea. With those he sailed for the isle of Wight, where he raised contributions upon the inhabitants, and exercised acts of piracy all along the English coast as far as Sandwich. Harold was then at London, employed in the civil cares of government. No sooner did he hear of his brother's audaciousness, than he fitted out a strong squadron, and raised a good body of horse. He then advanced to Sandwich by land, and ordered his fleet round to meet him, with an intention to fight Tosti; but the latter being no stranger to Harold's courage and activity, no sooner heard of his approach, than he sailed northwards to the coast of Lindsey, which he depopulated, possibly in revenge for their being instrumental in expelling him from his government. But Edwin earl of Mercia, and Morchar, who was Tosti's successor in the earldom of Northumberland, getting together what troops they could, soon forced him back to his ships, and he set sail, after burning a great many villages, and putting to death numbers of the inhabitants.

His wars with his brother Tosti,

who is defeated.

Harold, in the mean time, was lying at Sandwich, expecting his fleet; but, by this time, found he was likely to have a more powerful enemy to deal with. Another pre-

XXXI. The thirty-first declares the particular mulcts or penalties of those who should violate the king's peace above-mentioned, and especially that of the eight days of his coronation, or of any of the feasts aforesaid, and who should have the forfeitures arising from thence; how much the king, and how much the earl, and how much the dean or the bishop in whose deanery the peace was broken.

XXXVI. The thirty-sixth article directs how that, after a man is killed, as a thief or a robber, if any complaint be made by his nearest relations to the justice, that the man was wrongfully put to death, and lies buried among thieves, and that such relations offer to make it good; in such case, they shall give security for so doing. And then it follows, in what manner the party slain may be cleared in his reputation, and what satisfaction shall be made to his friends for it, in case it appears he was killed unjustly.

A. D. 1066. ^{Harold Harfagar, king of Norway, invades England.} tender to the crown of England now started up, in the person of Harold Harfager, king of Norway. As this prince was descended of the blood royal of Denmark, he was not without pretensions, in right of blood, upon the throne of England. Tostig, being driven out of England, perceived that he could not again make the coast of Flanders; and, therefore, either through choice or necessity, he sailed to Norway, where he found Harold making preparations for invading England. Improving this favourable opportunity, he confirmed and encouraged the Norwegian in his intentions; and it was now no secret in England, that an invasion would soon be attempted. The better to promote this, Tostig, leaving Harfagar busied in naval preparations, went over to Scotland, where he endeavoured to renew his ancient friendship with Malcolm, and to engage him to join in the invasion. Malcolm himself was, at that time, embroiled in civil wars, with the descendants of Macbeth; neither did his inclinations very well suit such an enterprise; and therefore Tostig's success in Scotland was but indifferent. However, about autumn, the king of Norway appeared on the coasts of England with three hundred ships; and being joined by Tostig's squadron, the combined fleets sailed up the Humber, and putting their land forces ashore, they advanced towards York. This invasion was so sudden and unexpected, that Edwin and Morchar, the protectors of that country, were obliged to oppose them with a handful of rude, undisciplined militia, which was soon beaten. The invaders then laid siege to the city of York. Some historians inform us, that they stormed it, and put many of the inhabitants to the sword; and others, that it surrendered upon capitulation. So formidable a progress drew Harold's attention from the southern (where it had been long fixed) to the northern parts of his dominions; and with incredible expedition he brought his army to the field, and advanced to York.

Edwin and Morchar defeated.

York taken by the invaders.

Situation of their camp.

Harfagar and Tostig, by this time, understanding Harold's approach, had taken care to fortify their army to great advantage: for the situation of the country was such, that in their camp their rear was secured by the sea; their left, by the bay of the Humber, where their fleet rode at anchor; while their front and their right were guarded by the river Derwent, over which lay a bridge in their possession. Though Harold was extremely sensible of the difficulty of attacking them, yet nothing was unsurmountable to his high courage. Many of the English had not yet forgotten the Danish ravages; and those who were too young to remember them, knew them by fresh tradition, ever apt to magnify. Harold, finding his army in such dispositions, resolved to march to attack them, even in their camp; but found it necessary to seize upon the bridge I have just mentioned, which seems to have been Stanford-bridge, in the East-riding of Yorkshire. It was guarded by a party of Norwegians, who defending it with great resolu-

tion, were all cut in pieces, excepting one, who, like another Cocles, stood the shock of the whole army, and, armed with his battle-ax, made so obstinate a resistance, that he killed forty of the English. This relation is the less incredible, when we consider, that our ancestors, at that time, were almost unacquainted with the use of destructive missiles. It is to be lamented, that this brave man did not survive so glorious an action; for a degenerate Englishman, about three in the afternoon, got into a boat under the bridge, and, through a hole which he either found or made there, running his spear up into his lower parts, the Norwegian, no longer able to maintain his post, dropped down dead. Harold now opened his way to the enemy's camp, where the dispute was bloody, obstinate, and long. The Norwegians, being masters of great plunder, fought to secure what they had acquired; and Tostig, at once despairing, and disdainful of pardon, acted with courage, approaching to despair. But Harold's personal valour bore down all resistance: fighting at once against a king and a brother, he fought danger where it could most honourably be met with, in the ranks commanded by Harfagar and Tostig; and fortune guiding his arm to the former, he fell, as we are told, by the sword of the English king; while Tostig met with the like, but a less distinguished, fate. The death of their leaders discouraged the Norwegians; a general rout ensued; the greatest part of them were cut to pieces; while the rest capitulating, Harold obtained a compleat and a glorious victory. The booty which fell into his hands was so considerable, that Adam Bremenensis informs us, twelve young men could scarce bear the gold found among it upon their shoulders. But this was not all; for it appears, that Harold made so just a disposition of his sea and land forces, that the whole of the Norwegian fleet was obliged to surrender. The conqueror, however, generously made a present to Olave the son of Harfagar, and to Paul the earl of Orkney, of twenty-one sail, to carry off their wounded, binding them, by oath, never again hostilely to invade England.

A. D. 1066. ^{Amazing valour of a Norwegian.}

Harold defeats the invaders,

and gets great booty.

I have kept the narrative of this invasion entire, that we might be at more liberty to attend to the train of negotiations which, by this time, were set on foot between Harold and the Norman duke. The latter was not so much alarmed at the boldness of his rival in seizing sovereignty, as he was by the lenity and wisdom with which he exercised it. Edgar Atheling was created earl of Oxford; the old nobility of the kingdom were treated with great respect and kindness; the people were eased of their taxes; the distressed of the poor relieved; justice administered with so much impartiality, and crimes punished with so wholesome a rigour, that Harold was seated on the throne too firmly for domestic faction to shake it. William, sensible that his attempt would be more difficult through delay, resolved to proceed with all expedition in his preparations; but in such a manner,

The wife government of Harold.

A.D. 1066. a manner, as to convince all Europe, the English especially, that he sought no more than what he conceived to be his due. His first step was to send an embassy into England, to remonstrate to Harold and his council the injustice of seizing the crown of England, in prejudice of a prior right, both by Edward's promise and Harold's concessions; threatening a speedy invasion if Harold would not resign. The king, with equal shew of moderation, heard his ambassadors deliberately, and returned for answer, That as to the promise of Edward, upon which William founded his title, it was in itself void and of no effect, since the succession could not be appointed without the consent and decree of the great council of England: That, for that reason, even a disposition in writing, without such an approbation, must have been invalid; and much more ought a verbal promise, without any evidence to support its having been made. As to his own concessions, William's demand, by virtue of them, was still more unreasonable, since they were made at a time when he had no power to refuse, and far less to grant; that is, while his body was subject to William, and his allegiance due to Edward. But besides his being a prisoner and a subject, he urged, that his promises were in themselves ridiculous and void, since they tended to the damage of the nation, and the prejudice of the nobility: that therefore if he could make them good, he ought not; and if he would, it was not in his power. In short, Harold put the merit of his right upon his election, which he affirmed to be by authority of all the orders in the kingdom; and concluded with exposing the absurdity of resigning a crown he thus freely held, to a Norman duke, unknown to Englishmen, and a stranger to their constitution.

William calls together an assembly of the states of Normandy.

Lays before them the justice of his cause,

which is treated as frivolous by the assembly.

An answer, at once so resolute and so reasonable, had well nigh disconcerted all the Norman's ambitious projects. He called together an assembly of his states in Normandy, where he laid before them the nature of his claim, the usage he had met with, his prospect of success, and the advantage which must thereby arise to his hereditary dominions. As to the justice of his cause, he said it was founded upon three principles; first, to revenge the death of his cousin Alfred, murdered by the father and family of Harold; secondly, to procure justice to the Norman archbishop and the other Normans, who had been expelled England in the late reign, through the power and practices of Harold and his party; and lastly, to dispossess Harold, who had, without any right of blood, seized the crown of England, to which he himself had a better title, both by alliances and promises. But those reasons were, with great justice, treated as frivolous by the assembly. Prince Alfred had fallen by Godwin, who had been tried and punished for the same; and though that punishment was not adequate to the crime, yet Harold could not be involved in the guilt, since it did not

appear that he was a party in the murder. As to the expulsion of the Normans, it was the act of Edward, by whom William sought to establish his title, and no way affected either the honour or interest of the states of Normandy. Besides, it was in itself a wise and justifiable measure, and such as they themselves would have taken in like circumstances. As to the third head, Harold had already given a full answer, and they conceived it did not at all fall under their cognizance.

But besides those equitable, there were many political, reasons for their not concurring with the duke. They remonstrated, that the people were then exhausted by their long wars with France; that it was impossible to foresee whether the ambition of that crown might not lead it to attack Normandy afresh, if the strength of their money and arms was employed abroad; and lastly, they did not think themselves obliged to serve in a foreign quarrel. William soon perceived both the force and the tendency of those reasons. To have desisted from his enterprise, was severing ambition from his soul; a separation more dreadful than that of his soul from his body: at the same time to persist in his demands, might have staggered the fidelity of the states, and have shaken his own precarious title to his dukedom.

But the Norman's great and long knowledge of mankind at last got the better of his difficulties. He knew, that where no public corruption prevails, men, when assembled in a political legislative capacity, have about them a pride and a stiffness, of which they are, separately, void. There is, besides, a certain similarity of sentiment, which runs through such a body, and connecting the minds and views of each individual, spreads a laudable infection through them all, and forms what we call public spirit. William found this very strong in that middling rank of his Normans, which composes the most considerable part of the people in every country; he therefore set himself to work to undermine this public spirit. He gave over prosecuting his enterprise; as if it had been connected with the honour and dignity of Normandy, he fairly made a job of the whole; he opened a subscription, he published his proposals, and every man in Europe was welcome to be an adventurer: but still his hopes laid their chief stress upon his Norman subjects. Robert Fitz-osbern, a man of the greatest property and popularity in his dukedom, had ever strenuously supported William in his proposal, and it was thought proper that he should encourage the other Normans by his example. Accordingly he entered into an engagement to build forty ships at his own expence, to be employed in the English expedition. The duke having got the subscription of so great a man, privately sent for others of the greatest weight and property in his state. Those he severally closetted, and obtained their hands likewise; while the more inferior, encouraged by their

A. D. 1066.

examples, did the like; all of them to be reimbursed by the spoils of the conquered country.

State of Normandy at that time.

The Normans ever, from their first settlement under Rollo to this time, had been a flourishing nation. It appears, from the instance I have just given, that they were the freest people upon the continent; their freedom encouraged their industry, their laws protected their property, and a succession of wise princes had raised their reputation. From all those concurrent causes they were able to furnish out an immense sum; and when the proportions which each subscribed were added together, the whole amounted to a prodigious extent. But this was still insufficient for the views of one, who was to enter upon a dispute for so bright a prize as was the throne of England. William was resolved to risk his all. He did not consider his expedition as an undertaking which, if checked, he was at liberty to drop; or, if disconcerted, to alter. He was resolved to do the thing at once. He looked upon his patrimonial possessions and revenues as the capital upon which he was to trade, or a mortgage to be redeemed only by success: in short, he was resolved to be a king or nothing. His next application, therefore, was to the neighbouring princes: the earls of Anjou, Poitou, Mayne, and Bulloigne were severally solicited, and each agreed to furnish his proportion of expence; but all upon condition of being reimbursed by the possessions of England. Other states, upon the same terms, entered into the same engagements; and, in the mean time, gave the Norman liberty to beat up for volunteers and recruits in their several countries. But there was a prince still untried, and he too of great importance to the success of the expedition: this was Philip king of France. To him the indefatigable duke applies in person for succours; and so much was his heart set upon this expedition, that he offered, provided Philip would assist him to conquer England, to hold her crown from the kings of France, and to pay fealty to them. But the French court knew too much of William's spirit to be so easily imposed upon. They knew that faith among princes often prevails no farther than they have the power to break it: that a king of England would soon disdain to be the vassal of France, while they were destitute of power to enforce obedience: add to all this, that the Norman was already too great, and that the accession of England would make him a formidable neighbour.

William's high views.

Assisted by the neighbouring princes.

Applies to the court of France,

which refuses its assistance.

All those reasons determined the king of France to counter-act William in all his preparations for this expedition; but the latter

taking leave of the French court, redoubled his efforts to gather together his forces upon his return home, and ordered the general rendezvous to be at St. Walleries, a sea-port in Normandy.

But several of our historians have informed us, that William would not have been able to have brought over the states of Normandy to his own sentiments, had it not been for the dissimulation of Fitz-osbern, who in the assembly harangued violently against the duke's proposition. This led the other members to chuse him as their speaker; and he was, in the name of the whole house, to declare their dissent from the motion: instead of that, he signified their assent in the strongest terms. This declaration, by the Norman constitution, became the act of the whole states, and William laid hold of that opportunity to extort their consent: but this I deliver not as a truth, but a tradition.

It appears, though not expressly taken notice of by our historians, that William had a resource known only to himself, and that was in the assistance of Harfagar, whom he encouraged in his designs to invade England, and had entered into a secret treaty for that purpose. This was a deep-laid and successful piece of policy. The Norman was no stranger to the aversion which the English had to the Danes: he knew that Harfagar's views rested not upon dominion, but plunder; and that in any event he was too inconsiderable ever to become a rival for the crown: add to all this, that it is probable Tofti and William had a good understanding; and perhaps William had promised to restore the latter to the undivided estate of the Godwin family, provided he should be subservient to his designs. The Norman, apprehensive lest the other princes and his own subjects likewise might take umbrage if they should know he was under any engagements with Harfagar, had kept them in profound secrecy; and the concert between them evidently appears to have been, that Harfagar and Tofti should land in the north of England, in order to give a diversion to Harold's arms, while William landed in the south. The stirring spirit of Harold, joined to his amazing intrepidity, partly disconcerted this scheme. When William came to St. Walleries, it was no secret to Harold that he intended to invade his dominions; he accordingly drew down towards the coasts of Kent and Suffex the whole of his forces, and had William landed at that time, his expedition, to all appearance, had proved unsuccessful. The Norman, sensible of this, watched at St. Walleries till he should receive advice of the Norwegians landing in the North.

Brompton, Knighton, Diceto.

William's engagements with Harfagar and Tofti.

Disconcerted by Harold.

William (1), by this time, had received certain

(1) It is absolutely necessary that the reader should be let into the history of this great and fortunate prince, preceding the event of his conquering England. That he was a bastard, is generally, and I think justly, agreed upon. — But, says J. H. (supposed to be John Hayward, the excellent writer of his life, in the reign of James I.) in his vindication, William of Malmesbury and some others have reported, that, albeit he was born out of marriage, yet duke Robert, his father, did afterwards entertain his mother for his lawful wife; which, by the law of that country, agreeable in that point to the civil and canon laws, sufficed to make the issue inheritable, although born before. And further, it was a general custom at that time in France, that bastards did succeed, even in the dignities of highest condition, no otherwise than children lawfully begotten. Thierry, bastard of Clovis, had for his partage, with the lawful children of the same Clovis, the kingdom of Austrasy, now called Lorrain. Sigebert, bastard of king Dagobert I, had his part in the kingdom of France, with Clovis XII. lawful

A. D. 1066. certain information that his ambition was looked upon with an evil eye by many princes of Europe. A Norman historian informs us, that at this very juncture Conan, the earl of Britany, sent a message to him, demanding Normandy, in right of his father, Alan, who he pretended was heir to Robert, the father of William; with high threats in case of a refusal. Conan was a prince of great parts, and there was a probability of his being supported by the court of France; but William had partly fore-

[Williel. Ge-
micensis.]

A. D. 1066.
His difficul-
ties.

lawful son to Dagobert. Loys and Carloman, bastards of king Loys le Begue, succeeded after the death of their father. So likewise in England, Alfred, bastard son of Oswin, succeeded his brother Egfrid. So Athelstan, the bastard son of Edward the Elder, succeeded his father, before Edmund and Eldred, his younger brothers, notwithstanding they were lawfully begotten. So Edmund, surnamed the Martyr, bastard son to king Edgar, succeeded him in the state, before Ethelred his lawful issue. Afterward, Harold, surnamed Harefoot, bastard to Canute, succeeded him in the kingdom, before Hardicanute his lawful son. The like custom hath been observed in Spain, in Portugal, and in diverse other countries; and it is probable, that this use was grounded upon often experience, that bastards (as begotten in the highest heat and strength of affection) have many times been men of excellent proof, both in courage and in understanding. This was verified in Hercules, Alexander the Great, Romulus, Timotheus, Brutus, Themistocles, Arthur; in Homer, Demosthenes, Bion, Bartholus, Gratian, Peter Lombard, Peter Comestor, John Andreas, and diverse of most flourishing name; among whom our Conqueror may worthily be ranged. And yet, in the third race of the kings of France, a law was made, That bastards should not inherit the crown of the realm. This custom was likewise banished out of England, and other countries of Europe; notwithstanding, in France, other bastards of great houses were still allowed. The exercises of this duke, from his very youth, were ingenious, manly, decent, and such as tended to activity and valour. He was of a working mind and vehement spirit, rather ambitious, than desirous of glory; of a piercing wit, blind in no man's cause, and well-sighted in his own; of a lively and present courage, neither out of ignorance or rash estimation of dangers, but out of a true judgment both of himself and of them. In peace, he was politic; in war, valiant; and very skilful both to espy and to apprehend, and to follow his advantages. This valour and skill in military affairs, was always seconded with good success. He was continually accustomed both to the weight and use of armour, from his very childhood. Often-times he looked death in the face with a brave contempt. He was never free from actions of arms; first, upon necessity to defend himself; afterwards, upon ambition to offend and disturb the possessions of others. In his first age he was much infested with rebels in Normandy, who often conspired both against his life, and against his dignity and state; traducing him as a bastard, as a boy, as born of a base ignoble woman, as altogether unworthy to be their prince. Of these, some he appeased and reconciled unto him; others he prevented, and dispersed their power before it was collected; others encountered in open field before he had any hair upon his face, where he defeated their forces in full battle, then took their strong holds, and, lastly, chased them out of his dominion.—William's first encounter, according to the same author, was with Roger Tresney, who, from an old claim, demanded the duchy of Normandy, but was overthrown in battle. His next was against William earl of Argues, his uncle. This nobleman was supported in his pretensions upon Normandy by the power of France; but William met him and the French king so opportunely, that he had almost destroyed both; but, after cutting off great part of their army, he was contented to accept, or rather gave them, an honourable peace. He next escaped several conspiracies against his own person, partly by the seasonable interpositions of providence, and partly through his own amazing intrepidity and presence of mind. But at last, secret conspiracy breaking out into open war, William conquered his enemies, first by his arms, and next by his generosity. As to his other adventures, before he set out upon his conquest of England, take them in the words of the author I last quoted.—Not long after, the French king had wars against Geoffrey Martell; and duke William went, with a fair company of soldiers, to his aid. In this service he so well acquitted himself, both in judgment and in hand, that the French king was chiefly directed by him; only blaming him for too carelessly casting himself into the mouth of dangers, imputing that to ostentation, which was but the heat of his courage and age. Often-times he would range from the main battle with very few in his company, either to make discoveries, or to encounter such enemies as could not be found with greater troops. Once he withdrew himself only with four, and was met with by fifteen of the enemies. The most forward of them he struck from his horse, and broke his thigh with the fall; the residue he chased four miles, and, most of them being hurt, took seven prisoners. Hereupon Geoffrey Martell then said of him, that he was at that time the best soldier, and was like to prove the best commander, in the world. And as he was both favourable and faithful towards them who fairly yielded, so, against such as either obstinately or scornfully carried themselves, he was extremely severe, or rather cruel. When he besieged Alençon, which the duke of Anjou had taken from him, the defendants would often cry from the walls, “la pel, la pel,” reproaching him thereby with the birth of his mother. This base insolence, as it inflamed both his desire and courage to achieve the enterprize, so did it his fury to deal sharply with them when they were subdued, by cutting off their hands and feet, and by other severities which were not usual. Besides these, some others of his own blood provoked Ingelrame, earl of Ponthieu, to move against him in arms; but the duke received him with so resolute valour, that the earl was slain in the field, and they well chastised who drew him into the enterprize. The Bretagne did often feel the force of his victorious arms. He had many conflicts with Geoffrey Martell, earl of Anjou, confederate with the princes of Bretagne, Aquitain, and Tours; a man equal unto him both in power and skill to command, but in fortune and in force of arms much inferior. Many excellent achievements were performed between them, inso-much, as their hostilities seemed only to be an emulation in honour. Once the duke fell into an ambuscade, addressed for him by the earl of Anjou, wherewith he was so suddenly surprized, that he was almost in the midst of the danger before he thought any danger near him. An exceeding great both terror and confusion, seized upon his soldiers (because the more sudden and uncertain a peril is, the greater is it always esteemed); many of his bravest men were slain; the residue so disordered, or at least shaken, as they began to think more of their particular escape, than of the common either safety or glory. When they were thus upon the point to disband, the duke, rather with rage than courage, cried out unto them, “If you love me not, soldiers, yet for shame follow me! for shame stand by me! for shame let not any of your friends hear the report, that you ran from me, and left me fighting!” With that he threw himself into the thickest throng of his enemies, and denounced those either traitors or cowards who would not follow. This example breathed such brave life into his soldiers, that they rallied their loose ranks, and in close order seconded him with a resolute charge, encouraging one another, that it was shameful indeed not to fight for him who so manfully did fight with them. The duke, brandishing his sword like a thunderbolt, beat down his enemies on every side, made at earl Martell in the midst of his battalion, struck him down, clove his helmet, and cut away one of his ears. This so diverted the Anjouans to the rescue of their earl, that they let the other part of their victory go. The earl they recovered again to horse, and so left the duke master of the field. Verily, it is almost impossible that a commander, of such courage, should have either faint or false-hearted pretences, to Xaintonge, cast him in prison; from whence he could not be released until he had yielded to certain conditions, both dishonourable and disadvantageous unto him. Hugh succeeded Herbert; from whom Geoffrey Martell, earl of Anjou, took the city of Maine, and made himself lord of all the country. Hugh, having lost his dominion, left both his title and his quarrel to his son Herbert, who having no issue, appointed duke William to be his heir. Hereupon the duke invaded Maine, and in a short time subdued the whole country, and built two fortifications for assurance thereof, having first sent word to the earl of Anjou upon what day the work should begin. The earl used all diligence and means to impede the buildings; but he not only failed of that purpose, but further, lost the county of Medune. Again, Henry king of France did many other times, with great preparation, invade this country; sometimes with purpose to win upon him, and sometimes to keep him from winning upon others. Upon a time, the king led his troops over the ford of Dine, and when half his army had passed, the other half, by reason of the rising of the sea, was compelled to stay. The duke, apprehending the advantage, came upon them with a furious charge (being now divided from the chief of the army) and either slew them or took them prisoners, in the plain view of their king. After this they concluded a peace, whereof the conditions were, That the duke should release such prisoners as he had taken, and that he should retain whatsoever he had won, or afterwards should win, from the earl of Anjou. And yet the king did again enterprize upon him with greater forces than at any time before; but the duke entertained his armies with so good order and valour, that the king gained nothing but loss and dishonour; and the greater his desire was of victory and revenge, the more foul did his toils and failings appear; which so broke both his courage and heart, that with grief thereof, as it was conceived, he ended his life. And thus, during all the time that he was only duke of Normandy, he was never free from action of arms. In all his actions of arms he was carried with a most rare and perpetual felicity.

A. D. 1066. ^{He hears of William's landing.} seen the storm, and had entered into a league with the emperor Henry, by which, according to the French historians, the latter was to attack the dominions of any power which, during the absence of William upon his English expedition, should invade Normandy. But William, it seems, was freed from his apprehensions by a more ignoble method; for a nobleman, who had sworn fidelity both to him and Conan, poisoned the latter; while his degenerate son assisted the Norman in his expedition with both men and money.

They almost frustrate his intention.

Those incidents, with the disappointment of Harfagar and Tosti's landing in the north of England, had almost frustrated William's great design. His soldiers, who had left their own homes with expectations of jumping at once into riches and estates, began to murmur at lying so long, and having nothing to do; but William laid the blame on contrary winds, and took care to amuse them by bringing forth the body of Walleries, the tutelary saint of the place. This stratagem, together with the display of a consecrated banner sent him by the pope, had the desired effect; and William no sooner heard of Tosti's landing in England, than he put to sea with a favourable wind (1). His own ship out-stripping the rest, had almost lost sight of the main fleet, when her sailors lowered her sails, and lay by till they should come up; at last they all came into Pevensey, or Pemsey-bay, in Sussex. The duke himself is said to have been the first who jumped ashore; and his authors have, upon this occasion, adapted to him an incident we meet with in the life of Julius Cæsar (2).

Harold's errors.

During all this time, Harold was waiting for the Norman upon the southern coasts; but by the delay of the expedition, joined with some informations he had from the continent, began to persuade himself that William had laid aside his designs. This was of fatal consequence, as it induced him to give leave to some of his best troops, both before and after Harfagar's overthrow, to retire. He had now returned to York, exulting and full of spirits after his late defeat of the Norwegians. His army, we are told, were at this time a little out of humour with him, for denying them the plunder of the Norwegians after the late battle. It had been greatly reduced by the late battle with the Norwegians, by the withdrawing of some, and the desertion of others.

Prosperity is a better test of true fortitude than adversity; to guide the vessel of life in full career, her sails swelled by the breath of fortune, and her course rapid by the tide of success, shews more skill than to weather the storm, or to ride out the tem-

pest. Harold, elated by his late success against the Norwegians, thought himself invincible; and the news of William's landing upon his dominions, which he received the very day he came to York, instead of damping, roused all his courage. His indignation was increased when he heard of the cool, determined behaviour of the duke; for it was told him, and told him truly, that the first thing the Norman did, on his landing, was to send one part of his fleet back to the continent, and to destroy the other, in imitation of the great Constantius: that he next chose out a piece of ground, which he intrenched strongly, and fortified with pallisades: and so secure was he of success, that he restrained his soldiers from ravages, upon this principle, which he publicly declared, "That it was folly in them to destroy what, if preserved, would soon become their own." Harold learned, at the same time, that William had published a kind of a manifesto, which contained the reasons of his invasion, and which were to the same purpose as those we have already seen.

[See p. 58.]

All this alarmed Harold. The troops who still remained with him had been distinguished by his favours, and were therefore attached to his person. The southern counties were yet powerful in men, and the aversion of the English to foreign conquest gave him almost assurance of victory. Full of spirits, therefore, he advanced southwardly: on the road he dispatched trusty messengers all over the land, to awaken in the English a sense of their danger. His late success against the Norwegians had indeed raised his character; but he was unable to get the better of the general disgust which his partial conduct had given. His rendezvous was at London, where he mustered his army, which he found to be more brave than numerous. It consisted chiefly of men of property, whose all was at the stake; but the season of the year, with the late fatiguing expedition to the north, had rendered it extremely inconvenient for the common people to attend. Harold, however, prepared to attack the Norman with great intrepidity.

His army.

In the mean time, it is very difficult to account for the reasons of William's conduct. He had landed within thirty leagues of the capital, while Harold was engaged in a bloody war in the other extremity of his dominions: one should think, that in policy he would have advanced towards London, which, if it had fallen into his hands, might have prevented the vast effusion of blood which afterwards followed; but we find him making no dispositions of this kind. As we have already hinted, his arrival had rather the appearance of a visit, than an invasion;

William's conduct examined.

(1) We shall here set down a list of the most considerable of William's fleet, as it is found in our English historians; but, I am apt to think, far from being accurate.—The whole is said, by some, to have consisted of near a thousand sail; of which William his sewer, the son of Osbern, supplied him with sixty vessels; Hugh his nephew, afterwards earl of Chester, with as many; Hugh de Mumfort, with sixty ships and sixty soldiers; Romus, the eleemosynary of Tescan, afterwards bishop of Lincoln, with one ship and twenty men; Nicholas, the abbot of St. Audean, supplied him with fifteen ships and a hundred men; Robert earl of Angus, with sixty ships; Gerold the sewer, with as many; William count of Deurons, with eighty ships; Roger of Montgomery, with sixty; Roger de Beaumont, with sixty; Odo bishop of Baieux, with a hundred; Robert de Mortimer, with a hundred and twenty; and Walter Giscard, with thirty vessels and a hundred men.

(2) The duke going ashore, his foot by accident slipping, he fell down; which a soldier, standing by, immediately turned into a good omen, saying, "Sir, you have only taken seisin of that land of which you will shortly be king."

A. D. 1066.

Reasons for
William's
conduct.He is disap-
pointed.His message
to Harold,

answered.

William's re-
ply.He sends four
propositions
to Harold;all of them
rejected by
Harold.

and he seemed, like a modest candidate, to wait at the entrance of the kingdom till the electors should call him to the throne. But we are to consider, that William might have several reasons for this conduct; he affected to treat Harold as a tyrant and usurper, and to give himself out as the deliverer of the English nation. The Normans had been for some time settled in England, and were both numerous and powerful; his design, therefore, might be to wait for the effect of his manifesto, which he expected would raise an insurrection in England, and to forbear all hostilities, that he might the better conciliate the English to his person and interest. But if those were his expectations, he was disappointed; we find no dispositions among the people in his favour; and however cold some of them might be in Harold's service, none were well affected to that of William. Notwithstanding all his shew of resolution, I am apt to believe that he began about this time to think his case desperate; especially as it may be presumed that Harold's fleet, which was numerous and well appointed, was now advancing southward, and would soon cut off all his supplies of provisions from the continent, the only place from which he could have them; the corner of the country in which he then lay, being very unable, for any time, to subsist so numerous an army: but what strengthens this suspicion the more, is the message he sent to Harold at London. At first, indeed, he demanded the crown in a pretty peremptory manner, which so incensed the high spirit of Harold, that he was upon the point of treating the messenger indecently. He was, however, contented with sending his answer by a messenger of his own next morning; with commission, at the same time, to command the duke to leave the country as speedily as he had entered it rashly. William's reply to this was, that as he had not come upon Harold's intreaty, neither would he depart at his command. "But, continues he, it ill becomes a general to deal in parlying, when, like me, he has sixty thousand swords to execute his orders." Yet we find, in a subsequent message, a great variation in his language; for we are told, that the Norman, soon after, sent a monk to Harold, with four propositions, one of which he was to chuse. The first was, that Harold should relinquish the kingdom upon certain conditions; the second, that he should hold it under homage to the duke; the third, that they should try their cause by single combat; and the fourth, that they should refer the decision of their differences to the pope.

All those were dishonourable alternatives, excepting that of single combat; which perhaps Harold would not have refused, had William either been a king or legitimate. But this proposal, from a person of so much steadiness and sagacity as William possessed, carries with it some appearance, as if he had thought his case desperate on finding the coldness of the English to his cause. Whatever may be in this, he omitted no duty of

a brave and a watchful general. After continuing for some time within his first encampment, which he fortified as well as the shortness of the time would give him leave, he left in it a strong garrison, and advanced as far as Hastings, where he raised a slight fortification of the same kind, and drew lines of communication between both. Every day, in person, he went out to make what observations he could of his situation; and an adventure happened to him at this time, which gives us a remarkable instance of his generous disposition. We are told, that as he was one day reconnoitering the country, with no more than fifteen horsemen in his company, in their return home they were so fatigued, through the ruggedness of the roads, that Fitz-osbern, when just ready to sink under the weight of his armour, was relieved by the duke, who re-entered his camp, bearing upon his shoulder the helmet of his favourite. This, and the like condescendencies, had a wonderful effect in his favour among his soldiers; nor was his open deportment, in other respects, at all disagreeable to the English themselves; nay, even Harold could not forbear being touched at the greatness of his soul. For certain spies, about this time, were sent out from the English camp, to discover what they could of the Norman's situation and numbers. Those spies, being taken within William's camp, might, by the rules of war, have been all put to death; but William, with true magnanimity, ordered them to be nobly entertained, then carried through the principal quarters of his camp, and at last dismissed them, desiring them faithfully to inform their master of what they had seen. Harold, upon their arrival, asking after their information, they punctually related the generous behaviour of the Norman: adding, that they verily believed his army was composed of priests, since, contrary to the custom of the English, all their faces to their chin were shaved. But Harold, who himself had been in Normandy, and a witness of their valour, knew better, and could not forbear smiling at the ignorance of his own men.

The English monarch, by this time, had advanced into Suffex, and encamped within seven miles of the Normans, so that both armies were within view of one another. Here Harold held a council of war, to consider what was best to be done. The English were no strangers to the discipline, the resolution, and the numbers of their enemies; and the question which fell under consideration was, whether they should offer the Normans battle? It is certain that many of the English by this time, though no way abetting William's claim, were far from being satisfied with their king's good faith. The manifesto of the Norman had made strong impressions even upon Harold's officers; perjury and breach of promise sounded strange and ominous to English ears. William insisted strongly on the oath which Harold had taken, when in Normandy, to assist him in his views upon the crown of England. Harold had too great a soul to

A. D. 1066.

William for-
tifies his army.His adventure
in reconnoi-
tering.His generosity
to the English
spies.Harold en-
camps within
seven miles of
the Normans.

A. D. 1066.

The English
disgusted with
Harold.Reasons for
his not engag-
ing in person,rejected by
Harold.The generous
proffer of
Gyrth, his
brother,

rejected.

Preparations
on both sides
for the battle.

deny the fact; but still excused himself, by saying that it was a promise extorted by force, and therefore void in itself. Though the most understanding and best affected among the English were perfectly well satisfied that Harold, as a king and an Englishman, stood absolved from all obligation by this oath; yet such were the deep impressions they had of good faith, that they could not conceive Harold to be at liberty personally to oppose a man to whom he had promised an eventual allegiance. Besides this consideration, many others of a more political nature concurred to dissuade the king from engaging in person. His own forces were fatigued by their late engagement with the Norwegians, and the length of the march; his subjects had not yet had time to come to his assistance; he was between the enemy and the capital, and in a condition to cut off all communication from whence they could draw any provisions, while his fleet would do the same at sea: and add to all this the inclemency of the approaching season. All those motives were strongly urged to induce Harold to remain on the defensive; and indeed, if we consider the situation of both armies at this time, we must conclude, that had Harold taken this wise advice, William's army must either have been destroyed, or forced to attack the English on very disadvantageous terms, or reduced to the necessity of laying down their arms.

But the blinded obstinacy of Harold rejecting this wise counsel, a resolution passed to fight the Normans. Upon which Gyrth, the younger brother to the king, a nobleman possessed of courage and wisdom above his years, made a generous essay to divert Harold from the fatal resolution of venturing his person in the battle. "Let us not," said he, upon one chance of war, venture "the liberties of England, the properties of "Englishmen, and the fortunes of our fa- "milies. Reserve yourself, sir, to other "times. While you are safe, the enemy "never can be said to conquer; but on your "person the fate of your country depends. "Leave me to fight with the Norman; me, "who am free of all obligations to him. "I will take care to discharge the duty of "a brother, a general, and a subject. If I "should prevail, it is in a good cause; if I "fall, it is with a quiet conscience: while, "in either event, you will survive to reap "the glory, or to repair the misfortune." But Harold madly rejected this advice; he thought that, in his situation, courage could only be known by fighting, and right by success.

The fatal resolve being now fixed, both armies prepared for the battle next morning; but very different was the manner in which

each spent the night. Harold, flushed by late success, still more confident through the dispositions which William shewed for peace, and depending on the experienced courage of his troops, imagined that to doubt of victory would be treated as cowardice; he (1) gave a loose to jollity, and seemed to prepare rather for a Bacchanalian triumph, than a bloody field. His officers following the example of their prince, and the soldiers that of their officers, nothing was heard all the night in their camp but impious exultings, songs and shoutings; while they dissipated in wine and revels those spirits which ought to have supported them in their approaching dreadful encounter. The Normans, on the other hand, observed a sober silence; they behaved like men prepared either to conquer or fall. They omitted no means for safety, they forgot no preparative for death; watchful, but not sleepless; each repaired the wastes of nature, and perceived a recruit of spirits from the exercise of well-timed devotion, and the support of staid resolution.

The next morning was Harold's birthday, which he looked on as a happy omen. He drew out his men; the Kentishmen, as the prerogative body, were placed in the front, a post they had long claimed and enjoyed; the Londoners held the next post of honour, and the remaining ranks were filled indiscriminately up by the other English. Their weapons were the pole-ax, scymitar, and a kind of javelin, with a target for their defence (2). Harold and his two brothers, Gyrth and Leofwine, placed themselves in the centre, that the soldiers might be witnesses of their valour, and the whole together formed a well-compacted phalanx, their ranks indissoluble by force.

The Norman duke, on the morning of the battle, called for his armour, and his esquire happening to put on his breast-plate behind instead of before, he had the presence of mind to turn the omen off with a well-timed jest: "Before the sun sets, says "he, my dukedom will be turned into a "kingdom." Then mounting on horseback, with an intrepid assurance of looks and voice, he encouraged his men, and declared, that he appealed to heaven for the justness of his cause, and that to heaven he trusted for success. He then hung round his neck, as silent witnesses of his rival's perjury, the relics on which Harold had sworn; and ordered the (3) consecrated standard sent him by the pope to be displayed in the front of his army. His van was led by Roger Montgomery and William Fitz-osbern, and consisted of the horse of Anjou, Perch, Mayne, and Britany. His next division was made up of Poictovins and Germans, and commanded by Geoffrey

A. D. 1066.

The disposi-
tion of the
English,and of the
Norman
army.

(1) Potabatur in commune ab omnibus, in hoc studio noctes perinde ut dies perpetuantibus, parvis et abjectis domibus totos sumptus absumebant: Francis et Normannis absumiles, qui amplis et superbis edificiis, modicas expensas agunt. Sequebantur vitia ebrietatis sociæ, quæ virorum animos effeminant. Malmesbury.

(2) They were paled in front with pavises, in such wise, that it was thought impossible for the enemy to break them. J. H.

(3) This standard was of great use to William. He had sent a solemn embassy to the pope, and thereby had won his friendship to such a degree, as greatly facilitated the success of his expedition.—But Harold, says Malmesbury, neglected to do this, either through natural haughtiness, or because he distrusted the justice of his cause, or because he was afraid lest his messengers should be intercepted by William.

A. D. 1066.

A. D. 1066.

Martell, and a German general. The duke himself led up the last division, consisting of his own Normans, and the flower of his nobility; and among all the three divisions were interspersed flying bodies of archers, to serve as opportunity should offer.

I shall omit the speeches made by both commanders, which are generally calculated rather to display the talents of the writers, than either the characters of the leaders, or the truth of history; but the reader may easily place in the eye of imagination two armies, equal in experience and resolution, commanded by the two greatest generals of the age; their merits equal to their fortunes, but their fortunes outgoing their birth; their age nearly the same, and both prepared to fight for the dearest and the greatest prize, life with empire. Harold, animated by the remembrance of what he then was, and what he had been, haughty, fierce, and confident. William, looking forward, and foreseeing that he must be nothing but through success, vigilant, determined, and crafty; but boldness neither rendering the one incautious, nor caution damping boldness in the other. And now the signal was given for the charge, from the English, by a thundering shout; while the Normans, like the old Spartans, sung the famous ballad of Rollo, in praise of their ancestors. The battle was led up by Robert Fitz-beaumont, a young gentleman of Normandy, and the air was darkened by a flight of arrows sent by the Normans (1). At this the English, unused to missiles, were under some surprize; but a surprize which begat neither fear nor disorder. They opened their ranks at first; but finding that nothing availed them, they closed them, and forming a kind of pent-house with their targets, they pressed forward to come to handy-blows. The Norman infantry would not have been able to have stood their charge, had not the duke ordered a body of horse to support them. The English, still firmly compacted, receiv-

ed this body upon the points of their spears, so that they were obliged to open, to give room for the infantry, who were by this time rallied and reinforced, to renew the charge, while the cavalry flanking the English, the battle now became obstinate and bloody. Every soldier fought as if the fortune of the day had depended upon his single arm; every inch of ground was disputed, as if, upon maintaining or forsaking it, depended life and death. "Blow for blow," says the writer of William's life, wound for wound, death for death; their feet steady, their hands diligent, their eyes watchful, their hearts resolute; neither their advice-ment dazzled by fierceness, nor their fierceness any thing abated by advisement." As victory never beheld a fairer prize, so never had death a richer triumph. The English were often attacked by the Norman horse, and as often repelled them; but their greatest annoyance came from the showers of arrows (2) discharged by their distant enemies, who had now too much experience of their courage to stand within reach of their swords. Ashamed of falling unrevenged, they still pressed forward on the enemy. Harold, ever animating them much by his words, but more by his arm, within reach of which no enemy approached and escaped with life (3). The Norman, who before had always fought for glory, now fought for safety. By experience he found the ranks of the English to be impenetrable. The battle had now continued from morning till noon. He perceived his Normans acting in detached bodies against so firm a phalanx, must at last be spent by repeated attacks. He rode into the thickest ranks, he encouraged the bold, he gave spirit to the desponding, and confirmed the wavering. He acted as if life, without victory, would have been shameful; and victory welcome, though purchased by death. Thrice did he lead up the charge, and each time the horse on which he rode was killed. Thrice was he remounted; he flew from

Comparison between Harold and William.

The battle begins.

Great bravery of the English.

Conduct of both generals.

(1) Some of our historians tell us here, that duke William ordered his Normans not to shoot their arrows directly forward, but upward; so that, forming a curve in their flight, they might fall upon the heads of the English, and stick in their brains. Perhaps, besides the usual reason given for this order, viz. the thickness of the English ranks, there might be another; that the English retained so much of their Saxon ancestors dress, as to preserve some part of the crown of the head uncovered. See page 124, note 1.

(2) As it was certainly by help of the broad arrow and long-bow that the Normans conquered England, so was it by the same weapon that the English afterwards conquered France. I shall therefore here give the reader an excellent and curious comparison between this weapon and our fire-arms, as I find it in the life of William by J. H.—One circumstance more I hold fit to be observed, that this victory was gotten only by the means of the blow of an arrow, the use whereof was brought into this land. Afterwards the English, being trained to that fight, did thereby chiefly maintain themselves, with honourable advantage, against all nations with whom they did contend in arms, being generally reputed the best shot in the world. But of late years it hath been altogether laid aside, and instead thereof, the harquebuz and calliver are brought into use; yet not without contradiction of many expert men of arms, who, albeit they do not reject the use of the small pieces, yet do they prefer the bow before them. First, for that in a reasonable distance it is of greater (both) certainty and force. Secondly, for that it discharges faster. Thirdly, for that more men may discharge therewith at once; for only the first rank dischargeth the piece, neither hurt they any but those that are in front; but with the bow ten or twelve ranks may discharge together, and will annoy so many ranks of the enemy's. Lastly, for that the arrow doth strike more parts of the body; for in that it hurteth by descent (and not only point-blank like the bullet) there is no part of the body but it may strike, from the crown of the head even to the nailing of the foot to the ground. Hereupon it followeth, that the arrows falling so thick as hail upon the bodies of men, as less fearful of their flesh, so more slenderly armed than in former times, must necessarily work most dangerous effects. Besides these general respects, in many particular services and times, the use of the bow is of great advantage. If some defence lie before the enemy, the arrow may strike where the bullet cannot. Foul weather may much hinder the discharge of the piece, but it is of no great impediment to the shot of the bow. A horse struck with a bullet, if the wound be not mortal, may perform good service; but if an arrow be fastened in his flesh, the continual stirring thereof, occasioned by the motion of himself, will force him to cast off all command, and either bear down or disorder those that are near. But the crack of the piece, some men say, doth strike a terror into the enemy. True, if they be such as never heard the like noise before. But a little use will extinguish these terrors to men; yea, to beasts, acquainted with these cracks, they work a weak impression of fear. And if it be true, which all men of action do hold, that the eye in all battles is first overcome, then, against men equally accustomed to both, the sight of the arrow is more available to victory than the crack of the piece. Assuredly the duke, before the battle, encouraged his men, for that they should deal with enemies who had no shot. But I will leave this point to be determined by more discerning judgments.

(3) Haroldus non contentus munere imperatorio, ut hortaretur alios, militis officium sedulo exequabatur; sæpe hostem cominus venientem ferire, ut nullus impune accederet, quin statim uno ictu eques, et equus procederent. Malmesbury.

rank

A. D. 1066. rank to rank, from squadron to squadron, from the forward to the drooping, from the sound to the wounded; sometimes on horseback, sometimes on foot; sometimes borne on the tide of battle, and sometimes stemming the stream of flight. Harold, with equal spirit, with equal courage, and superior success opposed him. Placed in the centre of his faithful English, he appeared to be the axis on which the fortune of the battle turned; the whole body moved by his nod, and fought by his example; that is, like men who thought life and death contemptible, where dishonour and glory were in question. He seemed to court danger, that he might teach his troops how to despise it. He directed, encouraged, provided, and relieved; while he commanded, he shewed how to execute; and while he fought, he reconciled his men to all the rigour of their duty. And now victory seemed ready to declare in favour of the English.

The Normans on the point of being defeated;

but recover by a stratagem,

and defeat the English.

The Normans, unable to withstand their united shock, were preparing to resign the fortune of the day; but the genius of William found means to fix her on his side. Finding the English body impenetrable, a circumstance which he had partly suspected, he gave the word already concerted on, and a retreat was founded. The English, victorious over danger, were ruined by victory: thinking nothing now remained but to dye the laurels they had so painfully won, in the blood of their enemies, they grew eager, impetuous, and disordered; they abandoned the victorious disposition they had hitherto maintained; they divided into parties, as hopes of revenge, or prospect of plunder, invited; and they who, when united, were invincible, became feeble when dissipated. Another signal rallied the Normans: they formed, they closed, they encompassed their enemies in detached bodies; where they had the full advantage, from superiority of numbers, and variety of weapons. The English, unable to repair their oversight, found they

were caught in a snare; but, like lions, they often turned on their hunters, and kept them at bay. Again the efforts of their native courage might have broken through the Norman toils, when an arrow, winged with the doom of England, pierced the brain of her monarch. In his breath fled the fortune of the day, to perch upon the Norman's crest. By his side fell his two brave brothers. Yet still the English did not forget they were Englishmen: the lives they sold, were dearly purchased by the enemy, a body of which they drove into a deep ditch, overgrown with reeds, where most of them perished. The duke, perceiving the resolution of his enemies, even in this broken state of their battle, was moved with compassion, not without a mixture of concern for the event (1). A large body of the English had fought their way to a rising ground, while others of them gained a marshy defile, through which they were sure of escaping in all events, without the danger of being pursued. Both those bodies, thus situated, making a shew as if they were resolved to defend themselves to the last extremity (2), William's generals imagined that a fresh reinforcement was in sight. The battle seemed now to be renewed: the Normans, redoubling their efforts, were beaten back with great slaughter, and the loss of some of their principal officers. William, seeing this, appeared to be touched with the fate of those whom he now looked upon rather as his subjects than his enemies, ordered a truce to the battle, and offered liberty for that body of the English to retire. This accepted, the others drew off through the marshy defiles I have mentioned; where those who ventured to follow them, were drowned or killed in the pursuit: and night now being pretty far advanced, left William in possession of the field of battle, and the throne of England (3).

A. D. 1066. Harold slain,

with his two brothers,

The great efforts made by the English to recover the field,

William gives them quarter.

Some authors pretend, that the two brothers, the earls of Mercia and Northumber-

(1) Ita ingenio circumventi pulchram mortem pro patriæ ultione meruere; nec tamen ultioni suæ deficere, quin crebro consistentes, de insequentibus insignes cladis acervos facerent. Nam occupato Cumulo Normannos calore succensos, acriter ad superiora nitentes in vallen dejiciunt, levique negotio in subjectos tela torquentes, lapides rotantes, omnes ad unum fundunt. Malmesbury.

(2) Count Eustachius, supposing fresh forces to be arrived, fled away with fifty soldiers in his company, and meeting with the duke, rounded him secretly in the ear, that if he went any further he was undone. Whilst he was thus speaking, he was struck between the shoulders with so violent a blow, that he fell down as dead, and voided much blood at his nose and mouth. J. H.

(3) We shall now, from Mr. Tyrrel, give the other circumstances of this decisive battle, as related by our other historians.—I cannot omit taking notice of some passages which Radulph de Diceto gives us of this battle, viz. that it was fought upon a Saturday (being St. Calixtus's day) the 2d of the Ides, that is, the 14th of October. That the English, being drawn up in a narrow place, many of them withdrew themselves from the battle, as having no room to fight, so that but few remained with the king. That duke William marched against the enemy in the head of five regiments of horse, which being all drawn up, a certain Norman, called Taillefar, came forth before both armies, and there brandishing his sword in the face of the English, and whilst they stood gazing at him, he slew an English ensign, who it seems came out to fight him, and did the like to another who engaged him; but in the third encounter with a fresh man, was slain himself. Then began the fight with a thick shower of arrows on the Norman's side, which duke William commanded them not to shoot directly at the enemy, but rather upward, that so they might fall upon the heads of the English; which stratagem proved fatal to them, for by one of these arrows king Harold himself was slain. There were about twenty valiant Norman horsemen, who had engaged to each other, that, breaking the English army, they would seize upon the king's standard; in compassing which, though many of them perished, yet the rest pressing on with their swords, at last carried it off. This standard, after the victory, duke William sent to the pope, wherein the figure of an armed combatant was curiously embroidered with gold and precious stones.—But concerning the battle, a manuscript chronicle, called Brutus, in the archbishop's library at Lambeth, further relates, that earl William (for so he styles him) having made a fresh assault upon the English, with a detachment of about a thousand horse, tried once more to break their ranks, which not succeeding, the earl immediately commanded that feigned retreat above-mentioned; by which the order of the main body of the English being broken, the Normans thereupon rallying again, presently charged through the English army, and gave them an entire defeat. Some writers also mention, that the Normans, in their feigned flight, fell into a deep ditch which the English had made, and covered over on purpose: though this seems not at all likely; for how could they tell that they should put the Normans to flight, and make them fall into that trench? But Mr. Hollinshed, from a manuscript chronicle of Battle-abbey which he had seen, gives us a much more probable account of this circumstance, viz. that the Normans, too earnestly pursuing the chase, when the English began to retreat, many of the Norman horse fell by chance into a certain deep ditch, overgrown with reeds, where most of them, being pressed to death or stifled, perished.

A. D. 1066.
Conduct of
the earls of
Mercia and
Northumber-
land.

land, in the morning of this battle, dissatisfied either with the incommodioufness of the place, the conduct of the king, or the justice of his cause, withdrew their armies towards London, with an intention to raise Edgar Atheling to the throne. But however praise-worthy this design might be, if true, it was certainly very wrong judged at that time, when the dispute was not with regard to the mode of succession, but to the very existence of the English name and liberty. But other writers give those noblemen great commendations, as if it had been owing to them that so many of the English escaped; and tell us, that then rallying the scattered remains, they led them to London in good order.

Number of
the slain.

Next morning, which was October the 15th, discovered the loss on both sides; but authors are not agreed on the numbers of the slain. Upwards of six thousand Normans are said to have fallen in the field, besides those who were killed or drowned in the pursuit. If this account is true, the loss of the English must have been equal, if not greater. The body of Harold, falling amidst indiscriminate carnage, was so deformed, that it was discovered only by a lady who had been his mistress, by some private marks known to herself. A Norman soldier, who was present at the discovery, pierced the leg of the carcase with his sword: an unmanly deed! and repented by the duke, by cashiering the actor.

William gives
leave to bury
the slain.

William, after giving thanks to heaven for his victory, had spent the night in his tent upon the field of battle, near Hastings, and the next morning gave leave for the slain on both sides to be buried. The body of Harold was committed to the custody of one William Mallet, and was begged by his mother for burying. The duke at first made a difficulty, alledging, that Harold was a perjured traitor, and that the rights of burial were not due to one whose ambition had occasioned so

many funerals. But the tears and entreaties of the mother, at last, prevailed with William, more than all her proffers of gold, which she offered to make equal to the weight of the body, if her request was granted. He generously returned the body without ransom, and it was buried at Waltham-croft, within a monastery which Harold himself had founded. We must not, in this place, forget, that both parties that day fought with such determined resolution, that no historian makes mention of any prisoners made by either (1).

A. D. 1066.
He allows
Harold's mo-
ther to bury
his body.

Here are we to fix the period of the Anglo-Saxon government. Nothing remains now, before I close this division of the work, but to inform my readers, that this calamity of conquest was brought upon the English nation by defection and disunion among themselves. All the virtues of Harold, though he had as many as most kings who had ever filled a throne of England, could not atone for the defects of his title. The English, who stood by his fortunes, did it either for the preservation of their own property, or out of affection to his person (2): narrow principles, when compared to that universal expansion of public spirit which ought to make all considerations secondary to the preservation of our country, against a foreign attack. The degeneracy of manners in the English, at this time, had extinguished those sentiments in most of them: they were blind to all difference between one usurper and another; and unconcerned whether Harold or William should prevail, they observed a cold, but fatal, neutrality towards both. Could Harold have been contented with any title less than a king, could his ambition have stooped, as did that of his father, to govern under the wing of another's authority, his country might have been blessed in his virtues; which, in the course he took, served only to undo her.

(1) It remains now that we should give some account of Harold's family. He had two wives; the first he buried long before he was king, but none of our writers mention her name; his second was Algithe, widow of Griffith ap Lhwellyn, king of North Wales, sister of Edwy and Morchar, earls of Yorkshire and Chester. By the former it is recorded that he had children, then of such an age that they waged war against king William in the second year of his reign.

The first was Godwin, who, with his brother Edmund, after his father's death and overthrow, fled into Ireland; but returning again into Somersetshire, slew Ednoth, one of his father's ealdermen, who encountered him; and then making great spoil in Devonshire and Cornwall, departed. The next year fighting with Beorne, an ealdorman of Cornwall, he afterwards returned into Ireland, and from thence went to Denmark to king Sweyn, where he continued the residue of his life.

The second was Edmund, who engaged with him in all his above-said brother's invasions and wars, depending absolutely upon him whilst he lived and died, as he did in Denmark.

Magnus, his third son, went with his two brothers into Ireland, and came back with them the first time into England; but we find nothing of him after this, unless he was that Magnus who afterwards became an anchorite.

Wolfe, his fourth son, seems to be born of queen Algithe, and probably at king William's entrance here he was but an infant, yet after his death he is named among the prisoners; but by William Rufus was released, and by him honoured with the order of knighthood.

Gunhilda, a daughter of Harold's, is mentioned by John Capgrave, in the life of Wolstan, bishop of Worcester, and that she was a nun, but where is not mentioned; and being, in most men's opinions, wholly blind, this Wolstan (if you will believe it from Capgrave) by a miracle, restored her absolutely to her eye-sight.

Another daughter of Harold's is mentioned by Saxo Grammaticus, in his Danish history, to have been well received by her kinsman, king Sweyn the Younger; and afterwards married to Waldemar, king of the Russians, and to have had a daughter by him, who was the mother of Waldemar, the first king of Denmark of that name; from whom all the Danish kings, for many ages, afterwards succeeded.

(2) *Præter stipendiarios et mercenarios milites, paucos admodum ex provincialibus habuit.* Upon the whole, I am apt to believe, though no good author has marked the numbers on both sides, that Harold had about forty thousand, and William sixty thousand, men in their armies.

THE

HISTORY of the ENGLISH CHURCH,

FROM THE

Year Eight hundred and twenty-eight, to the time of the
NORMAN Conquest, in One thousand and sixty-fix.

Page 193.
Withlaff's
charter to
Croyland.

It is made a
sanctuary.

THE reign of Egbert is less fertile in ecclesiastical history than those of other English princes. After uniting the heptarchy, an almost perpetual course of wars kept this prince from minding the affairs of the church so much as his predecessors had done. But Withlaff, the substitute king of Mercia, having, as we have seen before, been saved by the abbot of Croyland, granted a famous charter, about the year 833, to the said abbey. This charter was passed at a meeting of the states assembled to consult upon the means of expelling the Danes. Among other privileges, all the officers of the kingdom of Mercia are ordered to receive the abbot and the monks of Croyland, when they shall happen to repair to any of the Mercian dominions, with as much distinction as they would do the prince royal of Mercia, and take nothing for their entertainment. The abbey likewise was made a sanctuary, and the ministers of justice commanded not to violate it, under the penalty of losing their right foot. Several magnificent presents were likewise made by the same prince, and the whole was confirmed by Egbert himself.

But Ethelwulf, the son of Egbert, as we have already observed, gave himself entirely over to the guidance of priests; his first minister, Swithen, had been a monk of Winchester. He was afterwards chosen abbot of the same monastery, and ordained priest by Helmstan bishop of Winchester. Having been Ethelwulf's tutor, he was employed in the most important acts of government; and at last was raised to the bishopric of Winchester. It was by his means that Ethelwulf made the famous grant of tythes, in the year 854. I have already remarked, that we meet with two charters of this kind; the one in Ingulphus and Matthew of Westminster, dated at Winchester in the year 855 (1); the other in the Monasticon, and dated the year before. Our historians have extended this grant to signify the tythe of all Ethelwulf's dominions; but there remains a doubt, whether the grant extended to the kingdom of England, or was confined to Ethelwulf's possessions in Wessex alone, since he is in it designed only king of the West Saxons (2). But I am very inclinable to believe, that his title of the king of the West Saxons was used by way of eminence,

Page 201.
Swithen, first
minister to
Ethelwulf.

Page 203.
Ethelwulf's
grant of tythes

re-examined
into.

(1) Having given a translation of the charter mentioned by the Monasticon in the history of the state, I shall now set down that which we meet with in Ingulphus, and runs as follows: "I Ethelwulf, king of the West-Saxons, with the counsel or consent of my bishops and chief men, &c. have consented, that a certain hereditary part of the lands heretofore possessed by all orders and degrees of persons, whether men or women, servants of God (i. e. monks or nuns) or mere laics, shall give their tenth mansion, and where it is least, the tenth part of all their goods, free and discharged of all secular servitude, and particularly of all royal tributes or taxations, as well the greater as the less, which they call wittereden (which signifies a certain fine or forfeiture); and that they be free from all other things, as expedition, building of a bridge, or fortifying of a castle, &c. and that they may the more diligently pour out their prayers to God for us, without ceasing, we do, in some part, discharge their other service. These things were done in Winchester, in the church of St. Peter, in the year of our Lord's incarnation 855, the third indiction, or the nones of November, before the great altar, in honour of the glorious virgin Mary the mother of God, St. Michael the arch-angel, and St. Peter prince of the apostles, as also of our blessed father pope Gregory; all the archbishops and bishops of England being present and subscribing to it, as also Beorhed king of Mercia, together with the abbots, abbesses, earls, and other chief men of the whole kingdom, with an infinite multitude of other believers; who all of them have witnessed and consented to the royal grant, but the dignitaries have thereunto subscribed their names."

(2) It is but fair to give the reader all the material lights that occur with regard to this important transaction; but it must be owned, that it is represented by our historians in very different terms. Ingulphus and Florence place it in 855, Malmesbury in 844, and Westminster in 854. But there is certainly a mistake in Malmesbury; for the year 844 neither agrees with the fourth indication, nor was Leo the fourth whom Ethelwulf went to visit at Rome, then raised to the papedom. We are likewise to observe, that there is a variation between Florence and Ingulphus, since the former mentions this donation to have been made before Ethelwulf went to Rome, and the latter says it was made after. Add to this, that the three copies, as we have them in Malmesbury, Florence and Ingulphus, are all of them different from one another. — Some people, says Mr. Collier from Sir Henry Spelman, finding they cannot weaken the authority of the instrument, endeavour to cramp it in the extent: they object, that Ethelwulf was only king of the West-Saxons, and not monarch of England, as appears by the title of the grant. This law therefore, it is pretended, could not oblige any farther than Cornwall, Devonshire, Somersetshire, Dorsetshire, Hantsire, Wiltshire, and Berksire; these comprehending the whole of the West-Saxon dominions. To this it may be answered, that he is stiled king of the West-Saxons by way of eminence, not exclusively; being, it is probable, best pleased with this title, upon the score of its having been his father Egbert's hereditary kingdom, in contra-distinction to those principalities conquered by him. Thus Egbert contented himself with this title, after he had conquered the heptarchy; annexed the kingdoms of Kent, the East, South-Saxons, and Northumbrians, to his West-Saxon dominions; and reduced the Mercians and the East-Angles to tribute and submission (not to mention his acquisitions in South-Wales) inasmuch that Huntingdon makes no scruple of calling him monarch of Britain. So that, by the language of those times, the king of the West-Saxons is equivalent to the king of England. And if there was any difficulty in this matter, it might be removed by observing, that Beorhed king of Mercia, and Edmund king of the East-Angles, the only remaining princes which were allowed the royal title under king Ethelwulf, signed this charter. There is another little objection in

nence, even while he was in possession of the property or superiority of all the rest of England. It was therefore a prodigious donation; and what makes it still more remarkable is, that we find it signed by the tributary kings of Mercia and East-Anglia. As to the extent of the donation itself, the best explanation that can be given the reader, is from the learned Mr. Selden, who looks upon the granting of the tenth part of hides, or plow-lands, to denote the tenth of all profits growing in them. "Thus, continues he, *decima acra sunt aratrum peragrabet, imports the tything of the profits in the laws of king Edgar, Ethelred, and Canute. And, doubtless, Ingulphus understood it no otherwise than of perpetual right of tythes given to the church, where he remembers it by Tunc primo cum decimis omnium terrarum, &c. So that the tythe of predeal, or mixt profits, was given it seems perpetually by the king, with the consent of his states, both secular and ecclesiastical; and the tythe of every man's possessions was at that time included in the gift. It is likewise granted by this learned lawyer, that the privilege or liberty annexed to this charter of tythe included an exemption not only from all common taxes and exactions used then in the state, but particularly from that burden and service to which all other lands of the freest tenure were subject, that is, from military service, pontage, and castle-guard. By this freedom every man was, from thenceforth, to be valued in all subsidies and taxes according only to the nine parts of his lands and profits; and the profits of the tenth being due to the church, were both in his and their hands hereby discharged from all payments and taxes whatsoever."*

Mr. Selden's opinion of this grant.

A great council held at Winchester,

where the same grant again passes.

Thus this gift was of a prodigious extent. Our historians acquaint us, that in the year 855, a great council was held at Winchester, at which were present Ethelwulf, and the two kings already mentioned, together with the two archbishops, with all the other prelates and nobles in England. It was here this famous donation passed for the last time; though it is possible that it had been granted and published in several forms before: and to give it still a more solemn air, it was publicly offered upon the high altar of St. Peter the apostle, by Ethelwulf himself, from whence it was transcribed, and sent down through all the parishes in England. But I must not forget here what the learned Sir Henry Spelman observes, in his notes upon this grant, when speaking of the great variety and difference of its readings, he

says, that the old English monks were very unfaithful in transcribing charters and other royal deeds. Sometimes, says he, they translated them paraphrastically and loosely, and at other times they abridged them, or jumped from one expression to another.

Sir Henry Spelman's observation upon monkish transcripts.

The Danish ravages, which are so pathetically described by Ingulphus and our other historians, for some time put a stop to all ecclesiastical authority; for we meet with no English councils for a long time after this at Winchester. It was Alfred the Great who recovered the lustre of the English church, with that of the state. I have already taken notice of the civil institutions of this excellent prince, it now remains to acquaint the reader with the most material of his ecclesiastical ones. They probably were made about the year 877, or 878, till which time, from his succession, he had been ever engaged in wars with the Danes. It is remarkable, that the first ten of those laws are no other than a kind of transcript of the decalogue, only the second commandment is omitted. Lambert informs us, that this omission was not occasioned either by his or any other transcriber's inaccuracy; but because the degeneracy of worship at that time was such, that image-worship had gained greatly ever since the year 794. However, though the material part of this commandment is omitted where it ought to stand, yet something like it is inserted in the last or the tenth law, in the following words: "Make thou not gods of gold and silver." After these ten laws, there follows a kind of a preface, which seems to have been entirely the effect of Alfred's great deference for the judicial law of Moses; for we here find a kind of recapitulation of the principal heads of Moses's judicial laws, which, for the curiosity of the thing, I shall here insert.

Alfred restores the English church to her lustre.

His ecclesiastical ordinances.

His regard for the laws of Moses.

XI. "These are the dooms which thou shalt appoint them: If thou buy a Christian servant, let him serve thee six years; the seventh year let him be free, without pay. With such cloaths as he came in, with such let him go out." And so on, as in the Latin vulgar translation of Exodus xxi. 1, 6. only instead of, "his mother shall bring him to the judges," (diis in the Latin) Alfred says, "he shall bring him to the door of the temple," ver. 6. And in the same verse, to "my wife and children," he adds, "my goods."

His laws founded upon them.

Johnson's canons.

XII. Is Exod. xxi. 7, 11. Omitting the first and last clause of verse 8, the last clause of the 9th, the first of the 10th verse, "and free and without money," ver. 11.

Sir Henry Spelman, against the extent of this grant, and that is, There are none but the bishops, clergy, and monks of the West-Saxons, that make a solemn acknowledgment of this great favour, by ordering psalms and masses to be said every Wednesday, for the soul of Ethelwulf, and the other great men who consented to the grant. But this objection, as this learned antiquary observes, has little weight in it: for, not to insist, in the first place, that this singing of psalms, &c. is unmentioned by Ingulphus, it is sufficient to say, in the second place, that Ethelwulf was the West-Saxons natural prince; and, as some authors assert, was both a monk and a bishop at Winchester. It is no such wonder, therefore, to find the West-Saxon church more forward in their returns, and more particularly concerned for the honour of their prince's memory, than the rest of the country. Sir Henry Spelman seems to be somewhat at a loss about the meaning and benefit of this charter. The reason of this doubt, I suppose, is, because the king is said to grant the church the tythe of every hide, or the tenth part of the land. These words, it is likely he imagined, could not comprehend tythes in the modern notion and settlement; and therefore he seems to think it not improbable, that the parsonage-houses and glebe-lands might be settled by this grant. If this conjecture will hold, it is plain the church has lost a great part of the benefit of Ethelwulf's charter; for now the glebes are much short of the tenth part of the lands of the parish.

- XIII. Is Exod. xxi. 12, 14.
 XIV. Is Exod. xxi. 15.
 XV. Is Exod. xxi. 16, 17.
 XVI. Is Exod. xxi. 18, 19.
 XVII. Is Exod. xxi. And adds, "If he die the first day, then let guilt rest upon him."
 XVIII. Is Exod. xxi. 22, 23. Omitting "as the woman's husband will lay upon him."
 XIX. Is Exod. xxi. 24, 25.
 XX. Is Exod. xxi. 26.
 XXI. Is Exod. xxi. 28, 32. For thirty shekels, king Alfred has thirty shillings.
 XXII. Is Exod. xxi. 33, 34.
 XXIII. Is Exod. xxi. 35, 36.
 XXIV. Is Exod. xxii. 1. Only instead of five oxen, king Alfred says two oxen. And adds, "If he have none to give, let himself be sold for that price."
 XXV. Is Exod. xxii. 2, 4.
 XXVI. Is Exod. xxii. 5. But thus varied: "If one do any the least damage to the vineyard or field of another, let him make satisfaction according as men shall value it."
 XXVII. Is Exod. xxii. 6. Abridged.
 XXVIII. Is Exod. xxii. 7, 12. Thus varied: "If one deposite goods with his friend, and he himself make away with them, let him make two-fold satisfaction. If he knew not who stole them, let him purge himself that he hath used no deceit. If it were living stock, and he say that the Danish army took it, or that it died of itself, and he have witness of it, then he ought not to make satisfaction; if he have no witness, and cannot prove it, let him take his oath of it."
 XXIX. Is Exod. xxii. 16, 17.
 XXX. Is Exod. xxii. 18. Paraphrased.
 XXXI. Is Exod. xxii. 19.
 XXXII. Is Exod. xxii. 20.
 XXXIII. Is Exod. xxii. 21.
 XXXIV. Is Exod. xxii. 22, 24.
 XXXV. Is Exod. xxii. 25.
 XXXVI. Is Exod. xxii. 26, 27.
 XXXVII. Is Exod. xxii. 28.
 XXXVIII. Is Exod. xxii. 29. According to the vulgar.
 XXXIX. Is Exod. xxii. 31. Omitting the first clause.
 XL. Is Exod. xxiii. 1. } Paraphrased.
 XLI. Is Exod. xxiii. 2. }
 XLII. Is Exod. xxiii. 4.
 XLIII. Is Exod. xxiii. 3. Paraphrased.
 XLIV. Is "Always avoid lying."
 XLV. Is, "Never put to death the upright and innocent."
 XLVI. Is, "Take no bribes; for they full oft blind the judgment of the wise, and pervert their words."
 XLVII. Is, "Allow not of any unkind-

ness towards foreigners and strangers, nor molest them with injurious dealings."
 XLVIII. Is, "Swear not by the heaven then gods, and nothing; neither call upon them."

XLIX. Contains a kind of a recapitulation of the gospel dispensation; and then the text proceeds in this manner:

"Afterwards it came to pass, that many received the faith of Christ; then were many synods of holy bishops, and other famous wise men, through the whole earth; and also among the English, after they had received the faith of Christ. Then they, out of that tenderness which Christ taught toward the greatest crimes whatsoever, decreed, That secular lords might, with their leave, take pecuniary mulcts at their appointment (with a reserve to the sin itself and the principal guilt) excepting for treason against their lord. Toward that they durst not shew any tenderness, because God had decreed none to such as despised him; nor did Jesus Christ, the son of God, decree any toward him, who betrayed him to death; and he has commanded us to love one's master as one's self. These men, in many synods, have settled the satisfactions due for many human crimes; and they have, in many synodical books, commanded to be set down in what case there shall be one doom, and what another.
 "Then I Alfred the king made a collection of them, and commanded many of them, which our predecessors had observed, and which I approved, to be transcribed; and those which I approved not, altered, with the advice of my counsellors, and commanded them to be observed in another manner; for I durst not presume to set down in writing very many of my own, because I knew not what would please them that were to be after us. What I found in the days of Ina my kinsman, or of Offa king of the Mercians, or of Ethelbert, who first of the English nation received baptism, which seemed to me most righteous, I have here collected, and passed over the rest. Then I Alfred, king of the West Saxons, shewed them to my counsellors, and they declared, that they approved the observance of all of them."

Then follow the laws of which I have given the substance in the civil history of Alfred, and to which I refer the reader. Though the ignorance which prevailed all over England, through the ravages of the Danes, during one part of Alfred's reign, was such, that he himself (1) informs us, that there was not to be found, on the south-

(1) We shall, to satisfy the curiosity of our readers, give them at large a curious epistle, wrote by Alfred himself, by way of preface to his translation of Gregory's pastoral, directed to Wulfsig, bishop of London. "Alfred king, wisheth greeting to Wulfsig bishop, his beloved and friend-like, and thee to know I wish, that to me it cometh very often in mind, what manner of wise men, long ago, were throughout the English nation, both of the spiritual degree and of the temporal; and how happy the times then were among all the English; and how the kings, which then the government had of the people, God and his written will obeyed: how well they behaved themselves, both in war and peace; and, in their home government, how their nobleness was spread abroad; and how they prospered in knowledge and in wisdom. Also the divine orders, how earnest they were, as well about preaching as about learning, and about all the services that they should do to God; and how men from abroad, wisdom and doctrine here in this land sought; and how we the same

South-side of the Thames, a man who could translate a Latin epistle, or understand the English of the Latin service; yet the excellent Alfred found means to repair this defect. Several men of learning flourished under him, amidst a general dearth of learning over all Europe besides. It is but justice to the memory of this great prince, and to the nature of this undertaking, that some account should be given of those eminent men, who were most instrumental in preserving and reviving knowledge in England during this dark age.

Account of
Joannes Scotus,

The first was Joannes Scotus Erigena, by birth an Irish Scot, but of foreign education. He had studied the languages and the arts in Athens, and other eastern countries, where he made himself master of the Greek, Chaldee, and Arabic, all of them acquirements uncommon to those days. He then returned to France through Italy, where he was greatly caressed by the emperor Charles the Bald, who indulged him in a high degree of familiarity. The fame of his learning reaching England, he was invited over by Alfred, and had the honour to instruct that prince in several of the liberal arts. He afterwards taught publicly in the monastery of Malmesbury, where he was murdered by his scholars with their pen-knives; but upon what occasion is uncertain. Scotus was eminent for opposing the doctrine of transubstantiation against Paschasius, who maintained the body of Christ, in the eucharist, to be the same that was born of the blessed Virgin. Though this dispute made a great noise in the world at that time, and though Scotus became thereby very obnoxious to the court of Rome; yet he met with great favours and encouragement from Alfred, which makes it highly probable, that transubstantiation was at that time no part of the established faith of the English church.

The next foreigner we are to mention on

this occasion, was one Grimbald, for whom and of Grimbald. Alfred conceived a very early affection. He grew acquainted with him in his journey to Rome, and entertained him so handsomely, that when Alfred came to the crown, he invited him into England, and made him abbot of Winchester. Grimbald seems to have been a very learned man, particularly skilful in music, and well seen in the oeconomy of the church. It appears that he likewise served in the capacity of a public orator, since we find, in Harpsfield's history, the heads of a speech made by him before Alfred and archbishop Edred, in a synod at London, not taken notice of by Sir Henry Spelman.

The monks, during the Danish devastations, had been wholly exterminated in England; and, notwithstanding the abuses of the order, they were in many respects useful. Alfred, therefore, took care to procure a new supply of that profession, both from foreign parts, and the remote corners of Britain. The first abbot of his new abbey in Athelney, was from old Saxony; and most of the monks, who were deacons or priests, were foreigners. Two other monks are particularly taken notice of upon this occasion; they were British, and had, through fear of the Danes, chosen so obscure a retreat in Wales, that they were with difficulty found out. Alfred, however, directed by the fame of their humble piety, discovered them; and esteeming them as two jewels, the more valuable through the difficulty to come at them, with much ado persuaded them to leave their cells and come to court.

Decay of the
monkish order
in Britain.

The name of the one was Affer, surnamed, from the monastery of St. David's, Menevensis; but such was his affection to his former abode, that all the caresses of Alfred could not prevail with him to make the court of England his constant residence: for he lived one half of the year with the king,

Account of
Affer Mene-
vensis,

"now must get abroad, if we would have them. So clean has learning fallen among the English nation, as that there have been very few on this side Humber that were able to understand the English of their service, or turn an epistle from Latin into English; and I wot there were not many beyond Humber that could do it. There were so few, as that I cannot bethink me of one on the south-side of the Thames, when I first came to reign. God Almighty be thanked, that we have ever a teacher in pulpit now. Therefore I pray thee, that thou do (as also I believe thou wilt) that thou that wisdom that God has given thee, bestow all about on them thou canst bestow it; think what punishment shall for this world befall us, when as neither we ourselves have loved wisdom, nor left it to others; we only loved the names that we were Christians, and very few of us the duties. When I minded all this, methought also that I saw, before all was spoiled and burnt, how all the churches throughout the English nation stood filled with books and ornaments, and a great multitude of God's servants; and at that time they wist very little fruit of their books, because they could understand nothing of them, for that they were not written in their own language. So they told us, that our ancestors, that before us held those places, loved wisdom, and through the same got wealth, and left it us. A man may here yet see their swath; but we cannot enquire after it, because we have let go both wealth and wisdom; for that we would not stoop with our minds to the seeking of it. When I thought of all this, then wondered I greatly that their godly wise men, that were every where throughout the English nation, and had fully learned all those books, would turn no part of them into their own language: but I then again quickly answered myself, and said, they weened not that men ever should become so reckless, nor that this learning would so decay; therefore they willingly let it alone, and wot that here would be the more wisdom in the land, the more languages that we understood. Then I called to mind how that the law was first found written in the Hebrew speech, and after that the Greeks had learned it; then turned they it into their own speech wholly, and also all other books. And then the Latin people, a little after they had learned it, they translated all, through wise interpreters, into their own language; and all other Christian people also have turned some part thereof into their own tongue. Therefore, me thinketh it better, if you so think, that we also, some books that be deemed most needful for all men to understand, into that language turn; that we all know, and that we bring to pass (as we easily may, with God's help, if we have quietness) that all the youth of free-born Englishmen (such as have wealth, that they may maintain them) be committed to learning, that, while they no other note can, they first learn well to read English writing; afterward let men farther teach, in the Latin tongue, those that they will further teach and have to a higher degree. When I minded how this learning of the Latin tongue, heretofore, was fallen through the English nation, though many could skill to read English writing, then began I, among diverse and manifold businesses of this kingdom, to turn into English this book, (which in Latin is named *Pastoralis*, and in English the *Herd-man's Book*) sometime word for word, sometime understanding for understanding, even as I learned them of Plegmond my archbishop, of Affer my bishop, and Grimbald my mass-priest, and John my mass-priest. After that I had learned of them how I might best understand them, I turned them into English, and will send one to each bishop's see in my kingdom; and upon each there is a stile, that is, of fifty marks. And I command, on God's name, that no man the stile from the books, nor the books from the minister, take; seeing we know not how long there shall be so learned bishops as now, God be thanked, every where there are. Therefore I would they should always remain in their places, except the bishop will have them with him, or that they be lent some whither, until that some other be written out."

and the other at his own house. Alfred, who was a great judge of merit, was so fond of this Asser, that he made him bishop of Sherborn; and, with many other benefactions, bestowed upon him Amesbury, Banwell, and Exeter. But the reader is not to confound this Asserius with the author of part of Alfred's life, who was uncle to the other, and archbishop of St. David's.

of John the monk,

The other monk of St. David's is known by the name of John the monk: he is probably the same who, in the preface to Gregory's pastoral, is termed, by Alfred, John his mass-priest; and to whom he was obliged, as he owns there, for the instruction that enabled him to understand and translate that pastoral.

of Wenefrid bishop of Worcester,

But, according to Leland and Capgrave, the most learned man of Alfred's court was Wenefrid bishop of Worcester, under Burhed king of Mercia. This prelate being, by the Danes, driven from Mercia, was obliged to fly beyond seas, till brought back to England by Alfred. He was employed by the king to translate Gregory's dialogues; and such was the veneration the public had for him during his life, that after his death he was honoured with the title of saint.

of Plegmond archbishop of Canterbury, of Dunwulph bishop of Winchester,

Plegmond, who was afterwards archbishop of Canterbury, was another learned person of Alfred's court; as was Dunwulph bishop of Winchester; and both of them were very instrumental in restoring the decayed state of learning in this country. But we must not forget that there is something very particular told us of the latter; for he is said to have been the cow-herd, at whose house Alfred was concealed in his distress: the king, however, upon attention, found in him a genius suited for higher matters, and brought him to be a shepherd of a higher order. His acquaintance with Dunwulph raised his esteem, till at last, according to some authors, he became bishop of Winchester, after being created doctor of divinity at Oxford; though both those facts are contradicted by others. Wulfsig and Ethelstan, bishops of London, Werebert bishop of Chester, and Wereolf a priest, a very devout man, and several others, were men of great piety and learning for those days.

and of several other learned men.

History of St. Neot.

But Neotus, or St. Neot, surpassed them all, in the authority of his example and the fame of his piety, which eclipsed his learning; though in that too he was eminent. He was an abbot, and had a great ascendancy over the king, to which he was in some measure entitled, by being descended from the blood royal of the East-Angles, and cousin, some say brother, to Alfred. We are told of several remarkable freedoms he

used in reproving that king for the follies of his youth; and it was in a great measure owing to him, that Alfred continued so unstained by personal vices. On his death, his reputation of zeal for the honour of religion was such, that being buried in St. Guerir's church in Gainsbury in Cornwall, he supplanted that old Cornish saint in the name of the place, which, with a religious house, was dedicated to him, and called, after him, Neotstow (1). Many subsequent honours were done to his memory.

Such were the instruments which Alfred employed in his great work of reviving learning and piety in England; an attempt which no genius less than that of Alfred would have dared to think of. As to the success which attended his labours, and the profound ignorance which had overspread England, I refer my reader to Alfred's epistle in a preceding note.

I have, in the civil history, taken notice of the distinctions bestowed by Alfred upon Oxford. It falls into this division of my work to give a more particular account of his institutions there. Learned men, zealous of what can contribute neither to learning nor virtue, have run into many unhand-

Page 222. Alfred's munificence to Oxford.

some altercations, in their enquiries about the original of this seat of the muses. It is on all hands agreed, that its foundation, as a university, was not later than the days of Alfred; and the greatest enemies to its antiquity have fixed upon the same glorious prince as its founder. If we candidly examine what has been offered on both sides of this question, neither party can be vindicated.

The advocates for the antiquity of Oxford have carried it to a ridiculous and extravagant height; while their opponents have been reduced to deny what is very strongly

Enquiry into its antiquity.

implied by good authorities, and to attack the veracity of an antiquary, not more distinguished for industry and sagacity, than for probity and moderation. The truth seems to have been, that there was a kind of school either at this place, or (2) near it, before the days of Alfred; but that the resort to it was as conveniency or accident directed. That they had no settled regulations for their study; that they were under no civil protection, is, I think extremely clear: and the same motives which might have induced learned men to have studied here before the time of Alfred, might have prevailed with that prince to erect it into a public school. Be this at it will, Alfred here built three colleges, one for grammarians, one for philosophers, and a third for divines. The first was founded at the east-

[Camden.]

end of High-street, according to John

Its original institution.

(1) Afterwards (for that it seems this was not thought honour enough) the palace of earl Alric, in Huntingdonshire, was converted into a monastery, and dedicated to his honour; whither his body being translated, it gave the name to the town, which at this day is called St. Neot's. And yet again, in the year 1213, Henry, then abbot of Croyland, thinking his abbey a fitter shrine for so great a saint, in the fifteenth year of king John, took up his bones from St. Neot's, and bestowed them in Croyland minster: so highly has he generally been esteemed. He is, by Bale, called Neotus Adulphius; and by Speed, the reputed son of Athelwulf, or Adulph. But Asser calleth him the kinsman, not the brother, of Alfred. He was the first stay of the king's youth, while he yet was not so attent to counsel as afterwards. At last prevailing, he put the king upon many good ways, and was highly honoured by him after his death. He is said to have died in the year 883.

(2) There is a manuscript, from a piece of John Rowse's book de Academiis, in a collect of Mr. Leland's, given to the Bodleian library by Dr. Plot (inter Codd. N E. F. 11. f. 18. b. f. 28. b.) concerning the old Bellositum, or Beaumont, being placed somewhat more north than the university is at present: Quæ universitas Oxoniæ quondam (says he, having before discoursed of its restoration by king Elfred) erat extra portam borealem ejusdem urbis, et erat principalis ecclesiæ totius cleri ecclesia sancti Egidii extra eandem portam.

Rowse (1) of Warwick, endowed with competent salaries for twenty-six grammarians, and called Little-university-hall; the second in School-street, for the maintenance of twenty-six students in logic and philosophy, and called the Less-university-hall; and the third in High-street, near to the first, but higher to the west, with endowment for twenty-six divines, and called Great-university-hall, now University-college. The annals of the monastery of Winchester give us a more particular account of this matter; they tell us, the first regents there, and readers in divinity, were St. Neot, an abbot, and eminent professor of theology; and St. Grimbald, an eloquent and most excellent interpreter of the holy scriptures. Grammar and rhetoric were taught by Asserius a monk, a man of extraordinary learning. Logic, music, and arithmetic were read by John, monk of St. David's. Geometry and astronomy were professed by John, a monk and colleague of St. Grimbald, a man of a sharp wit and immense knowledge. These lectures, continues the same register, were often honoured with the presence of the most illustrious and invincible monarch, king Alfred, whose memory, to every judicious taste, shall be always sweeter than honey.

But it appears, as I have already taken notice, that this society of learned men, who had studied here before this institution, looked upon the interposition of the civil power as a kind of encroachment upon the literary ease they enjoyed. This appears from a famous, though controverted, passage, quoted by Camden from Asserius, concerning the authority of which the reader may consult the notes (2). "Soon after, says that author, there arose a sharp and grievous dissention between Grimbald and those learned men whom he brought hither with him, and the old scholars whom he found here at his coming; for these

"absolutely refused to comply with the
"statutes, institutions, and forms of reading prescribed by Grimbald. The difference proceeded to no great height, for the space of three years; yet there was always a private grudge and enmity between them, which soon after broke out with the greatest violence imaginable. To appease these tumults, the most invincible king Alfred, being informed of the faction by a message and complaint from Grimbald, came to Oxford with design to accommodate matters, and submitted to a great deal of pains and patience to hear the cause and complaint of both parties. The controversy depended upon this: the old scholars maintained, that before the coming of Grimbald to Oxford, learning did here flourish; though the students were then less in number than they had formerly been, by reason that very many of them had been expelled by the cruel tyranny of Pagans. They further declared, and proved, and this by the undoubted testimony of their ancient annals, that good orders and constitutions for the government of that place had been made before, by men of great piety and learning, such as Gildas, Melkin, Nennius, Kentigern, and others, who had there prosecuted their studies even to old age, and managed all things happily with peace and quiet. And that St. German coming to Oxford, and residing there half a year, what time he went through all England, to preach down the Pelagian heresy, did exceedingly approve of their rules and orders. The king, with incredible humility, and great attention, heard out both parties; earnestly exhorting them, with pious and healing intreaties, to preserve love and amity with one another. Upon this he left them, in hopes that both parties would follow his advice,

A famous, but controverted, passage of Asserius.

(1) John Rowse, or Roffe, says archbishop Nicolson, was a man of tolerable parts, and singular industry. He was born at Warwick, and bred at Oxford. He travelled over the greatest part of England, and having made large collections out of the libraries where he came, relating to the history and antiquities of this kingdom, he at last retired to Guy's cliff, about a mile from Warwick, on the banks of Avon, where he spent the remainder of his life, and died A. D. 1491. His history of our kings is still extant, wherein are many collections, illustrating the antiquities of our universities. Hereupon he is frequently quoted by our Oxford antiquary, who, nevertheless, will not allow that his judgment equalled his pains.

(2) As I take this passage fairly to be the most positive evidence of the antiquity of Oxford, as a school of learning, I shall only observe here, that it does by no means favour the pretences of that university to any establishment upon the footing of an university, before the days of Alfred. But if the credit of the passage can be supported against Sir John Spelman, I think it very clearly proves Oxford to have been a considerable seminary of learning long before that time. To do this, it must be proved, that the MS. made use of by Mr. Camden, had authority; and that he found, and fairly transcribed, this passage from that MS. Let us now hear what has been urged by the favourers of Oxford, and Mr. Camden, upon this head.—That Mr. Camden, say they, ought not to be suspected of unfaithfulness in his edition of Asser, will appear to any one who does but reflect upon the universal character he has established in the world, of being not only a profound scholar, but a very honest and religious man. But however, Mr. Twyne, being not thoroughly satisfied with this, in the year 1622, took a journey on purpose to London, to discourse with Mr. Camden about this particular; who, after several things had passed between them, at last protested to him, that he had not varied at all from the MS. which he appealed to, being then in the hands of Mr. Henry Saville of Bank, near Hallifax in Yorkshire, and which he guessed was written in the reign of Richard II. Mr. Twyne put down the whole story in writing, which may be seen among his papers in Corpus Christi college library in Oxford. Now, though archbishop Parker affirmed his MS. (which was not in Bennet college library, as Sir John asserts, I suppose, from the preface of the archbishop to Asser; but either in the lord Lumley's or Sir Robert Cotton's) to be much more ancient than this, yet there are some circumstances which shew, that it was written much about the same age; especially the verses in it composed by Henry of Huntingdon, who flourished after the year 1150; and the conclusion, which gives an account of Asser. And as we have no reason to suspect Mr. Camden's honesty upon this account, so it is certain, that the vault mentioned in the clause is now to be seen in St. Peter's church in the east, Oxford. And there is a passage in William of Malmesbury, which agrees exactly with this; that there was an university, before the time of king Alfred, at Oxford; and that he called Grimbald over to assist him in the restoring of it. *Monasterium, ubi Grimbaldum abbatem constituit; qui, se evocante, et archiepiscopo Rhemenfi fulcone mittente, Angliam venerat; cognitus, quod se puerum olim (ut ferunt) Romam euntem benigno hospitio confoverat. Causa evocationis, ut literaturæ studium in Anglia populum, et pene emortuum, sua suscitaret industria. Whereby the word studium must be understood an university, the name of universitas, for a general study, being not used till some time after. As to the incoherence in chronology, which our author takes notice of, I have already observed, that the monks were bad chronologers; to which I shall add nothing more, only that Asser is guilty in some places of the like inconsistency, which nevertheless are not called in question by any that we know of.*

" and

“ and obey his instructions. But Grimbald,
 “ resenting these proceedings, retired imme-
 “ diately to the monastery at Winchester,
 “ which king Alfred had lately founded ;
 “ and soon after he got his tomb to be re-
 “ moved thither to him, in which he had
 “ designed his bones should be put, after
 “ his decease. This was in a vault under
 “ the chancel of the church of St. Peter in
 “ Oxford ; which church the said Grim-
 “ bald had raised from the ground, of stones
 “ hewn and carved with great art and
 “ beauty.”

Alfred's o-
 ther bene-
 factions.

We shall now review the other benefac-
 tions of this great king to the church. He
 built two monasteries, one at Athelney, the
 place of his retreat, in Somersetshire ; the
 other at Winchester ; which were after-
 wards, with almost all the monasteries and
 religious houses in England, filled with mar-
 ried clergy. The religious and learned per-
 sons whom he brought from abroad were
 found too few in number to people those
 foundations ; therefore Alfred, to make up
 the full compliment, put into his monaste-
 ries a number of children, who were there
 educated, with a view of their taking the
 profession when grown up. Alfred likewise
 founded and endowed a nunnery at Shaft-
 sbury, the nuns of which were all of them
 ladies of quality, and their abbess his own
 daughter. But notwithstanding Alfred was
 so great a benefactor to the monks, yet he
 was far from encouraging their inactive se-
 dentary manner of devotion, either in him-
 self or others. His religious duties were all
 of them so regularly performed, and so
 justly disposed, that they never broke into
 his civil affairs. His works of charity were
 great and eminent : for holding himself,
 says Sir John Spelman, fast unto the duty
 of his calling ; so that, for all the furious
 storms and troubles of the state, he never
 shrunk from the manage of it. He first
 (to correspond with the vow of monkish
 poverty) devotes to God one half of all his
 annual revenue, to be bestowed in works of
 piety : and because he would be sure not to
 fail the least scruple in performance, he
 caused his officers yearly to divide into two
 equal parts, by weight, the total of his an-
 nual income ; and that done, to sub-divide
 again one of these halves into four parts, for
 the better distribution of them in alms and
 charitable works, in the way that he had
 determined constantly to employ them.

His regularity
 in his religi-
 ous duties.

The first of the four parts he assigned
 to the relief of the poor in general ; the se-
 cond, to the support and maintenance of the
 two monasteries which he had built ; the
 third, to the maintenance of the schools
 which he founded ; and the fourth and last
 parts, to the general relief of all the mo-
 nasteries and religious houses in England,
 and, as occasion served, beyond sea too.

His inde-
 pendence up-
 on the church
 and court of
 Rome.

Thus Alfred was at once the father of
 the church and the state ; but without de-
 generating into the meannesses too common
 with his ancestors, especially with regard to
 the church and court of Rome. It is true
 he kept up a very good correspondence with

the pope ; and several times remitted to
 Rome, by the hands of his bishops and
 nobles, the present of Peter's pence : in re-
 turn of which, pope Marinus sent him part
 of our Saviour's cross, and freed the Eng-
 lish school at Rome from the payment of
 taxes. But then we meet with none of the
 insolent intermeddling of that court during
 his reign, in matters belonging either to the
 church or state of England. We do not
 find, that the pope pretended in the least
 to dictate with regard to the methods which
 Alfred took to propagate religion and piety
 in his dominions. We hear of no legates
 sent from Rome into England, nor of any
 bulls of privileges asked or granted for the
 two monasteries Alfred erected. We shall
 conclude what we have to say, with regard
 to this great prince, by informing the reader,
 that Alfred sometimes has had the title of
 saint given him, and that he is mentioned
 in a calendar of the English martyrology,
 and in two Saxon calendars ; the day of his
 death being registered upon the six and
 twentieth day of October.

As Edward, the son and successor of Al-
 fred, was unequal to his father in abilities ;
 so we are told, by Malmesbury, that in the
 year 904, pope Formosus sent into England
 a bull of excommunication, which put the
 king and all his subjects under an ecclesi-
 astical interdict. The reason assigned for
 this, is the long vacancy of several of the
 bishop's sees in West Saxony. The same
 author tells us, that this censure of the pope's
 was communicated to the king in a conven-
 tion of his states, by Plegmond, who was
 then archbishop of Canterbury. The result
 of their deliberation was a resolution not only
 immediately to fill up the vacant bishop-
 rics, but to erect three new sees in Wessex.
 Plegmond, upon this, set out for Rome,
 where he had the address to soften the pope,
 both by his submissive behaviour, and some
 noble presents. He then returned to Eng-
 land, with the approbation of his holiness,
 and consecrated bishops into the vacant and
 new-erected sees. The register of the priory
 of Canterbury taking notice of this circum-
 stance, makes mention of a particular ex-
 emption of the Cornish-men. The reason
 there given is, because they had resisted the
 truth as far as they were able, and had
 proved refractory to the pope's authority.
 By this it appears, that the British churches
 were not yet thoroughly reconciled to the
 church of Rome, Cornwall being then, and
 till very lately, inhabited by the old Britons.

Pope Formo-
 sus excommu-
 nicates the
 English.

And for what
 reason.

That such an interdict, or menace of it,
 was sent over, is pretty certain ; but, as Sir
 Henry Spelman rightly observes, there are
 inextricable difficulties with regard to the
 chronology, as marked by Malmesbury and
 our other historians : for they fix the bull
 upon pope Formosus, who died about the
 year 895, almost six years before the ac-
 cession of Edward the Elder, in whose time
 this interdict is said to have happened. The
 substitution of Alfred instead of Edward,
 instead of solving, renders the difficulty the
 greater : for it is certain, that he never was
 taxed

Difficulties re-
 lating thereon.

taxed on that account. Various are the labours of the Romish annalists and apologists, to reconcile this incident to their favourite purpose, of proving the papal authority in England at this time. Baronius supposes a wrong reading, occasioned by the ignorance of the transcriber, through the similarity of words, and puts 894 for 904; but this is attended with the difficulty I have just mentioned, as it falls into the reign of Alfred. Another Romanist, from a hint dropped by Sir Henry Spelman, makes the date of the bull to be 894; but thinks, that it was directed only to the English bishops, without any mention of the king. In this he is countenanced by the words of the bull of reconciliation, brought from Rome by Plegmond, which is addressed solely to all the bishops of England. But the most natural way to account for the whole is, by suffering the date to stand as we find it in Malmesbury, and assigning the bull to another pope: Sir Henry Spelman says, to pope Leo V; but I rather think, to Sergius III, who came to the popedom before the time there mentioned, and lived several years thereafter.

M. Cressly.

Names of the new prelates.

It is proper, in this place, to mention the names of the prelates consecrated upon that occasion, which were as follow: Fridstan bishop of Winchester, Werestan of Sherborn, Kenulph of Dorchester, Beornock of Selsey, Athelm of Wells, Eadulph of Crediton, and Athelstan of Padstow in Cornwall. The three last were newly-erected sees; and that in Cornwall, probably, was to satisfy the court of Rome, by erecting a bishopric of her own in a country which was refractory to her authority. But after all, those consecrations could not have taken place at the time of Malmesbury's date of the bull, or that af-

signed by the register of Canterbury; because we are certain, that, from the year 879 to the year 909, Denewulphus was bishop of Winchester, and that Afferius continued bishop of Sherborn till that same year. We must therefore conclude, that the synod mentioned to have met in the year 904 or 905, did no more than come to a resolution of erecting two new sees out of those of Winchester and Sherborn; but unwilling to dismember those sees during the lives of their then incumbents, they postponed all consecrations of that kind till the year 909, when the bishops of Winchester and Sherborn died: and two vacancies happening at the same time, the one in Mercia and the other in Suffex, the consecrations were then performed. This opinion likewise agrees with Ralph Dueto, who fixes them as performed in the year 909.

I have, in the civil history of Edward the Elder, mentioned the erection of Cambridge, by him, into an university. I have in the (1) notes set down some reasons, from the industrious Mr. Herne's collections, why that university, as such, has not a just pretence to the high antiquity some of her admirers claim in her behalf.

Athelm bishop of Wells, succeeded Plegmond archbishop of Canterbury, who died in 923; and in the year 925 he crowned Athelstan, at Kingston upon Thames. In the reign of this prince was held the synod of Greatley, but in what year is uncertain; though Sir Henry Spelman reasonably supposes it to have been about the year 928. I have already, in the notes upon the civil history of this prince, given the most material of the political constitutions passed in this assembly. What remains, is to mark

The foundation of Cambridge university.

Death of Plegmond.

The synod of Greatley.

(1) Sigebert, king of the East-Angles, was not the founder of that university, as the Cantabrigians assert; for which (notwithstanding they are favoured by G. J. Vossius, Ep. p. 15.) they have no other ground than what Bede delivers in his account of Sigebert, viz. Sigebertus, ea, quæ in Galliis bene disposita vidit, imitare cupiens, instituit scholam, in qua pueri literis erudirentur; juvante se episcopo felici, quem de Cantia acceperat, eisque pædagogos ac magistros juxta morem Cantuariorum, præbente. By which words, it is certain, we must understand no more than he built a grammar-school for boys; for, otherwise, he would have been far from imitating what he had seen in France, where, it is plain, there was no university at that time, from this passage of St. Jerom (Epist. ad Rusticum): Audio (saith he) religiosam te habere matrem multorum annorum viduam; quæ aluit, quæ erudit infantem; ac post studia Galliorum, quæ vel florentissima sunt, misit Romam, non parces sumptibus, et absentiam filii spe sustinens futurorum, ut ubertatem Gallici intoremque sermonis gravitas Romana condiret, &c. For if there had been then any university in France, why should Rusticus go to Rome to be instructed in academical learning? Is it at all likely that he would have undertaken a rough and tedious journey over the Alps, for obtaining that which he might, with so much ease, have received at home, if there had been any university in this country at that time? But there is no need of dwelling any longer upon this, since every one, who is but meanly skilled in the French history, very well knows, that the first university was founded in France, at the capital city of Paris, by Charles the Great, about the year 791. Yet, before I leave this point, I cannot but take notice, that this passage of Bede is clearly made out against the Cantabrigians, from some collections out of an ancient manuscript (de Episcopis Dunno) in the first volume of Mr. Leland's Coll. f. 475. a. in which we are told, that Felix the apostle, and bishop of the East-Angles, did, in the reign of Sigebert, set up schools for teaching letters (i. e. grammar) in convenient places (scholas literarum opportunis locis constituit) without the least mention of Cambridge. The word scholæ, there said to be fixed, not in one, but in several places, is a true explication of Bede; unless we will absurdly suppose, that Sigebert founded several universities. And some copies of Bede have scholas for scholam; see Mr. Selden's notes upon Drayton's Polyolbion, p. 191. I have consulted nine or ten MSS. of Bede, in the Bodleian library, but find no variation in that place; only in the margin of the MS. in Musæo, num. 47. there is put, Cantabrig. schola a Sigeberto fundata; but that was added by a very late hand, I think by some Cantabrigian, after the dispute about the antiquity of the universities began. And in MS. Hatton. 18. written about six hundred years ago, is this note, put by a hand of much the same age, viz. Sigebertus primus instituit scholas in quibus pueri eruderentur; which shews that it was the sense of that time, that we must understand Bede of grammar-schools. Secondly, as this place of Bede makes altogether against the Cantabrigians, so we have no authentic testimony of an university there till the year 1109 after Christ (10. Henry I.) when Jeffrid, abbot of Croyland, sent over to his manor of Cottenham (Pet. Blesensis continen. Hist. Ingulphi, in rer. Angl. scriptor. vol. i. Oxon. edit. p. 114.) nigh Cambridge, Gislebert his fellow monk, and professor of divinity, with three other monks who had followed him into England; who being thoroughly furnished with philosophical theorems, and other ancient sciences, repaired daily to Cambridge, and having hired a certain barn, made open profession of them, and in a short space drew together a company of scholars; but in the second year of their coming, their number grew so great, as well from out of the whole country as the town, that neither the biggest house, barn or church, was able to contain them: whereupon these monks, dividing themselves into several places, and taking the university of Orleans for their pattern, read to their scholars apart in several companies. This testimony (which however some absurdly interpret, of the restoring of it; see James's MS. Coll. vol. xviii. p. 84.) is so plain for the original of that university, from an unexceptionable author who lived at that time, that I wonder why the Cantabrigians should pretend to ascend higher; it being so very clear, that at the arrival of these monks there was no school for reception of scholars (not to insist upon the catalogue of their writers, which commenceth much about this time) unless we will allow that Bede and Alcuina were of this university; which we cannot do, when we know Mr. Wood has proved that they were of Oxford, from such authority as cannot be denied.

out, in this place, the principal ecclesiastical ordinances. And first, the introduction, which, because it is remarkable, I shall give its ordinances. my reader entire. " I Athelstan, king, by the advice of Wulfhelm my archbishop, and other my bishops, command all my reeves, in the name of the Lord and his saints, that they do, in the first place, give tythes of all my estate, both of the living stock, and of the fruits of the earth; and that all the bishops do the same, of all that belongs to them; as also my aldermen and reeves. And my will is, that my bishops, and aldermen, and reeves, give this in charge to all that are subject to them; and that they do it effectually by the time that we here fixed, that is, the beheading of St. John Baptist. I Athelstan, king, declare to all my reeves, with advice of archbishop, bishops, and servants of God, That it is my will that, for the forgiveness of my sins, ye always feed one poor Englishman, and give him, from two of my farms, every month, an amber of meal and a gammon of bacon, or one ram worth four-pence, and one shroud every year for the twelvemonth's wear; and that ye set at liberty some one that has for his crimes been condemned to slavery, for the mercies of Christ, and for my love with the testimony of the bishop in whose district it is: and if the reeve with-hold it, let him pay thirty shillings as a satisfaction; and let the money be distributed to the poor who dwell in the town where this omission was made, under the testimony of the bishop."

Remark of Collier.

Animadverted upon.

The remark of a certain priest upon this preamble, deserves animadversion. He says, " By it, it appears that the legislature, in civil matters, lay wholly in the king; and that the bishops, and other great men, were convened only for their advice, and not to give any force or authority to the law." But this remark is at once uncandid and absurd. 1. Uncandid, because the remarker disingenuously restricts the king's independent legislature to civil affairs; whereas the abstracts he gives us, with those given by Sir Henry Spelman, relate entirely to ecclesiastical matters: it would have been therefore more candid in this priest to have owned, that if any argument, drawn from this circumstance, could be brought in favour of the king's absolute legislature, it ought to lie for his supremacy in ecclesiastical matters. 2. The remark is absurd; for the remarker, the better to countenance his observation of the restriction to civil affairs, mentions along with the bishops, "other great men;" whereas no mention is made, in the original record, of any being advised with, excepting the archbishop and the bishops. For it is well worth observation, that though those two clauses are said to be preambles, yet they are, in effect, ecclesiastical precepts; the one confirming or enforcing what had been long before enacted, and the other relating to a private charity of Edward. Whereas the laws, to which they are said to be a preamble, run in a quite different strain,

and have no introduction, at least, none that has come to our hands; only mention is made in the end, that they were enacted at the great synod of Greatley, while the archbishop, with all the nobles, were present.

This observation is farther confirmed by the introduction, or preamble, to the acts of the council at Exeter, held after the synod of Greatley: for there we find the king enquiring, with his noblemen (sapientes) into the reasons why the constitutions of the synod of Greatley were infringed; they then tell him, he had suffered those abuses too long; and lastly, the king himself, as if he had acted but as the foreman of the inquest, finding out, along with his nobles, the means of remedying those abuses: Nunc inveni (says he) cum sapientibus. Therefore we may reasonably conclude, that if the kings of England, at that time, exercised any independent power in their legislative capacity, it was with regard to ecclesiastical matters; but that, in civil matters, they proceeded by the advice and direction of their states.

It may be of importance to this undertaking to inform the reader, that, as appears by the laws of Athelstan, the power of bishops extended, long before the conquest, to secular, as well as ecclesiastical, matters; and that they then enjoyed temporal privileges, equal to those of the greatest noblemen. As I know of no author in the Saxon history, where the duty of a bishop is so fully expressed as in those laws, I shall therefore set it down from them. " And it is necessary for all Christians, that they love right, and condemn wrong; and that they who are promoted to sacred orders, do always advance what is right, and depress what is wicked. Therefore bishops ought to be present with secular judges in their judicatures, that they may not, if possible, permit any sprouts of pravity to spring up. And it is fit that testamental servants work according to the bishops word, and the measures fixed by him, in the whole shire over which he presides.

" And it is right that one measuring-rod be not longer than another, but all adjusted to the bishops measure, and made even throughout his diocese. And let every weight be the same, according to his word; and if there be any dispute, let the bishop decide it."

Wulfhelm, archbishop of Canterbury, did not long survive Athelstan. He was succeeded by Odo bishop of Sherborn. This prelate was, by extraction, a Dane, born in East-Anglia. His parents, being Pagans, and of great eminence in their country, disinherited young Odo, because of his attachment to Christianity. The merit of his sufferings soon recommended him to the protection of Adhelm, a nobleman of some figure under Alfred. At his persuasion he took orders, and Athelstan soon raised him to the see of Sherborn. Edmund, Athelstan's successor, upon Wulfhelm's death, importuned him to accept of the see of Canterbury. At first he was dissatisfied in his conscience with regard to the lawfulness of translations;

Observation on the acts of the council of Exeter.

The secular power of bishops.

Odo archbishop of Canterbury.

His history.

His scruples
to accept the
see of Can-
terbury.

translations; but this scruple was soon conquered by the king, who brought in the example of Melitus bishop of London, and Justus bishop of Rochester, who were both of them afterwards archbishops of Canterbury. Odo, however, whose brain appears to have been over-heated, had an objection still more unreasonable, and therefore, with one like him, the more difficult to be conquered: for he took it into his head that he could not be qualified for being archbishop of Canterbury, unless he was first a monk. The obstinacy of Odo, upon this head, obliged the king to send over commissaries to France, to prevail with the abbot of Fleury to admit him into his society. This request was no sooner complied with, than Odo accepted of the archbishopric.

Odo's canons.

About the year 943, Odo published a set of Canons, which, in his preamble to them, he terms institutions not unworthy any worshipper of Christ.

The first, guards against all violation of the church's property, by threatening the violators with the high censure of excommunication. In this canon it is laid down, as an undisputed maxim, that it is allowed to none to lay taxes upon the church of God, because, says he, the sons of the church, that is, the sons of God are free from all earthly tribute in every kingdom. And concludes with this impious expression, which justifies the character I have elsewhere given of this archbishop: "That they who refuse to obey church discipline, are more bold than the soldiers who crucified Jesus."

[Page 245.]
Their impiety,

Collier.

and insolence.

The second, begins with this insolent admonition, which has been softened by the pen of a modern priest, by saying it is couched in a stile of great plainness and authority. "We admonish, says he, all kings, princes, and all that are in authority, to be obedient with great humility to their archbishops and all other bishops, because the keys of heaven are given to them, and they have the power of binding and loosing."

Their contents.

The third canon lays down the duties of bishops. The fourth, fifth, and sixth, those of priests, clergymen, and monks. The others regard other points of ecclesiastical discipline; not forgetting strict injunctions for paying tythes.

The synod of London.

About the year 944, a great synod was held under Edmund at London, where several constitutions passed; the most remarkable of which is, that bishops were enjoined to repair their churches; and to remind the king, that good provision be made for their maintenance. We find, in the year following, another council for the advancement of the Christian religion, and the continuance of concord among his subjects. In this council, both the church and the king's palace were made places of sanctuary. And it was enacted, that no mulct for fighting, or satisfaction for murder, should be forgiven.

The old form of espousals in England.

It is proper here to subjoin the ancient form of espousals in England, which are curious and of unquestionable authority. In

the first place, it was provided, that in case a man had a mind to marry a maid or a widow, that the bridegroom should have a meeting with the woman's attorney, and claim her in the holy bond of marriage, in case she and her friends are so pleased. If this request is admitted of, the man is then to engage to retain her as his wife, and to give sufficient security for her good treatment. The bridegroom is then to inform the bride and her friends of his circumstances: and there is some reason to believe, from the words of the record, that he was obliged, before marriage, to make her a present in hand, as well as to make a reasonable settlement for her, in case of his death. We must observe here likewise, that our ancestors were very kind to the ladies in this respect; for the record says, that if she survives him, it is reasonable that she have a right to half his estate; and if she has children, to the whole, unless she should marry a second husband. For the performance of all this, both the bridegroom and his friends are to enter into a bond; the bride's kindred are then to deliver her over to the bridegroom as a wife. But, what will sound very odd in modern times, her attorney, or the person who was principally concerned in making the match, seems to have been obliged to enter into bond for the lady's chastity during her state of wedlock. If, after marriage, the wife should be carried into the land of another thane, her friends obliged the kindred of the husband not only to give fresh security for her good treatment; but, in case of any forfeiture incurred by her, that they should pay the balance, if her own means were not sufficient for satisfaction. By which last clause, there is reason to believe, that the present made to the woman, before or at the time of marriage, was in the nature of a separate aliment, to be enjoyed as her own property during wedlock.

Great advantages by them to women.

The famous Dunstan, about this time, began to make a great figure both in church and state. He was by birth a West Saxon, and of a noble family; he had his education at Glassenbury, under some learned Irishman, who had set up a kind of academy there: for the reader is to observe, that at this time the droning, inactive qualities of monastic life were very little, if at all, known in England. Monasteries were then furnished with secular clergymen, who were incorporated under certain regulations, and performed service in their churches, living single or married, as they thought proper. Dunstan making a considerable progress under those masters, was recommended to king Athelstan by his uncle Adelm, then archbishop of Canterbury. Athelstan received him with great goodness; but soon seeing into his ambitious meddling character, he discarded him. Upon which, Dunstan, in a pet, retired from public life, and conceived that affection for the monkish order, which afterwards raised it to such a pitch in England. King Edmund, when he came to the crown, recalled him, and made

Rise and history of Dunstan.

The nature of monasteries then in England.

made him his confessor; but soon after discharged him. Dunstan, however, procuring friends about Edmund's person, they wrought so upon that prince, that he was recalled, and maintained his favour under him, and his brother Edred, to an amazing degree. Other particulars of Dunstan's life are already set down in the civil history.

History of
Thurkytel.

Another illustrious convert to a monkish life, at this time, was Thurkytel, who had borne the first offices of state in England; and at the time of his retiring from the world, was chancellor to king Edred. This nobleman had great abilities, both as a soldier and a politician; it was, therefore, no wonder if many of the principal nobility were wrought upon to follow his example, which brought the monkish life into great request. Having chosen Croyland for the place of his retirement, he laid out a great deal of money in repairing that monastery, and adding to its revenues. He afterwards received the habit, together with the episcopal benediction, in presence of Edred, who gave him a pastoral staff, and made him abbot of Croyland. Upon this, Thurkytel resigned the monastery into the hands of the king, with all the evidences of the lands belonging to it. Soon after, Edred returned the evidences of the abbey back to Thurkytel and his monks, in a full assembly of the states at London; giving them, at the same time, a charter, confirming all their former privileges (excepting that of a sanctuary, which he wisely refused;) and discharging them from all services and incumbrances incident to a lay-fee. But the austerity of a monastic life agreeing but ill with the new converts to Thurkytel's example, no more than ten of them took the habit of professed monks. The rest continued seculars; but lived in the monastery for the benefit of Thurkytel's conversation.

He repairs
Croyland,

of which he
is made ab-
bot.

The causes of
the progress
of monkery.

Edgar's char-
ter to the see
of Canter-
bury.

It was owing to the example of those two noblemen that the religious prevailed so much of a sudden as they did in England. Their expulsion, under Edwy, continued but a short time; and when they were restored, they rose to double eminence and authority. For, under Edgar, Dunstan enjoyed as much influence, if not more, than he had done under any of his predecessors. This prince, about the year 959, gave a short charter to the see of Canterbury, by which she was made the mother and mistress of all churches within the English dominions, with several other extraordinary privileges. The learned Sir Henry Spelman says, that Edgar, in this, seems to have imitated the emperor Phocas, who made a like grant to pope Silvester in favour of Rome; but even this grant shews, that the kings of England still reserved to themselves a power in the oeconomy of the church, independent of the pope's: else why

should Edgar, who was so much devoted to the see of Rome, have made a grant, which, in those days, was looked upon to be the province of the Roman see. As for the example of Phocas, it may be strongly urged against the independency of the papal power, since the very nature of his grant evinces, that he took upon himself not only to make a pope, but to prescribe the bounds of his authority. I believe the learned knight should rather have said pope Boniface, than pope Silvester.

Remark upon
it.

Dunstan being promoted to the archbishopric of Canterbury in the year 961, began now to set about his great scheme of ejecting the secular clergy out of monasteries and cathedrals, and of settling monks in their places; but notwithstanding his great influence at court, it appears that his ambitious spirit met with difficulties that were long insurmountable. It is evident that the kings of England, at this time, disposed of all the vacant sees in England, and looked on that as part of their prerogative; so that the authority of the see of Rome was of little assistance to Dunstan. His first step was to beg from the king the bishopric of Worcester for Oswald, who had been educated a monk in France, and was nephew to the late archbishop Odo. As Edgar's views upon the crown had been greatly assisted by the monkish order, and its abettors, Dunstan obtained this, and several other favours of the same nature; for he got the see of Winchester filled up by Ethelwulf, a monk of Glaffenbury, whose zeal for the religious rendered him a proper second for Dunstan. An order was soon after procured from the king, which turned the secular clergy out of the old abbey of Winchester. Thus far the three monkish prelates were successful; but we meet with none of their brethren concurring in their designs. However, as they were strongly supported by the court, the reputation of the religious every day grew higher; till at last the king was persuaded to call a council, in which he himself presided, with a resolution to carry the reformation through with a high hand against the secular clergy. It must be owned, that the latter in general had taken great liberties with their own character, and given too much handle, by their licentiousness, to the invectives of their enemies; but what bore harder still upon them, was their living, for the most part, in a married state, which the church of Rome and the monks represented to be worse than fornication itself; and from this reason it is, that the wives of clergymen, in monkish writings and constitutions, are generally termed concubines. Such were the pretences upon which Ed-
gar made a thundering speech (1), which the reader will meet with in the notes against the

Dunstan la-
bours to eject
the secular
clergy.

Oswald made
bishop of
Worcester,

and Ethel-
wulf of Win-
chester.

Edgar calls a
council for the
ejection of the
seculars.

His speech
there.

(1) We shall here give this celebrated speech, as translated by Mr. Collier. " Since God has pleased, most reverend father, to shew his goodness to us in a remarkable manner, it is most reasonable we should exert our endeavours to make a suitable return. And since he has given us so large a command, it is our duty to employ our authority to his honour, and bring our subjects to the observance of his laws. Now, as it is my office to inspect the conduct of the laity, to take care that there be no stop upon justice, to punish the sacrilegious, to correct the ungovernable, to protect the weak against the mighty, and deliver the poor from him that is too strong for him; so I am likewise concerned to promote the interest of the church, to enquire into the behaviour of the clergy and religious, to see that they manage themselves suitably

The secular clergy ejected.

Dunstan's canons.

Their contents.

Laws of the Northumbrian priests. Canons of Elfric.

the secular clergy. This speech had the desired effect, and the reformers carried their point in most places; but the secular clergy, soon after, applied to the king himself for redress; and Edgar, willing to proceed with a shew of moderation, appointed them a hearing before a general council convened at Winchester, at which the king, queen, and temporal nobility were present. As to the particulars of the debate in this council, we are in the dark; but it is certain that Dunstan, by an impious juggle (1), got the better of his antagonists; but still was unable to make his pretended reformation general all over England.

We meet, in or about the days of Edgar, with several bodies of ecclesiastical laws; particularly those relating to the Northumbrian priests, and the canons of Elfric, whom Sir Henry Spelman supposes to have been archbishop of York; though others are of a contrary opinion: but those I omit, because regarding particular provinces, and not the church of England in general. Of

more universal tendency were the body of canons which we find in Sir Henry Spelman's collections, and appear to have been drawn up before Dunstan was raised to the see of Canterbury, as we may conjecture from their being void of censures against secular clergymen. Great part of those canons are taken from the capitularies of Charles the Great; they are divided into two sets, and are said, in the preamble, to be enacted by king Edward, in a full assembly. The first canon provides for the payment of tythes. The second is of the same nature. The third, as it is a pretty peremptory one, I shall transcribe: "Let all the tythe of young animals be paid by Pentecost, and of the fruits of the earth by the Equinox; and let every church scot be paid by Martin-mass, under pain of the full mulct which the doom-book mentions: and if any will not pay the tythe as we have commanded, let the king's reeve, and the bishop's reeve, and the mass-priest of the ministry go to him, and take, by force,

"suitably to their character; whether they are careful in the administration of their office, and constant in their instructions; whether they are moderate in their refreshments, regular in their habit, prudent, and equitable in deciding the causes that come before them. And under favour, reverend father, if you had looked thoroughly into these matters, we had never had the dissatisfaction of receiving so scandalous a charge against the clergy. And here, not to mention these failings in the shape of their tonsure; not to mention this, I say, what effeminacy do they discover in their habit! what haughtiness in their gesture and motion! what licence in their discourse and conversation! and are not these all signs that things are terribly out of order within? Then, as to the business of their function, with what negligence is the divine service performed! They will scarce vouchsafe their company at the holy vigils; and when they enter upon the most solemn parts of religion, they appear with a foreign air, and fall short of the gravity of the occasion. I am sorry to say, how excessive they are in their entertainments! how much they are governed by an intemperate appetite! and what lengths they have taken in a libertine practice! Thus the encouragements of religion are perverted, and the bounty of princes abused. Had our ancestors foreseen their liberality would have been squandered away thus profusely, and spent upon luxury and disorder, they would certainly have held their hand. And if all this misbehaviour had been private and unobserved, the case had been more tolerable: but, alas! the crimes break out into public notice, and the scandal grows notorious; and yet, methinks, the liberty is strangely connived at, and over-looked, by the prelacy. Would not the sword of Levi, would not the zeal of Simeon, be seasonably drawn and exerted upon this occasion? Where is the spirit of Moses, who punished the idolatry of the golden calf in his own blood and relations? Where is Phineas's lance, to pursue debauchery, and execute justice, without the least delay? And yet we see this severity of zeal, this sudden revenge, was acceptable to God Almighty. What is become of St. Peter's indignation and censure against simony and covetousness? You that are priests of the most high God, ought to copy the proceedings, and be governed by the precedents, of him you represent. It is high time to appear against those who have broke through the rules of duty and religion. I have Constantine's, and you have St. Peter's, sword: let us join our force, and unite our respective authorities, that, by employing the spiritual and civil power in the same cause, and being thus assistant to each other, the lepers may be discharged from the camp, the holy sanctuary may be cleaned, and the sons of Levi put into the temple ministrations; of Levi, I say, who was governed by no partialities to his relations, who said unto his father and his mother, I have not seen him, neither did he acknowledge his brethren. Awaken your discipline therefore, I beseech you, that we may not repent our bounty, nor be sorry for our kindness, to the church: let the disrespect shewn to the relics of the saints, let the prophaning the altars with unsuitable approaches, provoke you to animadversion; and do not suffer the piety of our ancestors to be defeated any longer. You know how much my father, grandfather, great-grandfather, &c. have lessened their royal revenues, and exhausted their exchequer, in religious benefactions. Most reverend father Dunstan, I desire you would raise your imagination upon this occasion; pray look up to heaven a little; fancy you see my father in his station of glory, glistering among the stars, and ready to launch himself from the sky; imagine you hear him deliver himself to you in this language of exhortation and complaint: O venerable father Dunstan! you used to suggest serviceable advice to me about the building of churches and monasteries; you prompted my piety upon all opportunities, and assisted in the execution of the project. I pitched upon you, particularly, for my pastor and spiritual father, for the guardian of my soul, and the inspector of my behaviour; and did I not always comply with whatever you suggested? Did I not always prefer your advice to patrimony and treasure? How frankly have I laid out my fortune upon your proposals? My distributions of charity were always ready when you called for them. If land or privilege was desired for the church, it was done as soon as mentioned. If you complained the monks or clergy were short in their conveniences, they were immediately supplied by the court. You used to tell me, that the best use of money was to spend it upon the church and poor; that such liberalities would prove immortal in the benefit, help towards an atonement for our failings, and prove the greatest charities to the giver. And is it not an intolerable misapplication, that this holy revenue should be expended upon women, and misemployed for the support of vanity and unnecessary figure? What can you answer to such a charge as this?—I am convinced, says king Edgar, most holy father, that this is none of your fault. When you saw a thief, you consented not unto him, neither have you been partaker with the adulterers: no, you have entreated and menaced, but all to no purpose; and since words signify nothing, it is time to rise in your discipline, and come to blows. For this purpose, you shall be sure not to want the countenance of royal authority. You have likewise Ethelwald and Oswald, the right reverend fathers of Winchester and Worcester, ready to assist you. I give you three a joint commission for this purpose, and refer the management wholly to you. It is your part, therefore, to exert the episcopal authority, in conjunction with that of the crown, to expel the disorderly clergy from the monasteries, and put in such as live regularly in their place."

(1) Here, as Eadmer will have it, St. Dunstan disarmed his adversaries, and drove them out of the field. However, it seems the king and the principal laity were not so perfectly gained as to refuse to intercede for the secular clergy; they desired the canons might be put into possession again, and have the favour of a farther trial. This motion put St. Dunstan to a stand, and made him pause for an answer. And now, it seems, there was a deep silence in the court; but before St. Dunstan declared himself, the case, as Eadmer reports, was determined by a response from heaven: for a crucifix, hanging aloft in the room, pronounced with an audible voice, Non fiet, non fiet; judicatis bene, mutaritis non bene: that is, "It shan't be done, it shan't be done; you have decided the matter well, and would be to blame if you should change." The convention being astonished with this oracle, St. Dunstan asked them what farther satisfaction they could desire; for you have heard, says he, the matter decided by God himself. The allegation being allowed, the clergy were forced to submit, and leave the monks in possession of their revenues.—Thus much I have thought fit to transcribe from Mr. Collier, who backs it with this remark, equally judicious and candid: That he is loth to suppose St. Dunstan in a practice to over-rule this point, and that there might be some art used without the privity of this prelate.

Hardships of the subjects upon paying Peter's pence.

"the tenth part for the minister to which it belongs, and deliver to him the ninth part; and let the eight parts be divided into two, and the lord take one half, the bishop the other, whether it be a king's man, or a thane's man." The fourth was of a very arbitrary nature, and runs thus: "Let Peter's pence be paid by Peter's-mass-day, (that is, the second of August;) let him, who hath not paid it by that term, carry it to Rome, and thirty-pence over and above, and bring a certificate that he hath there delivered so much; and when he comes home, let him pay the king an hundred and twenty shillings. And if again he refuse to pay it, let him carry it again to Rome, and another such satisfaction; when he comes home, let him pay the king two hundred shillings. If he refuse it the third time, let him forfeit all that he hath."

Observation of Sunday provided for.

The fifth provides, That every Sunday should be kept, from noon-tide on Saturday, to Monday-morning-light; that is, from three in the afternoon on Saturday, to Monday's dawn. In Lambart's and Whelock's edition, another set of eight laws follow here; two of which, though relating to ecclesiastical polity, are not in Sir Henry Spelman's collection, and deserve a place here.

Corruption punished in judges.

"Let a judge that gives an unequal sentence make satisfaction to the king with an hundred and twenty shillings, unless he dare affirm, on oath, that he knew no better. And let him also forfeit his thaneship, unless he purchase it of the king, according as he will grant it; and let the bishop of the shire levy the mulct for the king's use.

"Let resort be made to the hundred court, as hath been ordained in time past. Let the burgh-mote be held thrice a year, the country-court twice; and let the bishop be at the country-court, and also the alderman; and let each of them put in use both God's law, and the world's law."

Another set of Dunstan's canons.

The next set of canons which fall under our present purpose, seems likewise to have passed before Dunstan was archbishop of Canterbury, for the reason I have already given. Of those the tenth and eleventh are the most remarkable. By the former we find, that priests, in those days, took young students in, to serve a kind of clerkship, before they were admitted into orders. During this clerkship, the noviciates were instructed in religious offices, and as soon as they could read and write, they received the first tonsure. They then proceeded gradually through all the inferior offices, before they were admitted to holy orders. The canon itself runs thus: "And that no priest receive a

provided for by a canon.

"scholar without the leave of the other, by whom he was formerly retained."

The reason of this,

The Danish devastations, with other accidents, had often reduced the holy order of priesthood to very straitened circumstances, and such as might have driven them to actions unbecoming their function. It was therefore wisely provided, by the eleventh

canon, That every priest should profess some manual art, and teach it with diligence. Some authors think, that the reason of this injunction was to prevent oscitancy, or their falling into vicious or unmanly amusements, when their holy functions were over, in that age, when there was so great a scarcity of books, or the means of other improvement. The rest of these canons relate to particular modes of the duty of priests. The twenty-second enjoins, "That every man learn to be expert at pater noster and credo, as he desires to lie in holy ground, or to be esteemed worthy of the sacrament; for he who refuseth to learn that, is not a good Christian, and he cannot of right undertake orders at baptism, nor at the bishops hands. Let him who knows it not, first learn it."

Credo and pater noster to be learned.

The thirty-eighth is of a very remarkable nature, and, I think, plainly proves, that the English clergy, in those days, were by no means in the modern opinion of transubstantiation, as taught by the council of Trent; for the canon runs thus: "That the priest have the sacrament always in readiness for them that may want it; and that he keep it with diligence and purity, and take care that it does not grow stale. If it be kept so long that it cannot be received, then let it be burnt in a clean fire, and let the ashes be put under the altar; and let him who was guilty of this neglect, diligently make satisfaction to God."

Transubstantiation not then understood in England.

The fifty-third canon enjoins, That no Christian taste blood of any kind. The rest of those canons relate all to the moral conduct of the priests, and are well worthy the attention of the clergy in all ages.

Eating of blood prohibited by a canon.

After those canons there generally follows a set of penitentiary canons, which, in all probability, was composed by Dunstan, about the year 963. Those canons generally relate to the penances assigned to different sins; and are too trite, or too unedifying, to be taken notice of here. The marriage of priests is strongly guarded against by this penitentiary; and though we find a repetition of psalms, and the Lord's-prayer, frequently enjoined, yet no mention is made of the ave-maria.

Penitentiary canons of Dunstan.

The reader may remember, in the history of Edgar, of a penance enjoined by Dunstan upon that prince, for his intrigue with a nun. But, lest the reader should think there was any extraordinary strain of virtue, either in the priest who enjoined, or the monarch who obeyed this, we are to consider, that the penance might be performed by proxies. The absurdity of this institution is such, that the reader will be apt to doubt the fact, unless we give him the words of the canons.

No mention of the ave-maria.

Slightness of penance in those times.

LXXII. "One day's fasting may be redeemed with a penny, or with two hundred psalms. A year's fasting may be redeemed with thirty shillings, or with freeing a slave that is worth that money. A man, for one day's fasting, may sing beati six times, and six times pater noster. And for one day's fasting, let a man bow down

established by canons.

“ down to the ground with pater noster sixty
“ times. And a man may redeem one day’s
“ fasting, if he will prostrate himself on
“ all his limbs to God in prayer, and, with
“ sincere grief and sound faith, sing fifteen
“ times miserere mei Deus, and fifteen times
“ pater noster, and then his penance for
“ the whole day is forgiven him.

LXXIII. “Aman may complete seven years
“ fasting in twelve months, if he sing every
“ day a psalter of psalms, and another
“ in the night, and fifty in the evening.
“ With one mass twelve days fasting may be
“ redeemed, and with ten masses four
“ months fasting may be redeemed, and
“ with thirty masses twelve months fasting
“ may be redeemed; if a man will inter-
“ ceed for himself, and confess his sins to
“ the sheriff, with a sincere love of God,
“ and make satisfaction as he directs, and
“ diligently cease from them for ever.

LXXIV. “Thus may every wealthy man,
“ and one that abounds in friends, make his
“ satisfaction much more easy, by the as-
“ sistance of his friends.

LXXV. “Let him lay aside his weapons,
“ and all his vain pomp, and take his staff
“ in his hand, and let him seriously walk
“ barefoot, and put woollen on his body,
“ and not go into bed, and do it seven years
“ by tale. Let it thus be completed in three
“ days: first, let him take to his assistance
“ twelve men, and let them fast three days
“ in bread, and raw herbs, and water; and
“ let him by all possible means procure seven
“ times an hundred and twenty men to fast
“ for him three days; then are there as
“ many fasts kept as there are days in seven
“ years.

LXXVII. “This is that softening of pe-
“ nance which belongs to wealthy men, and
“ such as abound in friends; but one in a
“ lower condition cannot make such dis-
“ patch, but therefore he must pursue it in
“ his own person with the greater earnest-
“ ness.”

mand entertainment from the monks, or lay
any imposition upon them.

In the year 975 died Thurkytel, the fa-
mous abbot of Glasfenbury. The effects he
left to this monastery in money, plate, and
jewels, amounted to an incredible sum for
those days, being little short of ten thou-
sand pounds, which is equal to above two
hundred thousand at this time. He was
succeeded as abbot by his cousin Egelric,
who was a man of consequence; though
the chief action of his, that has come to our
hands, is, that he cast a ring of six bells,
which he christened by the names of per-
sons for whom he had any esteem or vene-
ration.

Upon the death of Edgar, the ejected cler-
gy revived their claims. They found a pa-
tron in the person of Elfgar duke of Mercia,
who drove the abbots and monks from their
possessions, while they were supported by
another party of the nobility in Dunstan’s
interest. Upon this occasion we meet with

a synod convened at Kirlinton, or Katlage,
in Cambridgeshire; but as to the particulars
of its acts, we are in the dark. However,
next year, which was 978, another council
was held at Calne in Wiltshire. At this sy-
nod were present all the temporal, as well
as spiritual, estates; but the king was ab-
sent. The advocate for the secular clergy

was one Beornelm (1), an Irish bishop, a
man of eloquence for the times, and invited
thither by the seculars. Osborne, the writer
of Dunstan’s life, makes a very poor apolo-
gy for St. Dunstan’s behaviour on this occa-
sion; for we find he declined entering the
lists with his antagonists, under pretence
that the matter had been already decided by

a miracle, which being the sentence of heaven,
made it impious to have any further debate
upon it. He added to this, that the weight
of the controversy lying upon him, he must
be excused, as he was an old man, and un-
able to take the same pains he had done
when he enjoyed more health and vigour.
As to this defence, the reader may himself
judge of that part of it relating to the mi-
racle, from what he has already seen: but
with regard to the prelate’s plea of old age,
it is certain that about this time his years did
not exceed fifty-four; so that he may be
said, as a divine, to have been in the prime
of his life. However, a miracle, or what

was next to a miracle, a seasonable accident,
supplied the place of reason and argument;
for each party sitting in a different place of
the room, the floor suddenly fell in; but
through what cause, I shall in charity forbear
to mention. Many of the seculars, both
peers and clergy, were killed or wounded;
while Dunstan, and, as some say, all his party,
remained untouched and unharmed; him-
self bestriding the beam on which his chair
was fixed, the only one in the room that
remained unbroken; as if enjoying the cala-
mity, and triumphing over truth and justice.

This accident struck the assembly with con-
viction

Oswald raised
to the see of
York.

He invites
over to Eng-
land several
learned men.

The immuni-
ties granted to
the abbey of
Ramsey.

About the year 972, Oswald, the monk-
ish bishop of Worcester was preferred to the
see of York, and suffered to keep his bishop-
ric of Worcester. The reason for this in-
dulgence was, lest the monks might be dis-
turbed in their possessions; a plain evidence
that there were but few prelates, or men of
eminence in the church at that time, who
favoured the monkish claims. The same
archbishop was so sensible of this, that he
invited over several learned foreigners to set-
tle in England. Among the rest was Abbo,
a monk of Fleury in France, the author (at
archbishop Dunstan’s instance) of the history
of king Edmund’s martyrdom. In the same
year Oswald sent twelve monks from West-
bury to Ramsey in Huntingdonshire, where
Alwin, duke of East-Anglia, had founded
a religious house; and, among other immu-
nities granted by charters to this house, it is
ordained by charter, that no bishop shall de-

(1) Archbishop Spotswood, and other Scotch historians, have claimed this bishop as a native of their country; but I am apt to believe him to have been Irish. All that the Scots know of him, they have learned from the English history; nor do they know so much as whether he ever returned from England, or what became of him.

The monks again enter into possession of the monasteries.

viction in favour of the monks, and repossession was accordingly decreed them. We are told, that another synod was held upon the same occasion, and shortly after, at Amesbury in Wiltshire; but no particulars have come to our hands: only there is reason to believe that the monks continued then undisturbed in their possession, since we find they were so to the time of Eadmer the historian.

The British church at this time independent.

Nothing remarkable, with regard to the church, other than what has been related in the civil history, happened till the year 981. At this time Dunstan consecrated one Gucan, a Welsh priest, into the see of Landaff; and his successors ever after owned the superiority to be in the archbishops of Canterbury. This, however, is no argument to prove, that all the British or Welsh bishops at this time did the like: it proves, indeed, the indefatigable pains which the see of Rome took to extend her power. But Giraldus Cambrensis, a man of sense and spirit, and a Welshman born, was, in the reign of Henry II, elected to the see of St. David's. That see, by this time, had indeed been deprived of its metropolitical authority by Henry I: but this prelate applied to the pope for a restitution of its rights; and, by a fair deduction of them, proved, that the bishops of St. David's had ever been in possession of, and exercised all branches of metropolitical authority, till deprived of it by Henry I, who subdued their country. This evidence being admitted of, when joined to another circumstance, that the see of St. David's never enjoyed the pall, the great badge of Romish superiority in ecclesiastical matters, the whole, I think, amounts to a proof, that the British churches in general, as to matters of government, were, till the time of Henry I, independent of the see of Rome.

Proof thereof.

Dunstan's death.

His successors, Ethelgar and Siricius.

In the year 988 died the famous Dunstan; and, for reasons not hard to be guessed at, stands recorded upon the 20th of May as a saint, in the Roman martyrology. He was succeeded by Ethelgar, originally a monk of Glassenbury, but afterwards bishop of Selsey, who sat only three months; and then Siricius, at first of the same monastery, and from thence raised to the see of Ramsbury in Wiltshire, was preferred to the archbishopric. This prelate is branded with the scandalous advice he gave king Ethelred to purchase his peace of the Danes; but we

find, that no part of the heavy tribute, raised in consequence of that advice (I mean the Dane-geld) was defrayed by the clergy, they reasonably suggesting, that their tribute of prayers ought to exempt them from that of money.

In the year 992 died Oswald archbishop of York. The grant which this prelate made of the lands belonging to his church, is of great importance to the knowledge of the civil as well as ecclesiastical polity of the Anglo-Saxons, and a full proof of what I have elsewhere observed, that (1) feodal tenures were, at, or before, this time, known in England. I shall, therefore, in the notes, set down the substance of this famous charter, which the learned Sir Henry Spelman calls a notable pattern of beneficiary services.

Death of Oswald archbishop of York.

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In the year 995, Aldun bishop of Holy-island, for fear of the Danish violations, removed the bones of St. Cuthbert, from Chester upon the Street, to Durham, where he built a cathedral, and fixed his see. This year likewise, Siricius archbishop of Canterbury died, and was succeeded by Elfric, who is said to have been translated from the see of Ramsbury, and is highly commended for his excellent qualities.

Aldun translates the see of Holy-island to Durham.

Elfric archbishop of Canterbury.

In the year 1001, we meet with a mission sent from England by Ethelbert, at the request of Olaf king of Sweden, for converting the Swedes and Norwegians to Christianity. The heads of it were Sigefrid archbishop of York, who very probably, about this time, was forced by the Danes to fly; Eschill, Gunichild, Rudolph, and Bernard. Their success was such, that idolatry was banished where-ever they came. Sigefrid was made bishop of Wexia in East-Gothland, where he died, after various labours in propagating the gospel. He had left his nephews to manage the affairs of his diocese in his absence; but they were murdered by some of the Danes, for the sake of their plunder. Bernard had the honour to baptize king Olaf, and Eschill is enrolled in the English martyrology. Gotebald, an Englishman, was likewise made a bishop in the northern parts, and lost his life in preaching Christianity in Sweden.

Mission from England to Sweden.

Adventures of the missionaries.

In the year 1006, Elfric, the archbishop of Canterbury, died, and was succeeded by Ælphagus, who was of a noble family, and had been a monk of Deerhurst in Gloucestershire. He afterwards formed a society of

Death of Elfric archbishop of Canterbury.

(1) I am far from asserting, by the passage referred to, that the Saxons had all the terms of the civil law, or that their services came directly up to the feuds and tenures of the Normans; but that in substance they were the same, or nearly the same, will appear from a consideration of this prelate's charter: for he divided great part of his land, belonging to the church of Worcester, into those portions, which were called beneficia; and hence the services by which they were held, are called beneficiary. Those he granted unto his thanes and followers, not by the name of his milites or tenentes, but of his fidos subditos, for the term of three lives, according to the manner which they retain in those parts even to this day; and reserving to his church and successors, not homagium et servitium, the material words in tenure to create knight-service in the feodal law; but the services mentioned in his charter, secundum conventionem cum iis factam, et sponzionem suam, as the very words are there expressly. The sum of the services to be performed by this charter, are as follow: First, That they shall perform all duties that belong to horsemen: That they shall pay all things that are due unto the church, and perform all other rights that belong to it: That they shall swear to be in all humble subjection at the command of the bishop, as long as they shall hold these lands of him: That, as often as the occasion of the bishop shall so require, they shall present themselves to be ready for it, and shall both furnish him with horses, and ride themselves: That of their own accord they shall be ready to perform all the work about the steeple of that church, and for the building of castles and bridges: That they shall readily help to fence in the bishop's parks, and to furnish him with hunting weapons when he goeth a hunting: That in many other cases, when the occasion of the lord bishop shall require, whether it be for his own service or for the king's service, they shall, in all humbleness and subjection, be obedient to the chief captain or leader of the bishopric, for the benefit [or see granted] done unto them, and the quantity of land which every one of them possesseth: That, after the expiration of the three lives, the land shall return again to the bishopric: That if there be any defect in performing the premises, by reason that some shall vary or break the agreement, the delinquent shall make satisfaction, according to the justice of the bishop, or shall forfeit the land which he had of his gift.

monks at Bath, and being chosen their abbot, set them an example of the strictest mortification in his own person. But his monks, it appears, were not to be reclaimed; for they privately committed great excesses. He was afterwards, by the favour of Dunstan, preferred to the see of Winchester, where he sat about two and twenty years. Upon his being raised to the archbishopric of Canterbury, the fame of his sanctity was diffused all over Europe; and when he went to Rome for his pall, the pope received him with great testimonies of affection and esteem. Under him several synods were held; and those of Engsham and Haba consisted of the temporal, as well as the ecclesiastical, powers, and met to remedy the disorder of both states; therefore the laws which passed there, partake of both kinds. By one of the canons of this council we find the effect of enjoining celibacy to the clergy was, that they run into scandalous abuses, by publicly keeping three or four mistresses. This is prohibited, and, by way of recompence for this self-denial, the canon ends thus: "Let him who will desist from this, and preserve his chastity, obtain God's mercy; and, as an addition of worldly honour, we decree, that he be equal to a thane, both as to his weregild and to his rights in his life-time, and at his burial. And let him who is averse to that which befits his order, be deprived of his honour, both in relation to God and the world." The rest of the canons are of little import, only that they tend in general to increase the power of the clergy.

The synods of Engsham.

Abuse of the clergy's celibacy.

The synod of Haba.

Its canons.

Sack of Canterbury.

Injustice done to the memory of Ælphægus.

The synod of Haba, or Habam, (or, according to some manuscripts, Badam) though generally placed under the archiepiscopate of Ælphægus, is, I think, with great reason, referred by some writers to the time when Ethelred, after the death of Sweyn, returned from Normandy upon the invitation of his nobles, and his promising to reform all the abuses of his government. There is little remarkable in this synod, besides a whimsical fast enjoined to every Christian who was of age, in honour of St. Michael, who about this time was celebrated for his protection of the Christians against the Pagans, and was distinguished by having no less than two anniversary days in the year set apart to his memory. The third canon enjoins, singing mass against the Pagans; a particular service, instituted about this time, for the deliverance of England from the Danes.

The siege and the sack of Canterbury, together with the death or martyrdom of Ælphægus her archbishop, has been already mentioned in the civil history, and makes a shining part in the ecclesiastical history of those times. It must be owned, that, according to the accounts we have of this prelate's sufferings and death, he deserved all the honours that had been paid to his memory. Yet such were the narrow notions of the ecclesiastics of former times, that though this prelate died in defence of his country, and therefore of her religion; yet, because he did not fall a sacrifice in some

trifling controversy of the church, Lanfranc archbishop of Canterbury, in the days of the Conqueror, had once a thought of striking him out of the English martyrology. Happening, however, to consult Anselm upon this point, the latter very sensibly told him, That he conceived Ælphægus, strictly speaking, was a martyr for religion, since he chose to die rather than do an unjust thing.

The next archbishop of Canterbury was Living, who had before been bishop of Wells. This prelate was taken prisoner, and confined for seven months by the Danes, who treated him but very indifferently. At last, finding means to get out of their hands, he retired beyond seas, where he continued for some time. After he returned, he made a great many rich presents to his cathedral, and died, after filling that see seven years.

His successor, Agilnoth, surnamed the Good, was by birth a nobleman of great quality, being son to earl Agilmer, and was dean of the Canterbury monks at the time of his predecessor's death. Those monks were not of the same strain with those who had been cut off by the Danes after the sack of Canterbury; for only four of their predecessors being left alive, the new incumbents, when they took possession of Christchurch, refusing to submit to the rigours of monastic discipline, were monks only in their habit. Agilnoth had great influence and authority over king Canute, and was a chief instrument of many good acts he did.

Under this prince the honour and peace of the church was strongly provided for, by many ecclesiastical laws. A body of them, drawn up at Winchester, have come to our hands. By the second of those laws we learn, that the veneration due to sanctuaries, about this time, had risen to such a height, that some of them could protect the most atrocious malefactor, nor was it in the king's power to bring him to justice: for it is said, that "if any man ever, from henceforth,

"do so break the protection of the church, as to slay a man within its walls, then no satisfaction is to be accepted, and let all that are friends of God pursue him; unless it happens that he makes his escape, and betakes himself to so powerful a sanctuary: that the king, on that account, grant him his life, upon his making full satisfaction both to God and man; that is, first, that he pay the price set on his own blood to Christ, and the king; and purchase to himself the protection of the law, so as to be capable of making satisfaction."

The canon immediately following regulates the prices of satisfaction for the breach of the churches protection, which are in proportion to the degree of the church.

The fifth of those was particularly favourable to offending priests: for when an accusation against one of them was single, that is, carried on only by three accusers, he was at liberty to purge himself, by saying a single mass, the rest being left to his own conscience. When the accusation was triple, or carried on by six accusers, he was to make his purgation, with two other of his own

History of Living.

and of Agilnoth, archbishop.

Abuse of sanctuaries.

The priests favoured.

and the inferior clergy.

order, upon the sacrament. The like favourable regulations are made to the inferior orders of the clergy. The other laws are either of no importance, or repetitions of the canons the reader has already met with.

Agilnoth's firmness against Harold Harefoot.

Agilnoth, the archbishop of Canterbury, appears to have been a prelate of great firmness to the cause he espoused: for we are told, that when Harold Harefoot came to the crown, he demanded to be crowned by this archbishop, which the latter absolutely refused, giving him for it this reason; That he had promised to his late master Canute, to crown none but the posterity of queen Emma. Harold, in vain, endeavoured to divert him from this resolution; and the prelate resolutely placed the crown upon the high altar, with the denunciation of heaven's judgment upon any prelate who should venture to perform that ceremony to Harold.

He is succeeded by Eadsius.

Agilnoth, after sitting seventeen years in the see of Canterbury, was succeeded by Eadsius, Harold's chaplain.

We meet with few or no ecclesiastical transactions, worth the mentioning, during the short reign of Hardicanute; but, upon Edward the Confessor's being called from France to the crown of England, he was crowned at Winchester by Eadsius. This prelate not only performed this duty, but another of far greater importance to the nation. Edward, as we have elsewhere seen, was bred a foreigner, and therefore uninformed with regard to the English laws and constitution. Eadsius instructed him in both, and gave him, besides, several wholesome lessons of government, which, to any prince but one of Edward's mulish disposition, might have been of singular service to his government: but his partiality to foreigners made him not only neglect all English advice, but led him, at last, to endanger even his crown. This partiality was in no respect more conspicuous than in ecclesiastical matters: for he afterwards made one Robert, a Norman, archbishop of Canterbury; and two of his chaplains, both of them foreigners, William and Wulfhelm, bishops of London. These, together with a flood of other foreign preferments, almost normandized the nation even in this prince's reign. Ingulph, who lived at that time, says, that the French language became now the mode of the court; that deeds and instruments of law were drawn up in that tongue, according to the Norman forms; and that the English now grew ashamed of the plain manners of their ancestors. All these were symptoms of the fatal revolution that soon after took place.

We have already taken notice, that Robert, the archbishop of Canterbury, and other foreign favourites, were driven out of the kingdom by Godwin and his party, and no material ecclesiastical transaction occurs in England till the year 1044. We are told, however, in the mean time, of a remarkable English bishop, whose name was William. This prelate had borne several high offices, both in church and state, till at last he was raised to the bishopric of Roschild in Denmark, to which country he went at first in

History of William, an English bishop of Roschild in Denmark.

quality of chaplain to king Canute. That prince was succeeded in part of his dominions by his eldest son Sweyn, who proved a great libertine in his life and morals. The virtuous bishop could not bear with this; he sharply reproved the king for an incestuous marriage he had made, and, in the end, prevailed upon him to send away his queen. But Sweyn, who was not only lascivious but bloody, soon after ordered some of his principal subjects, without any form of law, to be executed. This revived the prelate's virtuous indignation; and one day, as the king was entering the church, William, with his crozier in his hand, standing on the threshold, boldly refused him admittance till he made satisfaction for his sins. Sweyn, who was himself of a passionate disposition, was confounded with the prelate's boldness, and some of his courtiers had already their swords drawn to punish it with death. But William, with a serenity well becoming his character, stretched forth his bare neck to their fury, declaring that he was prepared to die, rather than suffer his church to be prophaned by the presence of one who was stained with innocent blood. This gallant resignation awakened in Sweyn a lively sense of his crimes, and interposing between the bishop and the swords of his courtiers, immediately promised to submit to penance, which he actually did, and held the prelate ever after in a high degree of favour.

His freedom in reproving Sweyn king of Norway.

His fortitude.

The king reclaimed.

In the year 1045, one Herman, a Fleming, who had been chaplain to Edward, succeeded Berthwold in the see of Wilton, or Ramsbury. One see was not sufficient for this prelate; and taking hold of that indulgence the king naturally had for foreigners, together with a vacancy in the abbey of Malmesbury through the death of the abbot, he asked Edward to have the abbey of Malmesbury thrown into his bishopric. The king, says the historian, who was generally more swayed by simplicity than sense, immediately granted his request, with an order for dissolving the abbey in three days. But before the new incumbent could be put in possession, one of the monks, hearing of the doom pronounced against them, repaired to earl Godwin, laid before him the injustice of the sentence, and implored his patronage for having the grant reversed. Godwin, well pleased with an opportunity of opposing foreign influence about the king's person, immediately applied to Edward in pretty peremptory terms, and desired him to recall his grant. Edward was easily prevailed on; and the Fleming, being thus disappointed, left England in a rage, and took the habit of a monk in St. Bertine's. But not relishing the austerities of monastic life, and hearing of a vacancy in the see of Sherborn, he soon returned to England, where he prevailed with Edward, during the disgrace and absence of Godwin, to annex the see of Ramsbury to that of Sherborn, and to put him in possession of both. This see, in the Conqueror's reign, was translated to Salisbury.

Herman made bishop of Wilton.

Asks for the abbey of Malmesbury.

is disappointed, and goes abroad; but is restored.

In the year 1047, Stigand was preferred to the bishopric of Winchester. William of Malmesbury

History of Stigand.

Malmesbury is by no means favourable to the character of this prelate, who was afterwards archbishop of Canterbury, at least, with regard to the methods by which he rose. He had been before bishop of Elman in Norfolk, and had several bickerings with one Grimkettle, who found means to get him ejected. Stigand, however, being a man of sense and spirit, soon recovered his interest, and got himself preferred to the see of Selsey, while his brother Ethelmar was made bishop of the East-Angles.

The see of Kirton removed to Exeter.

The next year a considerable revolution happened to the see of Kirton, or Crediton, in Devonshire, which was now removed to Exeter. The first prelate which sat here, was one Leofric, a Lorrainer, a man of great quality and learning. Immediately after he had translated the seat of his see, he ejected all the monks out of the monastery of St. Peter, and brought in canons in their stead. Those canons eat all together at one table, and slept promiscuously in one bed-chamber, after the manner of their bishop's country. They had a steward appointed them by the prelate, who provided them with all necessaries of food and raiment; and those regulations continued for some time, till they were broken in upon by the luxury of succeeding ages. We are likewise told, that Edward and his queen did Leofric the honour to lead him up, the first by the right-hand, and the latter by the left, and placed him in his episcopal chair.

Edward's vow to visit Rome.

King Edward, about this time, began to entertain great disquietudes with regard to the performance of a vow which he had made during the days of his danger and distress. We are told, by one of his biographers, that upon this occasion he summoned together a meeting of his clergy and nobility. He then laid before them, in very pathetic terms, the obligations he was under to perform his engagements to heaven, as a mark of gratitude for the many signal deliverances he had met with, both before and since his accession to the throne. He recommended to them, at the same time, to think of some form of a regency, for the management both of civil and military affairs, during his absence on the pilgrimage to Rome he intended to make, in consequence of his former vow.

but they are averse to the performance of it.

However insignificant the person of a king may often-times be, with regard to matters of state; yet his presence and character are sometimes absolutely necessary for the quiet and regularity of government. The factions of the nobility, and some clouds which were then threatening from Denmark, gave a very comfortable prospect to Edward's council, in case he should leave the kingdom at that juncture. Add to this, that the common people, who had a high veneration for Edward, incessantly importuned him to lay aside the thoughts of his voyage; till at last, no longer able to resist the solicitations of all ranks, he agreed to stay at home. But some method was to be fallen upon for quieting his conscience and saving appearances. His council undertook to do this;

Edward lays aside his resolution.

and Aldred bishop of Worcester, with several other persons of eminence both in church and state, were deputed to wait upon the pope, the only power who could quiet Edward's conscience, or could absolve him from his vow. Leo IX. then filled the papal chair; and when the deputies came to Rome, they found him presiding in a senate, to which they were introduced. Here they opened before his holiness the full extent of their commission, and endeavoured to persuade the assembly how extremely inconvenient Edward's absence, at that juncture, must prove both to the crown and the people of England; at the same time beseeching the Pope to absolve him from his vow. Leo, after taking the matter into consideration with his senate, agreed to the request; but, by way of commutation, enjoined the king to distribute in alms, a sum equal to that which he might have spent had he performed his journey. And farther, either to found a new monastery, or bestow large benefactions upon an old one. At the same time he previously confirmed, with denunciations against all who should invade them, all the privileges Edward should think fit to grant upon this occasion. The deputies returning, the success of the embassy gave great satisfaction to the nation, and Edward immediately pitched upon Westminster for the monastery which was to be endowed.

A deputation sent to the pope,

who absolves Edward from his vow upon certain conditions.

About the year 1054, the foreigners, with Robert archbishop of Canterbury at their head, having been driven out of England, Stigand stepped into the see of Canterbury; but without resigning the bishopric of Winchester. His keeping the revenues of both is far from doing any honour to his memory as a churchman; but their revenues, with his own natural parts, undoubtedly made him a very considerable subject. His acquired endowments were but trifling. William of Malmesbury taxes him strongly with avarice and simony; for, besides the two bishoprics, he tells us, that he possessed several abbies, each of which was, says he, sufficient to have satisfied one honest man. We learn, from the same author, that he never obtained the pall from Rome; though he insinuates, that he might easily have purchased it at that venal court: and tells us, that he got one from Benedict the anti-pope, whose authority was disowned by the church, and all his acts soon after annulled. Yet we find Stigand under no manner of concern for want of this formality; he proceeded in all his archiepiscopal duties, and the church of England seems to have been perfectly well satisfied with his commission.

Stigand made archbishop of Canterbury.

His avarice.

He never obtained a pall from Rome.

About, or rather before, this time, died earl Godwin, of whom two remarkable adventures are told, which properly belong to the history of the church. The first regards the manner in which he got Bosham, or Bosham, in Suffex, formerly belonging to the archbishop of Canterbury. We have the story from Mr. Camden, who transcribes it from one Walter Mape's book, de Nugis Curialibus, in the following terms: "This Bosham,

Two stories of Godwin.

[Camden.]
The manner
in which he
got Boscum,

"Boscum, below Chichester, says he, Godwin saw, and had a mind to; and being accompanied with a great train of lords, came smiling and jesting to the archbishop of Canterbury, whose town it then was. My lord, says he, give me Boscum. The archbishop, wondering what he desired by that request, I give you, says he, Boscum. He presently, with his company of knights and soldiers, fell down, as he had before designed, at his feet, and kissing them, with a world of thanks, retired to Boscum, and by force of arms kept possession of it, as lord of it; and having his followers as witnesses to back him, gave the archbishop, in the king's presence, a great many commendations as the donor, and so held it peaceably."

The other is a pretty remarkable story, and to be found in the same author, in the following words: "Berkley is a village near Severn, of the yearly value of five hundred pounds, in which was a nunnery, governed by an abbess, that was both notable and beautiful. Earl Godwin, a noble, subtle man, not desiring her, but hers, as he passed by, left his nephew, a young, proper, handsome spark (under pretence of being seized with sickness) till he should return back thither, and instructed him to counterfeit an indisposition, till he had got all who came to visit him, both lady abbess, and as many of the nuns as he could, with child. And to carry on the intrigue more plausibly, and more effectually to obtain the favour of their visits, the earl furnished him with rings and girdles, that by those presents he might the more easily corrupt and gain their inclinations. There needed no great intreaty to persuade this young gallant to undertake an employment so amorous and pleasing. The way to destruction is easy, and quickly learned. He seemed wonderful cunning to himself; but all his cunning was but folly. In him were centered all those accomplishments that might captivate foolish and unthinking virgins, beauty, wit, riches, and obliging mein; and he was very solicitous to have a private apartment to himself. The devil therefore expelled Pallas, and brought in Venus; and converted the church of our Saviour and his saints into an accursed pantheon, the temple into a stew, and the lambs into wolves. When many of them proved with child, and the youth began to languish, being overcome with the excess and variety of pleasure, he hastened home with the reports of his conquests (worthy to have the reward of iniquity) to his expecting lord. The earl immediately addresses the king, and acquaints him that the abbess and nuns were gotten with child, and had rendered themselves prostitutes to all comers; all which, upon inquiry, was found true. Upon the expulsion of the nuns, he begs Berkley, and had it granted to him by the king, and settled it upon his wife Guida; but, as Domesday-book has it, she re-

"fused to eat any thing that came out of this manor, because of the destruction of the abbey; and therefore he bought Udecestor for her maintenance whilst she lived at Berkley."

In the year 1056, Egilric resigned to his brother Egilwin the see of Durham. This last prelate, in honour to St. Cuthbert, whose bones had been long buried in Chester upon the Street, built there a church to the memory of that saint. While the workmen were digging the foundations, they found a large treasure, probably buried there by the Romans. The bishop, as lord of the place, immediately laid claim to the discovery, and found himself, all of a sudden, too much enriched for him any longer to mind the practice of his episcopal duties: for he retired to Peterborough, but not before he had done great public services to the country; and, in particular, extending a great causeway cross a morass, a forest and deep, from Deping to Spalding, and which still retains his name.

I have already taken notice of the consecration of Westminster abbey, which was the place king Edward fixed upon, that he might discharge his vow of pilgrimage. That place was already distinguished by several monkish stories, and by a small monastery which had been founded there by Sigebert king of Essex. Edward, to give his foundation the greater air of solemnity, after pulling down the remains of the old monastery, rebuilt it in a most magnificent manner. He then granted it a charter of privileges; but thought himself, in decency, obliged again to apply to the see of Rome for its confirmation. The ambassadors sent upon this occasion, were Aldred archbishop of York, Tosti son to earl Godwin, Giso bishop of Wells, and Walter bishop of Hereford. Nicholas II, who was then pope, received all the ambassadors, excepting the archbishop of York, with great distinction and civilities. But as to Aldred, a charge having been brought against him for simony, he was tried and found guilty. From the words of Malmesbury one should be apt to imagine, that the most severe charge against this prelate was, his holding both the archbishopric of York, and the bishopric of Worcester, merely by virtue of the royal authority, without any dispensation from the pope: for the same author tells us, that he being condemned by his own answers, sentence was accordingly passed upon him, and he was divested both of his jurisdiction and character.

The ambassadors, presenting their credentials, met with a favourable reception, and were dismissed by the pope with abundance of caresses; but had not gone a great way from Rome, before they were set upon by a gang of banditti, who robbed them of all they had about them. Tosti, who, it seems, had conceived a high opinion of the pope, from the stately manner in which he gave his audiences, and his imperious way of treating every body about him, was amazed that people should be found so hardy as to rob,

Egilric resigns the see of Durham to his brother;

who finding a treasure, retires from his see.

History of Westminster abbey.

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Edward sends a deputation to Rome.

Aldred archbishop of York tried, and found guilty of simony.

The ambassadors robbed.

rob, even at the gates of Rome, those who had been so highly distinguished by his holiness. He returned to Rome to equip himself again for his journey; and finding he was likely to obtain very little redress, he told the pope very roundly, that he believed his holiness was in concert with the gang which had robbed him, and required him to restore his effects, otherwise he threatened to make Edward stop in his own hands St. Peter's pence, and indemnify him for his loss out of it. When it was answered him, that those robberies were very common, he demanded how the court of Rome could imagine that a foreign power would ever regard the papal thunder, when it had not power to deter an inconsiderable gang of rogues from robbing at the very gates of their capital. This high language startled his holiness, and he knew too much of Tosti not to fear that he would make good what he threatened. To make matters up, therefore, he offered to restore Aldred to his function and character, provided that prelate would consent to resign the bishopric of Worcester, in lieu of which, Nicholas offered to leave him in the possession of York, and to give him the pall. This offer was accepted of, and the pope sent a couple of legates into England along with the ambassadors, who, according to Malmesbury, consecrated Wulfstan bishop of Worcester. It must be owned there is some difficulty here, with regard to the authority by which this prelate was consecrated, since Stigand was then in England, and in the exercise of metropolitanical power; but we are to consider, that Stigand, as I observed before, had never received the pall from Rome, and was therefore looked upon as an usurper of those powers by that court. It was, therefore, no wonder if the pope, as his predecessors had ever done, laid hold of this opportunity to enlarge his power, by sending his legates to perform metropolitanical functions in England. This, if we admit the relation of Malmesbury, was not done with a shew of a direct disavowal of Stigand's authority; such a step might have been dangerous, since we find him acknowledged in his metropolitanical capacity both by the court and people: but the pope, unwilling to hazard this, seems to have covered his ambition with the pretence of doing the greater credit to the elect bishop, by sending his own legates to consecrate him, and to have removed from Stigand all cause of complaint, since the authority by which Aldred might have performed this consecration was unquestionable.

But it must not be dissembled here that the church of Rome had another quarrel with Stigand, for intruding into the see of Canterbury during the life-time of his expelled predecessor Robert. This quarrel had gone so far, that Stigand had been actually suspended by pope Alexander; nor does it appear that that suspension was at this time taken off. Notwithstanding these many provocations, the pope appears to have acted with great caution, for fear of provoking the English church upon this occasion. But

this story is very differently told by Florence and our other historians, who expressly say, that Wulfstan was consecrated by Aldred himself. Stubbs, the author of the acts of the bishops of York, seems to agree with this account; only he tells us, that Aldred took the pope's legates as his assistants in the ceremony of consecration. But be all this as it will, it is very evident that Stigand powerfully supported his rights upon this occasion; for though he was unable to hinder the consecration of Wulfstan, yet he obliged Aldred publicly to declare before the king and his council, that he renounced all pretences of ecclesiastical right, or secular superiority over Wulfstan, on account of his having consecrated him, or his having been a monk under him before his consecration. This incident is a strong disavowal of the pope's authority over the ecclesiastical government of England at this time, and therefore I have related it the more minutely. It must likewise be owned, that the English clergy began now to be highly sensible of their own weight and importance. As a proof of this, Edward left the clergy of Worcester free in their election of a bishop, when they chose Wulfstan; and notwithstanding all the resentment of the papal chair against Stigand, yet we find that prelate, about this very time, signing one of Edward's charters to the monastery of Westminster, in his quality of archbishop, next to the queen herself, and before Aldred, though the latter had received the pall from Rome.

About this time Egelfin, the abbot of St. Augustine's in Canterbury, was, in honour of his founder, highly distinguished by pope Alexander II: for happening to go to Rome, he had the badges of a mitre and sandals bestowed upon him, though peculiar only to the episcopal order. These distinctions were enjoyed by Egelfin, till the persecution raised against him, under the conqueror, obliged him to leave the kingdom.

In the civil history of king Edward, I have already given all his ecclesiastical laws, which being interwoven with his political ones, could not be separated. I have indeed only slightly hinted at the eighth and ninth laws, which I shall here set down at large, as they are of great ecclesiastical importance, to prove that parish churches, endowed with tythes, were then common in England.

VIII. "The tenth sheaf is due to God of all corn, and therefore to be paid. If any one keep a family of mares, let him pay the tenth colt. Let him that has one or two, only pay a penny for every colt. So let him that has many cows, pay the tenth calf; he that has but one cow, an halfpenny for every calf. Let him that makes cheeses, pay to God the tenth cheese; let him that does not, pay the milk every tenth day; likewise the tenth lamb, the tenth fleece, the tenth cheese, the tenth butter, the tenth pig. IX. "Likewise of bees, the tenth of the profit; likewise the tenth is to be given

Tosti procures the abolition of Aldred.

Aldred resigns the bishopric of Worcester, and gets the pall.

Difficulties with regard to this transaction.

Great variations among historians.

Stigand's great spirit.

Great weight of the English clergy at this time.

Distinctions paid to the abbot of Canterbury.

Parish churches endowed with tythes.

“ to God, who gives the nine parts, as well
 “ as the tenth, of wood, meadow, waters,
 “ mills, parks, warrens, fisheries, offices, gar-
 “ dens and negotiations. Let him that de-
 “ tains it be constrained by the bishop’s
 “ court, and by the king’s, if that be ne-
 “ cessary; for the blessed Austin preached
 “ and taught this, and it was granted by
 “ the king, and barons, and people. But
 “ afterwards many detained them by instinct
 “ of the devil, and priests being rich and
 “ negligent, did not care to be at the pains
 “ to get them, because they had sufficient
 “ maintenance: for there are now three or
 “ four churches in many places, where then
 “ there was but one; and thus tythes be-
 “ gan to be diminished.”

History of the
 original of
 parish church-
 es in England.

It is, I say, pretty evident, from this last law, that the division of parish churches were at this time established in England; but as to the particular period when this establishment became general, it is a matter of some difficulty to discover. We learn indeed from Bede, that so far back as the time of Berinus, who was the first bishop among the West Saxons, that he built several churches within his diocese of Dorchester; but this gives us little insight as to the original division of dioceses into parishes. It is certain that the Saxons, in the partition of their dioceses, imitated the apostles, with regard to that of their patriarchs or primates.

Dist. 8. c. 1.

We are told, in Gratian, by pope Lucius, “ That the cities and the places where
 “ primates are to preside are not of a late
 “ model, but were fixed many years be-
 “ fore the coming of Christ; to the govern-
 “ ors of which cities the Gentiles also made
 “ their appeals in their more weighty af-
 “ fairs. In which very cities also, after the
 “ coming of Christ, the apostles and their
 “ successors settled patriarchs, or primates,
 “ who have power to judge the causes of
 “ bishops and others of great consequence.”

Mr. Camden’s
 opinion.

Mr. Camden is of opinion, that the bounds of the three metropolitans in Britain were directed by the names of the three first provinces: that the archbishop of Canterbury presided over the Britannia Prima of the Romans, the archbishop of Caer-leon over the Britan-

nia Secunda, and that the see of York included the Maxima Cæsariensis. But we must understand this observation only of the time of the Romans, when the learned author supposes that those three divisions had three archbishops; for it was two or three ages after that the seats of their several sees were fixed.

The Saxons, I say, in imitation of this polity, at first knew no other bounds to a see than those of the kingdom, within which it was erected. Thus every kingdom of the heptarchy originally contained only one bishopric, called after its own name. This bishop, upon the conversion of the king of his diocese, as was the case of Augustine, had a certain portion of land or revenue allotted him for his maintenance, and that of his clergy. That revenue, by pope Gregory’s orders, was divided among them; but it appears, that the bishop was its steward, and paid the clergy, who then served in an itinerary capacity within the bishop’s diocese. In process of time, as the increase of converts made it convenient, and donations of pious princes enabled them, the clergy built churches for the conveniency of their congregation’s meeting: but I am very inclinable to believe, that those churches cannot be so properly said to have been parochial, as to have been chapels of ease to the bishop’s cathedral; and of that kind were the churches built by Berinus. But it is plain, from Withred’s ecclesiastical laws, which were passed so early as the year 696, that those churches, or at least those itinerant clergy, were (1) pretty frequent at that time in the kingdom of Kent; but that the original privileges, excepting those granted by Ethelbert, required the consent not only of the king and noblemen, but of the collective body of the people, to have them pass (2). In the year 747 (3), there is reason to believe, that the clergy were not of the same itinerant kind; but had particular districts, or parishes, assigned to them. Mr. Camden, from the Canterbury history, makes Honorius, archbishop of Canterbury in the year 636, the first who divided his diocese into parishes (4): but still there is great reason to question, whether even this division ought

The ecclesi-
 astical polity
 of the Saxons.

Parish church-
 es first built.

Withred’s
 laws, l. 4.

Ibid. l. 1.
 Cuthbert’s
 canons.

(1) If foreigners will not reform their filthiness, let them, with their goods and sins, depart out of the land; so that the churchmen among the people suffer the loss of communion, without being banished. Withred’s laws, l. 4.

(2) When Withred, the most clement king of the Kentish, bore rule, in the fifth year of his reign, in the ninth indiction, on the 6th day of August, at a place called Berghamsted, a conciliary congress of great men was assembled. There was Brithwald chief bishop of Britain, and the king before-named; and also the bishop of Rochester, the same was named Gibmund; every order of the church in that nation of the same mind, with the people subject to them, were present, and treated. And there the great men devised these dooms with the consent of all, and made additions to the righteous usages of the Kentish, as it is hereunder said and declared. Ibid. l. 1.

(3) They added orderly in the ninth head, That priests, in places and districts assigned to them by the bishops of the province, take care to discharge the duty of the apostolical commission, in baptizing, teaching and visiting, according to lawful rites, with great diligence, that they may, according to the apostle, be accounted worthy of double honour. And let them, by all means, take care, as becomes the ministers of God, that they do not give to the seculars, or monastics, an example of ridiculous or wicked conversation; that is, to say no more, by drunkenness, love of filthy lucre, or obscene talking, and the like. Cuthbert’s canons, c. 9.

(4) Bede mentions (l. iv. c. 5.) the word parishes, in giving the summary of what passed at the council of Hereford: “ Let no bishop, says the canon, invade the parish of another; but let him be contented with the care of the flock committed to him.” The same author very clearly mentions the consecrations of such churches as I have taken notice of to have been built by noblemen and men of property, for the conveniency of their own tenants, in l. v. c. 4, 5. where he was sent for, by the earls Puell and Addi, to consecrate two churches on their estates. It may be proper, in this place, for the reader’s better understanding the future part of this ecclesiastical history, to give an account, from the latest edition of Mr. Camden’s Britannia, of the divisions, both of dioceses and parishes, as under the two metropolitans.

In the Province of CANTERBURY.

Canterbury, with Rochester, contains the county of Kent, London, Essex, Middlesex, and part of Hertfordshire; Chichester, Sussex, Winchester, Hampshire, Surrey, and the isle of Wight; with Guernsey and Jersey, islands lying upon the coast of

ought to answer the modern division of parochial cures.

Great subjects first built parish churches. This last seems to have taken its rise from the conveniency of great subjects and men of property, in the same manner as the several divisions did from that of their kings: for the division made by the bishops, being rather intended for the ease of their clergy, who all of them had an immediate dependance on the cathedral (and, excepting during the exercise of their function, perhaps resided with their bishop) the men of property found this ecclesiastical division very inconvenient for their tenants, and therefore they began to erect churches, and to endow them upon their own estate. It was far from being against the interest of the bishops to dispute this; and we may believe, they rather promoted it, since whatever accidental provision of this kind was made, freed the bishop from the maintenance of a certain number of labourers. It appears however, from the above law of Edward, as well as from many parts of our history, that those noblemen and others, who had been at the expence of building or endowing churches, thought that they had thereby done enough

towards the maintenance of the clergy, and therefore ought to be exempted from the payment of tythes. It was, probably, owing to this refractoriness that king Ethelwulf, and other princes, so often repeated and enjoined, by solemn acts, the payment of tythes in the strictest sense, long after that payment had been established and understood both by precept and practice.

As to the dispute about the divine right of tythes, which has been handled with so much zeal and heat on both sides, it comes not within the province of an historian: it is sufficient if it appears, as I think it evidently does, that the clergy had to their possessions as full, as legal, and as clear, a right, as any layman had to his.

All that now remains to finish this division of ecclesiastical history, is to give, from the best authorities, some short account of the church history of Wales, which fell within this period; because, as Sir Henry Spelman thought that such an account was necessary to his work, it is surely so to mine. In or about the days of king Alfred, no less than seven synods were held at Landaff. The particular dates of those synods are not in-

An account of seven synods of Landaff.

of Normandy; Salisbury, Wiltshire, and Berkshire; Exeter, Devonshire, and Cornwall; Bath and Wells jointly, Somersetshire, Gloucester, Gloucestershire, Worcester, Worcestershire, and part of Warwickshire; Hereford, Herefordshire, and part of Shropshire; Coventry and Litchfield, Staffordshire, Derbyshire, and the other part of Warwickshire; as also that part of Shropshire which borders upon the river Repil; Lincoln, the largest six counties, Lincolnshire, Leicestershire, Huntingdonshire, Bedfordshire, Buckinghamshire, and the other part of Hertfordshire; Ely, Cambridgeshire, and the isle of Ely; Norwich, Norfolk, and Suffolk; Oxford, Oxfordshire, Peterborough, Northamptonshire, and Rutlandshire; Bristol, Dorsetshire. To which eighteen dioceses in England, must be added those of Wales, which were deprived of an archbishop of their own, and are also made fewer, seven hardly coming entire into four. These are, St. David's (whose seat is at St. David's) Landaff, Banchor, and Afaph, or Elevenfis.

In the Province of YORK.

York itself comprehends Yorkshire and Nottinghamshire, Chester, Cheshire, Richmondshire, and Lancashire; with part of Cumberland, Flintshire, and Denbighshire; Durham, the bishopric of Durham, and Northumberland; Carlisle, part of Cumberland, and Westmoreland. To which number may be added the bishopric of Sodor, in the isle of Man.

Among these, the archbishop of Canterbury has the first place, the archbishop of York the second, the bishop of London the third, the bishop of Durham the fourth, and the bishop of Winchester the fifth; the rest take place according to the time of their consecration. But if any of the other bishops happen to be secretary of state, in virtue thereof he claims the first place next to these. There are, besides, twenty-six deaneries, thirteen whereof were erected in the larger churches by king Henry VIII, upon his expulsion of the monks. The archdeaconries are sixty, and the dignities and prebends make five hundred and forty-four. There are also nine thousand, two hundred and eighty-four parish churches under the bishops; of which three thousand, eight hundred and forty-five are appropriate, as is plain from the catalogue exhibited to king James I, which I have here subjoined. Now, appropriate churches are such as (by authority of the pope, and the consent of the king and bishop of the diocese) were, on certain conditions, annexed to these monasteries, bishoprics, colleges, and hospitals, whose revenues were but small; either because they were built upon their ground, or granted by the lords of the manor. Such a settlement is expressed in law, by being united, annexed, and incorporated for ever; but, upon the subversion of the monasteries, these (to the great damage of the church) were made lay fees.

In the Province of CANTERBURY.

Dioceses.	Parish churches.	Churches appropriate.	Dioceses.	Parish churches.	Churches appropriate.
Canterbury, — — —	257	140	Ely, — — —	141	75
London, — — —	623	189	Rochester, — — —	98	36
Winchester, — — —	362	131	Chichester, — — —	250	112
Coventry and Litchfield, —	557	250	Oxford, — — —	195	88
Salisbury, — — —	248	109	Worcester, — — —	241	76
Bath and Wells, — — —	388	160	Bristol, — — —	236	64
Lincoln, — — —	1255	577	St. David's, — — —	308	120
Peterborough, — — —	293	91	Bangor, — — —	107	36
Exeter, — — —	604	239	Landaff, — — —	177	98
Gloucester, — — —	267	125	St. Afaph, — — —	121	19
Hereford, — — —	313	166	Peculiars in the province	} 57	14
Norwich, — — —	1121	385	of Canterbury, — — —		

The whole number in the province of Canterbury is 8219 parish churches, and 3303 churches appropriate.

In the Province of YORK.

Dioceses.	Parish churches.	Churches appropriate.	Dioceses.	Parish churches.	Churches appropriate.
York, — — —	581	336	Chester, — — —	256	101
Durham, — — —	135	87	Carlisle, — — —	93	18

The whole number in the province of York is 1065 parish churches, and 542 churches appropriate.

The whole number in both provinces is 9284 parish churches, and 3845 churches appropriate.

deed marked; but a passage (1) in Afferius, who sets down the names of the princes mentioned in them, proves that they were cotemporary with that author. The reader will not be surprized at the great number of kings mentioned to have been deposed, or excommunicated, by the Welsh clergy, when he is informed, that these kings were no other than men of considerable property in their several districts. In the first-mentioned synod, one Teudor, a king, was excommunicated for the complicated crimes of murder and perjury. In the second, which was held under bishop Berthguin, one king Clotri was excommunicated for the like offences. In the third, which was held under the same prelate, Gurcan is excommunicated for incest with his step-mother. The fourth synod was held under bishop Cerenhir, and in it one king Howel is excommunicated for murder and perjury. The same prelate held the fifth synod, and excommunicated Conbli for the like crimes. The sixth-mentioned synod was held by bishop Gulfrid, and vindicated the church's rights against certain invasions. Bishop Civeillanc held the seventh synod against king Brochvail, upon some private differences happening between them. In all those synods the offenders not only made very deep submissions, but paid large mulcts to the church. But it is observable, that the author of the collection from which this is taken, upon every occasion, when he mentions excommunication, speaks of the clergy's laying their crosses upon the ground, and turning the bells of the churches upside down. Whatever authority this manuscript may have with regard to material facts, yet Sir Henry Spelman is of opinion, that those expressions prove the author to have lived

Remark upon
the authority
from which
they are taken.

long after the time within which his facts are supposed to have fallen, because neither crosses nor bells, in the days of Alfred, were erected within the British churches.

Hoel Dha, or Howel the Good, who was cotemporary with Edmund of England, has left us a pretty considerable collection of ecclesiastical laws, which were composed in an assembly of his states, which consisted of all his eminent clergy, and six learned laymen out of every hundred or demut of his kingdom; a committee of whom, made up of one clergyman and twelve laymen, drew up the laws. The most remarkable, I think, is the twelfth; by which it is provided, That a woman might, upon three accounts, obtain a separation and restitution of her fortune from her husband: first, if he had the scab; secondly, if he had an ill breath; and thirdly, if he was impotent.

Account of
Hoel Dha's
laws.

Spelman.

About the year 955, a synod was held at Landaff, on account of certain ecclesiastical depredations, committed by one king Nougui, who submitted to the censure of the synod. Another synod was held at the same place, on account of the violation of sanctuary in a church, in which a deacon had taken refuge after killing a man in a very base manner. In this synod the rights of the church were powerfully supported, while the offenders are taken out of the hands of the civil power, and severely punished by the ecclesiastical, both in persons and estates. About the year 991, Gucan, who had been consecrated bishop of Landaff by Dunstan, held a synod in order to impose ecclesiastical censures upon one king Arthmail, who had murdered his brother. The issue was, that the offender submitted, and purchased his pardon, by giving a large consideration to the church.

More synods
of Landaff.

(1) Illo tempore (that is, in 887) et multo ante, omnes regiones dextralis Britanniae partis, ad Ælfred regem pertinebant, et adhuc pertinent: Hemeid: scil. cum omnibus habitatoribus Demeticæ regionis; et sex filiorum Rotri, vi compulsus regali se subdiderat imperio. Hovil quoque filius Ris, rex Glesguising, et Brochmail atque Fernail filii Mourie reges Guent, vi et tyrannide Eadred comitis et Merciorum compulsi, suapte eundem expetiverunt regem, ut dominum et defensionem ab eo pro inimicis suis haberent. Helised quoque filius Teudyr rex Brechonix, eorundem filiorum Rotri vi coactus, dominium regis præfati suapte requisivit. Anarant quoque filius Rotri cum suis fratribus.

END OF THE FOURTH BOOK.

A

GENERAL HISTORY

O F

ENGLAND.

BOOK V.

From the reign of HAROLD II, to the end of that of HENRY III;
containing a period of one hundred and fifty years.

The INTER-REIGN between October and Christmas, 1066.

A. D. 1066.
General re-
flection,

AS the Corinthian brass owed its excellency to the conflux of various metals in a conflagration, so the English nation owes its virtues to the assemblage of different people after conquest. In this case, the qualities that perhaps, separately, were insignificant or mean, become useful ingredients in the mighty-mingled mass, till it settles into a body, partaking of properties peculiar to itself, from the various substances of which the whole is composed. This observation holds equally of the natural as the political body of this nation. The blood of the Britons had been mixed with that of the Romans, and both were incorporated with the Saxons, till tintured by a mixture of the Danes. But this alloy was soon corrected by the accession of the Normans; a people who, in general, had more abilities than virtues, and flourishing in arts and learning, then almost extinct in England. Thus the English derive their openness from the Britons, their magnanimity from the Romans, their good sense from the Saxons, their adventuring spirit from the Danes, and all their other noble qualities from the Normans.

and view of
the English at
the time of the
conquest.

We are therefore now to attempt the history of a people very different from those we have hitherto described; different not only in manners and inclinations, but in the frame of their civil polity. The Anglo-Saxon government, at the time of the Normans invasion, was ripe for the calamities that befell it. The stirring spirit of Harold might have indeed roused them out of their lethargy; but his fate, precipitated by the defects of his title, and the obstinacy of his temper, weighed both him and his country down to misery. Had one spark of the spirit which formerly animated the blood of Cer-

NUMB. XXX.

dic, existed in Edgar, England, notwithstanding the late defeat at Hastings, would still have made a vigorous, perhaps a successful, struggle. But, above all, had the distribution of public and private property been more equal, had not the clergy (a set of men, at that time, the stains of human nature) held the vast possessions they did, all the loss the nation met with at Hastings would have been but like a gentle bleeding to a plethoric body. So sensible was the Norman of this, that one of the exercises of William's sovereignty in Britain was upon the rich abbot of St. Alban's: for the latter, not without the air of a menace, mentioning the great power and possessions the clergy had in England, the Conqueror told him, he was sensible they were too great, and for that very reason the Danes, from whom he was threatened with an invasion, might as easily wrest the sovereignty from him as he had from Harold; and therefore he soon after stripped the abbot of his estate. I shall not any longer detain my reader with general reflections, which may be best gathered from the particulars; but re-conduct him to the thread of the history itself, during this important period.

A. D. 1066.

We have already hinted, that the battle of Hastings was a dispute rather between two bodies of mercenary forces, than between two people contending for superiority and independence. The defeat of Harold opened, rather than terminated, William's prospect of success: but storms and tempests rested on the point where his eye was fixed, I mean the succession to the crown of England. The Norman had the address to make those spend their fury upon each other, while his interest (powerful, chiefly because undissipated) dispelled the clouds, and swallowed

A. D. 1066. lowed up, in its own lustre, every opposing body.

Account of
the parties in
England.
The English,

The Danish,

and the Nor-
man.

There were, at this time, chiefly three interests in England; the Anglo-Saxon, the Danish, and the Norman. In the former were all the English, who wished to see the scene of public calamity closed, though at the expence of a greater effusion of blood: but they thought this never could be effected, nor the constitution fixed upon its ancient and natural basis, without restoring the race of Cerdic to the throne of England. In the Danish interest were all the heads of the old Danish families, who had been long settled, and had great possessions, in England: but what made them still more considerable, was their having promises of being supported by a powerful fleet and army, which was then actually equipping in Denmark by Sweyn, who claimed in the right of Canute. The third party was that of the Normans: though this interest was not so considerable in England as either of the other two, yet it became powerful when backed by a victorious army. But it is evident, that the one without the other, notwithstanding the late victory, and the irreconcilable division between the other two interests, must have been insufficient for William's purposes. The Normans, however, settled in England, during the time of Ethelred and Edward, were respectable, not so much on account of their numbers, as by the dignity of their persons, their reputation with the people, the high employments they had held under a prince whose memory was still dear to the nation, and their own superior address and knowledge in all the arts of social and civil life.

William was sensible that, while three such powerful factions subsisted, he had nothing to apprehend, from what he had most reason otherwise to dread, unanimity in public councils, nor, consequently, from any sudden resolution of the English for settling the succession. This seems to have been the reason why he appeared quite unconcerned when a meeting of the English states was summoned at London, chiefly through the means of the brothers Edwin and Morchar, the two most powerful subjects in England. It is far from being clear, by history, what part those two noblemen took, after the battle of Hastings, in the public distractions of their country. They had too large properties for them to wish for any revolution in the fundamentals of the constitution. Edgar Atheling was weak, uninformed, and unambitious for government. They themselves were Danes by original. The obligations they lay under were personally to the late Edward; and to have restored the blood of Edmund, by reviving former animosities, might have endangered their family estate. These considerations make what some authors insinuate probable; that they did not push the title of Edgar so warmly as they might have done; and the scepter having lately been wielded by the hand of a subject, they perhaps thought themselves as well fitted for sovereignty as any other person. Thus much is certain, that they were at least cool in the interest of

A meeting of
the states sum-
moned.

Views of Ed-
win and Mor-
char.

all parties, and that their indecision gave great advantages to the Conqueror. In the assembly of the states, however, a proposition was made for raising Edgar to the throne, and again making head against William. This proposition was the more reasonable, as the main strength of the nation was yet unbroken, the navy was in good order, the force of the enemy diminished by his late victory, and the hearts of the English, in general, so warmly inclined to Edgar, that he had the epithet of England's Darling. The two brothers, seeing that they had themselves no chance for the crown, would perhaps have relished this proposition, as under so weak a prince they might have been, what Godwin and Harold were before; but they had the misfortune of descending from a father obnoxious to the clergy, which foresaw that, under Edgar, the government would chiefly be managed by the brothers. But this was not the sole motive of the clergy's opposition to Edgar. William, with that policy which deep-laid ambition always uses during the dependance of its schemes, had still affected the most profound veneration for the church and churchmen. This gave them the prospect of their golden days being restored, and the more, as they saw several bishops in high rank and reputation, both in William's councils and army; little reflecting, through their gross ignorance, that those bishops, though of the same professions, were of very different characters from themselves. At the same time, superstition operated with avarice. The pope's thunder spoke on the side of the Normans, and they interpreted success as the voice of God, seconding the anathemas of their pontiff. From all those considerations, they flatly declared themselves in the Norman interest. On the other hand, one of their own order, the archbishop of York, piqued perhaps with the treatment he had lately received at Rome, vigorously stood up for Edgar, being supported by the city of London and the seamen, called by our historians *botescares*. It does not appear that, in this dispute, the Danish party were active, or so much as present: perhaps it was to them a matter of indifference, and they thought it imprudent to stir before a descent was made from Denmark to support them. We shall now leave things in this perplexed uncertain state, and return to the Conqueror.

A. D. 1066.
A proposition
to make Edgar
king;

opposed by the
clergy;

from what
views.

The archbi-
shop of York
in Edgar's in-
terest.

William's not marching to London immediately after his victory must have been of fatal consequence to his views, had he not known perfectly well the state and dispositions of the English parties. Those operated to his purposes; they created dissension, and dissension paved the way for submission; while he himself, in the mean time, was at liberty to pursue measures, which, in any event, must secure him a footing in the kingdom; and which, if neglected then, might have cost him great trouble and danger to have compassed afterwards. No prince ever appears to have been more sensible of the maxim, that empire is best propagated by those arts through which

William's
conduct.

A. D. 1066.

which it is acquired, than William was. He had lately struck an important blow, which had at once amazed and stupified the nation. Resentment might have succeeded that stupefaction, had she got time to recover; it was therefore now no season for the gentler arts of government. He returned to Hastings from the field of battle; he dispatched messengers, who filled all Europe with the news of the success; and he sent to the pope the standard of Harold he had taken in battle, which represented a man in armour, curiously adorned with gold and precious stones. He then increased his fortifications at Hastings, and leaving in them a strong garrison, he resolved to follow his late victory with a blow which should strike the terror of his arms into the hearts of the English. Some of his soldiers, through misfortune or mistake, had landed at Romney, and the inhabitants of that place had put them to the sword. William, upon this, resolved to make the Romney-men examples, to teach the rest of England what they were to expect, in case of future resistance.

He fortifies
Hastings.

He inflicts mi-
litary execu-
tion upon the
inhabitants of
Romney,

and takes Do-
ver.

He inflicted military execution upon the offenders. He then advanced against Dover. This place was strong both by nature and art; and the opinion which then prevailed of its being impregnable, had drawn together great numbers of the English, who fought to reserve themselves for better times; but the seasonable severities which the Norman had lately exerted daunted the garrison so much, that, after a faint resistance, they opened their gates, and admitted the Conqueror. Thus William made himself master of the most important key of the kingdom, for his admission, or return, as occasion should offer; and, at the same time, possessed all the other parts of the sea-coasts facing France. This was of infinite use to his designs at that juncture, as it kept open a communication between England and his friends on the continent, who were too much interested in his expedition, and too much elated with his success, not to support him. Having secured those great points, he now meditated to prosecute his main design, which can be hitherto said to have been but prosperously begun.

He had, as yet, heard of no submission to his authority from the states assembled at London, nor of any election in his favour; but, by the defection of the clergy from the Cerdic race, he found the scale preponderating in his favour. As the Danish party, however, had not yet declared themselves, and as he knew they daily expected a descent in their favour, farther delays might have frustrated all his projects, in case, by any incident, the interest of the Danes and the English should ever coalesce; or if the one should, either by treaty or fear, fall in with the other. No time was therefore to be lost. Change of climate at that season of the year, with alteration of diet, had occasioned several distempers in his army. He left his sick in hospitals at Dover, and set out for London at the head of his remaining troops, all well-affected to his service, all

determined to stand or fall by his fortunes.

On his march, the Kentishmen, who, as we have already observed, were a prerogative body, either from hereditary aversion to the blood of Cerdic, which they thought had supplanted the house of Hengist, from admiration of the conqueror's virtues, or from dread of his severity, made their terms with William. Historians are divided as to the manner in which this treaty was effected. An author deserving some regard informs us, that Stigand the archbishop of Canterbury, and Egelfin the abbot of St. Austin's, who had both of them, at the beginning of the troubles, retired to Kent, called together their countrymen upon this occasion: that they represented to them the infamy attending unpactioned subjection, the glory of preserved independence, and the probability of receiving their own terms from the conqueror. This remonstrance making a suitable impression upon the Kentishmen, a brave body of them cutting down a number of evergreens, placed themselves in a wood, through which they knew William must soon pass. Upon his approach, they threw down their boughs, and discovered a stout body of men, with resolution in their looks, and swords in their hands. William, startled at this unexpected appearance, and having only the van of his army along with him, made a full stop; upon which the Kentishmen sent the archbishop and Egelfin as their plenipotentiaries, to treat upon the terms of their submission. They accosted the duke in words proper for men of their circumstances, and he, with right policy, granted their demands.

A. D. 1066.

History of the
Kentishmen's
adventure
with William,

[Thorn.]
examined
into,

Though our historians have generally and justified, with great zeal opposed this account, as being inconsistent either with the character of the conqueror, the circumstances of the English, or the accounts of cotemporary authors; yet I can see no reason, from any of those considerations, why we should doubt the fact. As to the conqueror, lenity to the submitting was as consistent with his character, as was severity to the obstinate. His frequent declarations professed him a friend to the ancient constitution and liberties of Englishmen; and if he was attacked in the circumstances we have just mentioned, common prudence dictated acquiescence to the Kentish proposal. Besides, in this instance he did no more for that province, than he did afterwards for all England. As to the then circumstances of the English, they were, even at this time, far from being broken; part only of England had submitted; and it is allowed on all hands that London, which generally sets the example to all the rest of England, yet held out against the conqueror. With regard to the accounts of cotemporary authority, I think the inconsistency vanishes, when we reflect that Pieta-vien-sis was a creature of the Conqueror's, therefore likely enough to omit every circumstance that has any appearance of English independency upon this occasion. But even this is not the case; for Pieta-vien-sis himself mentions the men of Kent meeting and

He prepares
to march to
London.

A. D. 1066.

A. D. 1066.

and entering upon a treaty with William while he was on this march. He does not indeed mention the manner in which it was proposed and concluded; but his relation is a sufficient ground for not rejecting that of Thorn, on account of its inconsistency with our other writers.

The inhabitants of Canterbury submit.

The Kentish men either thus freely or conditionally submitting, the inhabitants of Canterbury did the like, and William was now at full liberty to pursue his journey to London. But not finding the same dispositions in the inhabitants of the other counties as in those of Kent, he resolved to strike such a terror in his progress as should deter them from all future opposition. Accordingly, being well assured that there was no body of English in the field to dispute his progress, he divided his army into several columns, and ordering them to take different routs, appointed the rendezvous of the whole at London. The march of those columns was through the counties of Sussex, Kent, Hampshire, Surrey, Middlesex, Hertfordshire and Berkshire. All the places through which they passed were filled with their ravages, the inhabitants put to the sword, their goods plundered, and their houses fired. The party which the Conqueror himself headed was the first that approached towards London; and, at some distance from the city, an attempt was made, by a detachment sent from the army of the two brothers, to surprize him: but the vigilant Norman, at the head of five hundred Norman horse, received his enemies so warmly, that they were put to a stand, till fresh forces coming up to William's assistance, they were driven to a precipitate rout, in which they were pursued by the Normans as far as the Thames, in which many of the English, by the precipitation of their flight, were drowned.

He approaches London,

and repels a party which attacks him.

Diffractions of the states at London.

All this time the dissensions in the meeting of the states at London rather increased than abated. The clergy and the Norman party were obstinate in their opposition to all proposals that did not tend to set the Conqueror upon the throne of England. The English party were so ill supported by Edwin and Morchar, that they durst come to no extremities; and it was the interest of the Danes to embroil every thing, till their own opportunity should offer itself. Those differences gave a melancholy and discouraging prospect to all the wiser sort; it was plain that no unanimity was to be expected, and the two parties were so balanced, that the smallest weight of neutral interest thrown into the Norman scale would determine the event, and leave the opposition at the mercy of the Conqueror. It appeared, at the same

time, that the rapid success and severity of William, who treated every man, who was not for him, as if he had been against him, must soon put an end to all indecision. All those were alarming considerations, and determined the heads of the English, nay Edgar himself, to make their peace with the Conqueror.

William's intelligence of what was passing in London was too good to leave him at a loss how to proceed. He posted himself at Wallingford in Berkshire, a strong fortification for those days; here he sent out detachments, which ruined the country all round. From thence he marched to Berkhamstead in Hertfordshire; but first sent a strong detachment of his army to appear on the south of the Thames, with orders, that if they were not received into London, they should reduce all Southwark to ashes, which was accordingly performed.

William posts himself at Wallingford.

A scene of calamity was now ready to be renewed, as shocking as those of the Danish devastations; and the chief of the English, unable to procure any unanimity in public councils, resolved to prevent it by a speedy submission. Accordingly, while William lay at Berkhamstead, Aldred archbishop of York, Wolstan bishop of Worcester, and most of the clergy who had hitherto espoused the English interest, met him, and entered upon a treaty for making him king. William received them with an affected benevolence, and made them magnificent promises; but withal discovered some difficulty whether he should accept the proffered royalty, which was afterwards soon conquered. This behaviour encouraged Edgar himself to make the like application, which, with a meanness unbecoming his high blood, he did, and thereby put an end to all chance which the nation had for one noble struggle yet to retrieve its independency. The two brothers, Edwin and Morchar, thought it was high time to submit, and all swore fealty to the Conqueror; he, on his part, giving them the strongest assurances of protection in all their civil and personal rights, and they giving hostages for the performance of their engagements till William was actually seated on the throne, and put in possession of regal power. And now the other noblemen, with deputies from the city of London, submitted likewise; so that nothing remained but the ceremony of inauguration. Here we may fix the period of the Anglo-Saxon government, which, through great variety of fortunes, lasted in England about five hundred years, counting from the settlement of Hengist, to the time of this submission to William, from which I date his reign as king of England.

The English submit.

William caresses them.

Edgar submits.



E. Lutterell delin.

P. Vandenberg sculp.

KING WILLIAM the CONQUEROUR

I. WILLIAM I. surnamed the CONQUEROR, THE

First of the NORMAN LINE, King of ENGLAND.

A. D. 1066.

State of William's title.

Mistake of Thorn's chronicle.

Ceremony of William's coronation.

FROM what we have already seen, William cannot as yet be so properly said to have conquered England, as the English may be said to have submitted to William. Having received assurances of submission from the only person who had a right to dispute his title, he is now to be considered as king of England; accordingly he set out for London, to be inaugurated. Stigand archbishop of Canterbury, lying then under the displeasure of the pope, and being in other respects extremely disagreeable to the Norman nation, was thought an improper person for performing that ceremony. The fidelity of Aldred archbishop of York, to Edgar, recommended him now to William, upon whom all Edgar's right, except that of blood, devolved: he therefore was pitched upon for this purpose. But some of our historians have told us, that Stigand refused to crown him. This, however, must proceed from a mistake which our historians have generally run into; as if the submission of the Kentishmen, which we have already mentioned, had happened after the coronation of William. But it is plain, that, if the story of that submission is true, it must have been between the battle of Hastings and his inauguration. Nor is the accuracy of monkish writers much to be depended upon, since Thorn places his coronation in the year 1064, though it is certain it fell on Christmas, 1066.

The ceremony of this coronation is curious, and well deserves a place here, as being a proof that, whatever his conduct afterwards was, when he came to the crown he pretended to no right of conquest. For, on Christmas-day, a solemn meeting of both the English and Normans, who were in or about London, was assembled at Westminster abbey church, which at the same time (partly, as we may suppose, through precaution, and partly for grandeur) was surrounded by the Conqueror's army. Then Aldred, archbishop, all parties being convened, asked first of the English, whether they gave their consent to have the duke for their king; they answered in the affirmative. The same question was then put, by the bishop of Constance, to the Normans and other foreigners who were present, who returned the like answer. This was followed with such a peal of applauding satisfaction, that the guards posted round the church, thinking some tumult had broken out, set fire to the city; though, it appears, with small effect, being soon convinced of their error. This question and reply is, I think with great reason, looked upon as an election; and the crown was accordingly placed upon William's head by Aldred. Some of our old writers, upon this occasion, tell us, that an oath was at the same time admi-

nistered to him, which he took before the high altar, binding him to protect the church and clergy, to govern with prudence and justice, to keep the laws, to check all rapine and oppression, and lastly, according to Malmesbury, to govern with clemency, and to rule the Normans and English by the same tenor of justice.

Some writers have been startled with the circumstance of the Normans giving their consent to William's coronation in the same manner as the English did, as if that had been a previous declaration of William, that he would give the English land to his army, and rule by the right of conquest. Other writers have had too little information to answer this objection. But it is plain, that the Normans here mentioned were those who had, for a little time before, been settled in England; and who having lands assigned them, by the Confessor, upon the borders of Wales, and in other places, where they lived all in a body together, were not so well acquainted with the English language as to give their assent to this election, without being applied to in Norman by a bishop of their own nation. This distinction in their favour was but laudable in a prince who was their natural sovereign, who owed them such obligations, and who by that act, in effect, naturalized them as Englishmen. This seems to have been the true state of the matter; for his army was otherwise employed, being, as we have already seen, drawn up round the place of inauguration.

William was no sooner crowned, than he seemed to commence a new man. The state, the church, the army, all partook of his favours, and shared in his bounties. Long experience in government, and the vast sagacity of his understanding, naturally fitted him for being as eminent in the arts of peace as of war. His great plan was the regulation of the affairs of the nation, by applying to its several bodies remedies for the corruptions and abuses which had crept into each, through the long reign of Edward, and during the late distractions. The city of London, as being the head place of the nation, first felt the effects of those salutary resolutions; for he made several excellent regulations, which advanced both its profit and dignity. As he had ever found leisure, amidst the tumults of camps, to devote some time to the study of the liberal arts, he was thoroughly conversant in all the schemes of civil polity, which raise the interest of a nation upon the best and most lasting foundations, those of moderation and justice: for we are told, that all his decisions were according to the strictest rules of equity, that all his judgments were tempered with clemency, and that he never was severe, but in

A. D. 1066.

William's coronation oath.

An objection considered.

William's great diffinition.

His favours to the city of London.

William's great regard to equity and natural justice.

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His grave deportment.

The use which
William made
of the clergy.

His piety.

[Gul. Pictavi-
ensis.]

His care of
peace and
commerce.

Evidence that
William did
not enter upon
the govern-
ment as a con-
queror.

cases wherein mercy to individuals would have been cruelty to the whole. As he was past the fervors of blood at the time of his coronation, being fifty-two years of age, after his exaltation he continued the same grave deportment which he had acquired through a long course of trying fortunes. This was of great use towards the regulation of his court; it tempered the sprightliness, it damped the insolence, so natural to the French, apt to be elated by sudden prosperity, and reconciled his person to the manners of the English, generally less susceptible of quick reverses. The clergy monopolized all the little learning of that age; but William found the secret of enobling their erudition, by adapting it to civil purposes. For this reason his churchmen, as we have before hinted, had none of the lazy, inactive, droning, selfish qualities, so common to their brethren of that age; they were formed to be generals, statesmen and judges; they were the bosom counsellors of William, most of them virtuous in their morals, and noble in their birth. William, by his attachment to them, had learned to propose, as the model of his great mens conduct, the best of patterns, that of the eternal king, who ever acts by the rules of moral fitness, by whose assistance they had overcome, and who, though almighty, is as merciful as powerful. He remonstrated to them, at the same time, the folly of making despair the refuge of the conquered; that this was ever the consequence of oppression; that the dignity of human nature was the same to all; that compassion was a manly sentiment, because due to the sufferings of our fellow-creatures. The licentiousness of the late times had encouraged sedition, slaughter, and rapine; those it required the keenest edge of justice to repress. But, says my author, though he restrained the unruly by force; yet force itself was ever restrained by laws. The inland quiet of the nation being thus provided for, his next cares were applied to the improvement of commerce, and the security of merchants. The newness of his title, together with the late confusions, had discouraged traffic. The ports, the harbours, and the markets were again opened to commerce; and, to crown the whole of this excellent system (1), no injustice was done to an Englishman, in favour of a Norman.

Such was the dawn of William's reign, and such are the particulars, which I have transcribed from authors who were eye-witnesses of this promising beginning. After so full and fair instances of his impartiality; instances in which he checked the natural, and in some degree laudable, affection for his own countrymen; with what colour of truth can it be pretended that William seized the crown as a conqueror, and that the submission of the English was unpactioned and unlimited? Had this been the case, no man had ever fairer opportunities of gratifying the whole extent of his ambition than

William had at the beginning of his reign: a victorious army, warm with recent success, was at his devotion; and had England or Englishmen then been the despicable things they are represented by some writers, the first run of fortune was the most proper juncture for those excesses and oppressions, into which it must be owned the government of this Norman afterwards degenerated.

William, all this time, had a great army upon his hands, unpaid and unprovided for. The same moderation which, since his being crowned, had been the rule of his actions, would not suffer him to have recourse to any violent measures to pay his soldiers. By the several excellent regulations, at the beginning of his reign, he had taken great care to restrain them from all manner of violences against the chastity of women; and, from the same principle, had prohibited them from all excesses of debauchery, in drinking, and frequenting lewd houses. This strictness had given the English favourable impressions of their persons, and disposed all among them, who could afford it, to contribute towards paying them their arrears; but William rendered this burden, as he did all others upon his own subjects, as light as possible. Though he had an indisputed right to the sole property of Harold's treasures, yet he employed the greatest part of them in paying his army, and in discharging the engagements he was under, either in point of interest or gratitude, to his officers. Nor were the clergy forgot out of his bounty: he made several noble presents to the chief monasteries and religious houses throughout the kingdom, and the pope himself tasted of his generosity.

But all this was no more than the semblance of virtue, and the effect of temporising dissimulation. William, with all his noble qualities, had in his nature impetuous appetites, both for wealth and power, which the more they were curbed by prudential considerations, raged the more if let loose, when those no longer overawed. All this time that the lenity and wisdom of his government had removed suspicion, and conciliated affection in the English, he was contriving the means of slipping on those chains which he afterwards intended to rivet: for the Londoners suffered him, under pretence of better regulating the government of their city, to erect several forts and castles, which being garrisoned with the Normans, effectually bridled the inhabitants. In the mean time, with a seeming carelessness as to what was carrying on there, he retired to Barking in Essex, where he spent some time in rural diversions. This behaviour increased the security of the Londoners; and the magnificent promises which William was from time to time making, amused that capital and the English nobility so much, that, without discovering the least concern, they soon saw him place Norman garrisons in many principal fortresses of the kingdom,

(1) This is the testimony of Pictaviensis, speaking of William's kindness to his soldiers; his words are, Nulli tamen Gallo datum est quod Anglo cui quam injulle fuerat ablatum.

A. D. 1067. and make such a disposition of his army's quarters, as that he had little to apprehend from any efforts the English could make for the recovery of their liberties. The historian of his court here fixes the time for the submission of the two brothers, Edwin and Morchar; perhaps with truth, since the interview between the Conqueror and them at Berkhamstead, which is so expressly mentioned by some of our best historians, might end only in a provisional treaty, of which the fealty they performed to him at Barking, mentioned by Pictaviensis, might be the completion.

He garrisons many places with Normans.

William's artful conduct The terror of William's arms was of less efficacy towards perfecting his designs than was the equanimity of his conduct. He found the art to make the principal English look upon him as the father of the commons, whom he represented as unruly and reclaimable only by dread of power, of which, from his prudence and lenity, he gave them reason to believe he would make the most gentle use, if they would but trust it in his hands. With the most specious pretences, therefore, of inspecting the civil oeconomy of the kingdom, of curbing the turbulent, of encouraging the quiet, of providing for public peace, and guarding against public danger, he set out from Barking in a kind of progress through some of the principal parts of England. The better to conceal his true intentions, he affected to treat Edgar with an excess of affection and civility, and to do all in his power in making him amends for the loss of a crown, by raising him to be the subject of the greatest property in England. Many other English noblemen, particularly Edwin and Morchar, had all the regard shewn them that was due to their high stations. In short, he seems to have persuaded the English nobility to leave to his Normans the drudgery of war, and the fatigues of military duties; for, in this progress, he gave orders for encreasing the chief garrisons with Normans, and filling up those fortresses, which still retained the English, with his own countrymen. At the same time, he personated the most popular and benign behaviour; he seemed to melt at the calamities his own sword had occasioned, to bewail the miseries of ambition, and affected to prize his power only because it gave him the opportunity of doing good. The aged, the helpless, the widow and the orphan, all crowded to see him, and found comfort from his words, or relief from his charities. When he came to Hastings, he surveyed the field of battle, and resolved to perpetuate its memory; he therefore gave orders for building a noble monastery upon the place where it was fought, in which prayers were to be made for the souls of those who had fallen in the field. The high altar was erected on the very spot where Harold's standard had been taken up, or, as some say, where his body was found.

A. D. 1067 It was now towards the beginning of Lent, in the year 1067, when William prepared to leave England, and visit his Norman dominions. He had already made great dispositions for preventing all disturbances in England during his absence, and now resolved to establish a regency to take care of his government. The principal members of this regency were William Fitz-osbern, and Odo bishop of Bayeux, William's uterine brother. The first he made governor of Winchester (where he had begun to build a strong fort within the walls) one of the finest cities, and, next to London, the most important of any at that time in England. This nobleman likewise had in charge to keep a strict eye upon the more northern parts of the kingdom, which were at this time the most independent, and likely to be the most refractory, because farthest removed from the seat of government. To Odo, who was a prelate and statesman, as well as a soldier, of great abilities, he committed the government of Kent and Dover-castle, with the important charge of the sea-coasts. Those two noblemen likewise were invested with high titles; the first, with that of earl of Arundel and Hereford; and the latter, with that of earl of Kent, with lands belonging to them. But it may be proper to obviate, in this place, a mistake which the reader may fall into, from the general words of our historians, who commonly, along with the title, mention the Conqueror's having bestowed upon the party the county to which that title belongs. Hence it is that some have contended, that William, immediately after the battle of Hastings, seized the absolute property of all the English lands; but this mistake is owing to not considering the nature of those grants. The granting the lands of a county, was indeed granting the property of the county, with all its produce; but by the bare grant of a county, as in the case of Odo earl of Kent, was meant no more than bestowing on the subject the government of that county, together with the lands and dominions appointed for the support of that dignity.

Appoints Odo and Fitz-osbern regents.

Creates them English noblemen.

Remark.

We are now to take leave of William, as the gentlest of conquerors and the best of kings, and to consider him as the worst of men, and the most faithless of tyrants. The mild dawn of his reign was soon overcast with clouds and tempests; for, till this period, it is plain he had never ventured to consider his acquisition of England's crown in the light of conquest. His professed reason for invading England was his detestation of Harold's perjury and usurpation. Harold he had conquered, but not the people of England. Their rights were secured on a firmer basis, and were independent of all personal altercations between particular men and families. It is plain, from the words of (1) William's own historian, that he considered them as such. Had the crown of England been understood to devolve on the conqueror

William considered in the light of a tyrant.

(1) Nothing is more plain than that William, between the battle of Hastings and his coming to London, did not imagine that his conquest of Harold gave him any right to the crown of England. This we learn from the words of Pictaviensis, who,

A. D. 1067.

The case between William and the English stated.

conqueror of England's king, had the liberties of Englishmen been understood to have existed only in the breath of their monarch; William not only would have been a king, but the people slaves, from the moment that Harold fell; but, from what we have already seen, this was the case with neither the one nor the other. The submission of Edgar Atheling restored the people to their original right of chusing whom they pleased for the object of their allegiance, and the defence of their rights. Their choice fell on the person who seemed to them best fitted to support both. Before this election, they had taken all the precautions the wit of man could devise, to secure both their liberties and properties, if they were deceived in the choice they made: if the elected broke through the terms which he had sworn to observe, it is no more than may happen at any time, when power is wanting on one side to enforce observance on the other. The nature of such contracts, as that which passed between William and the English, admit of no guaranty. If one party, through the supineness, credulity, or generosity of the other, shall acquire such accessions of power to those he was originally invested with, as to be able to bid defiance to all justice and equity, the performance of his obligation must rest on his own virtue. But William had no virtue, though he had the semblance of it, which, fatally for the English, operated to all the purposes of faithless ambition. William's acquisition of regal power may be vindicated on the best of all principles, the invitation and consent of the people: his exercise of it must be condemned upon the most obvious of all reasons, his breach of solemn and sacred engagements, which were the conditions of his possession. Though no usurper, yet he was a tyrant. In this light, therefore, ought the famous dispute to stand, with regard to William's right. That it was not founded upon conquest, is evident; but that he exercised it as if it had, must be admitted.

William carries along with him the English nobility.

The first specimen the Norman gave of his intentions to alter his conduct, was seen in his ordering prince Edgar, the earls Edwin and Morchar, archbishop Stigand, earl Walthecof, and some others of the English nobility to attend him to France. Though our historians have generally represented this matter as being looked upon as a grievous hardship by those noblemen, yet I meet with no opposition or remonstrances they made against it. He, perhaps, found means to make them look upon it as a mark of his regard, since it is certain, that he carried along with him, upon the same occasion, many of his Norman favourites, and other chief

men who had attended him in his expedition. This policy in William was, however, attended with a double good effect to his interest. First, as he had given instructions to the two regents how to behave in his absence, which he knew from their nature must be very unpopular, he therefore, by substituting this authority, shifted from his own person, upon those of his deputies, all the odium of such measures. In the second place, as he had the strongest reasons, from such a conduct, to apprehend an insurrection of the English, he knew that the most effectual way he could frustrate their resentment was, by depriving them of those nobility whom they most trusted, and who alone were capable of heading such an enterprise. Setting out therefore for Pevensey, where he first landed, he embarked on board his fleet, which lay there to receive him, and in the beginning of March arrived in Normandy.

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His reasons.

He lands in France.

The French, at that time, entertained very high ideas of William's fortune and success; and the Conqueror, to keep them up, took care to appear in public with as much splendour as was possible. He made a most magnificent entry into Rouen, and bestowed prodigious presents upon several public and religious foundations; but it was at Fatchamp where he affected to shine out in his full lustre. Here he kept his Easter; and the king of France, resolving not to be out-done in magnificence, sent Rodolph, his father-in-law, and the most powerful subject he had as his ambassador, to congratulate William upon his successes. Rodolph, by order of his court, was attended by the flower of the French nobility. They were struck with the richness of William's side-board and equipage, more magnificent than any thing known in that age: but the admiration of the French was still more heightened by the gracefulness of his English attendants, who, in their persons, exceeded the fairest ideas of beauty they had ever formed in imagination. As this is the testimony of a French author, it is the less to be suspected.

His magnificence there.

In the mean time the English began to feel the misfortunes which were soon to overwhelm them; the regency treated them with all the insolence and oppression of conquerors; no man's property was sacred from invasion, and no woman's chastity from pollution. In vain did the unhappy English apply for redress, from the subaltern to the commanding officer; in vain did they appeal from him, through all degrees of authority; the extent of insolence seemed to grow with that of command; and even Odo and Fitzosbern, with unmanly insensibility, mocked at their calamity. The Kentish, of all others, were the most oppressed by the rapaciousness

The English greatly oppressed in his absence.

who, in this respect, is certainly a competent evidence. "King William being now, says he, arrived at London, the bishops and other chief men of the kingdom beseeched him, ut coronam sumeret; and pray observe the reason, se quidem solitos esse regi servire, regem dominum habere; that is, because truly they were wont to be subject to a king, and to have a king for their lord. Then the duke, consulting those that accompanied him out of Normandy, whose prudence he mostly relied on, declared to them, that which dissuaded him from agreeing to what the English now desired, that things being yet unsettled (se potius regni quietem, quam coronam cupere) he rather desired the peace of the kingdom than its crown; but all his familiar friends were of another mind." William Geneticensis, a Norman writer of good authority, published by Mr. Camden, drops the same sentiment; and both of them tell us, that William was (electus) chosen by the English.

A. D. 1067. of Odo; but, mindful of their high claims, and the recent (1) engagements of the Conqueror, they attempted to shake off their yoke.

The Kentishmen rebel.

The chief of the English nobility being abroad, they were reduced to call in to their aid Eustace earl of Boulogne, the same whom they had been acquainted with, and was settled there, in the days of Edward the Confessor. As this prince had the character of being a great soldier, and was at that time at variance with William, the Kentishmen agreed to make him their head, and to assist him in surprizing the castle of Dover, which, in case of success, they proposed he should command. The negociation between them was so secret, that the government of England knew nothing of it but by its effects. Both Odo, and Hugh Montfort (one of William's ministers, and deputy governor, under Odo, of Dover castle) suspecting nothing of this attempt, were then absent. Eustace, taking advantage of this favourable circumstance, set sail from Boulogne, and in the night-time, escaping the vigilance of the Normans, landed on the English coast, and gave a vigorous assault to the castle. The defenders however, though alarmed, were not surprized; they resisted the first onset; and the English not having yet come up to the assistance of Eustace, who very probably wanted to take the castle without their assistance, the Normans boldly threw open their gates, and falling out on both quarters where they were attacked, drove Eustace and his division to their ships, and the other division towards the brow of a rock, where most of them perished, either by the steepness of the precipice, or the swords of the Normans. This attempt, because unsuccessful, gave fresh handle to the regency for oppressing the Kentishmen, and opened a large field of confiscations and proscriptions.

The example of the Kentishmen, notwithstanding their bad success, infused a general spirit of discontent at the Norman government throughout other places of the kingdom. A nobleman, whose name was Coxo, and who, with others of the English nobi-

lity, had performed fealty to William, was then in high reputation with the English. He lived, as we learn, in the north of England, and some of our antiquaries think that he was earl of Northumberland. Upon him they cast their eyes for relief; but Coxo, who was a man of great virtue, however he might be persuaded of his countrymen's sufferings, thought that the oath he had given to William could not dispense with his taking up arms against him in his absence, and therefore refused to join in the insurrection; upon which he was murdered by his countrymen, exasperated through disappointment.

A. D. 1067.

Earl Coxo murdered by his own people.

Edric refuses obedience to the regency.

Those examples were far from discouraging Edric, who was surnamed the Man of the Forest, because of the difficulty of forcing him to submit to the new system of government. This nobleman was the son of Alfric, brother to the famous traitor Edric, in the time of Ethelred II, and his estate lay on the borders of Wales. We have not learned what his particular motives were for taking up arms; but it is certain he gave great disturbance to the new government. The Normans, who, as I have already observed, had been called in by Edward, were placed upon those borders, and had done signal services to the government. Their garrison in Hereford at this time was commanded by Richard Fitz-scrop. He made several incursions upon Edric's estate, which he attempted to ravage; but was still repelled with loss. Edric finding, however, that the Normans must soon overpower him, through their numbers, which were every day encreasing, invited two Welsh princes to join with him in a confederacy; their names were Blethyn and Rhywalhou. They took the field about the middle of August, and proving too powerful for the Normans, they ravaged all the county of Hereford, as far as the bridge over the river Lug, and then returned to their own country without opposition.

All those incidents were faithfully related to William, now in France enjoying the triumphs of his conquests, and indulging himself after his warlike fatigues. Upon which

(1) I have already given a place to the story of the Kentish treaty with William; and though I am very apt to believe the fact in the main, yet I can by no means think it redounds any way to their honour. If they were the brave fellows they are represented; if they had William at such disadvantage as is pretended; why did they not act as Englishmen, and make a proper use of that advantage? Why did they poorly set the example of submission to all the rest of England? and why, without compulsion, by offering to submit, did they deprive their country of their valuable assistance, by transferring their allegiance to the Norman? At least it must be owned, admitting the whole of their bishops and their own zeal to have been as great as it is represented, they were a great deal too forward in their submissions; for those two prelates, who were their spokesmen upon this occasion, in the very first sentence of their speech, offer to become William's liegemen: *Domine dux (say they) ecce populus Cantii tibi obiam, procedit te tanquam legum dominum suum recepturi, rogantes ea quæ pacis sunt.* What right had the Kentishmen, or any body of Englishmen, to make such an offer to an invader, unless they had been betrayed into it by their two prelates? Where was the prudence of it? To secure the enjoyment of their ancient rights and properties? Those might have been secured by their submitting to the free choice of the English states. But as the reader may be desirous to know what those rights were, let him take Camden. "At the Norman conquest, says he, (if we may believe Thomas Scot the monk, no ancient writer saying any thing of it) the Kentishmen, carrying boughs before them, surrendered themselves to William the Conqueror, at Swanefcombe (a small village where, they tell us, that Sweyn the Dane had formerly encamped) upon condition that they might have the customs of their country preserved entire, that especially which they call gavel-kind; by which all lands of that nature are divided among the males by equal portions, or, in default of issue male, among the females. By this they enter upon the estate at fifteen years of age, and have power to make it over to any one, either by gift or sale, without consent of the lord. By the same, the sons succeed to this sort of lands, though their parents be sentenced for theft, &c. So that what we find in an ancient book is very true, though not elegantly written. The county of Kent urges, that that county ought of right to be exempt from any such burden, because it affirms, that their county never was conquered, as was the rest of England; but surrendered itself to the Conqueror's power upon articles of agreement, by which it was agreed, that they should enjoy all their liberties and free customs which they then had and used." I must not here forget, that the right reverend editor of Camden seems not averse to the fact of this separate treaty between William and the Kentishmen. "The foregoing relation, says he, is opposed by Mr. Somner and others, and yet it must be confessed to have some remains in their present constitution. And whoever opposes it, will be obliged to find some fairer account how they, in particular, came to retain that custom of gavel-kind, which once prevailed all over Britain, as it does still in some parts of Wales; and why the heirs, particularly in Kent, succeeded to the inheritance, though their father suffer for felony or murder."

A. D. 1067.

William re-
turns to Eng-
land.He resolves to
cajole the
English,

and the Welsh.

he immediately constituted his dutchefs, and Robert, his eldest son, regents of his French dominions; and leaving Normandy in perfect tranquility, he landed at Winchelsea about the beginning of winter. When he came to examine into the state of his affairs here, he found things had taken a very untoward turn in his absence. The humours of discontent had not indeed come to any general head; but they were too strong in the body politic not to give him terrible apprehensions. To have exasperated the English, by farther severities, must have endangered all. Part of his army had retired, and to have attempted the punishment of any one province, might have set the rest in arms. Partial successes, he knew, against one or two, must, in the end, have weakened himself; and, like the Romans, or Danes, he might have been obliged to have conquered it foot by foot. These considerations determined him to apply lenitives to the discontented spirits: he threw the blame of what had passed in his absence upon his ministers and governors, who were unacquainted with the temper, dispositions, and laws of the English. He professed a readiness to redress their grievances; he heard their complaints with complaisance, and treated their nobility, both spiritual and temporal, with unusual affability. The late alliance between Edric and the Welsh had given him the greatest uneasiness. He dreaded lest those two nations, forgetting their former animosities, should join in their hatred to the Normans. He knew how odious the name of an invader, and how hateful the manners of foreigners were to both. He had, however, the art to dissemble his apprehensions; he invited the Welsh to apply to him; he cajoled them; he told them how unnatural their alliance was with the English, their old and hereditary enemies; that his interest led him to maintain the independency of Wales; and that he was their truest and most hearty friend. On the other hand, with the most sincere shew of confidence, he privately instructed the heads of the English to be upon their guard against their practices; that the Welsh never could digest the injuries the Saxons had done them; and that their late joining with Edric was rather through hopes of plunder, than from any affection to the English. Such were the courses which William took to weaken the gathering storm; but though he thereby found means to keep those midland parts within temper, yet the northern and western counties were strongly disposed in favour of a fresh revolution.

The subsidies he had hitherto levied upon the English were but gentle, and far from answering the demands either of William's necessities, or his avarice. He was under many engagements, besides those barely contracted for paying his army. His expedition into England was a bold, perhaps a desperate undertaking, and this had led him to grant considerations to the princes who assisted him, far beyond the ordinary pay of their troops. His late visit to Normandy

had greatly exhausted his revenues, and the present situation of his affairs demanded an immediate supply. Being unwilling, at that juncture, to do any thing that might seem as if he intended to introduce a foreign tax, he thought his wisest course was to revive a tax the English had been used to, and abolished only because the reason of its being originally levied, no longer existed, I mean Dane-geld. His reasons for reviving this tax, in several respects, were plausible. Many of the English, Danes, and others who sided with Harold, had retired to Denmark upon William's success. Sweyn king of Denmark, as I have before observed, was so far from relinquishing his pretensions in blood to the crown of England, that he was actually then preparing to make them good by a powerful armament. This was notorious to all Europe; and there was reason to believe, upon his descent, he would be joined by a considerable party of the English. This, though not taken notice of by any of our modern historians, seems to have furnished William with the hint of reviving this tax, which he did merely by virtue of his own prerogative.

I shall not enter into any dispute, how far any king of England could, agreeably to the laws of the then constitution, without consent of his states, revive a tax so unpopular, and, as our ancient historians call it, so unsupportable. But it is certain that William had several reasons for not calling a parliament upon this occasion. Many of his Norman officers and ministers had been by this time invested in great baronies, a word in his reign first made use of in our antiquities. William was meditating to introduce into these, tenures strictly conformable to his favourite feudal law; and though we find none of those lands had yet passed in fee, yet he might be unwilling that any meeting of the states should be then held upon the same footing as in the days of his predecessors. But perhaps there was a much better reason than this; he might be unwilling to risque a meeting of the states upon this occasion; he might despair of ever obtaining their consent to revive this heavy tribute, and therefore thought he ran much less risque, in doing it merely by virtue of his own prerogative. Add to all this, the offence which the English noblemen, whom he now wanted to cajole, might conceive, at seeing upstart Normans sitting in an English parliament. We find, however, but very little or no resistance made to paying it. The levying it, indeed, without calling together the states, gave the English some suspicion, and occasioned fresh uneasiness; but those humours came no where to a head but in the west, where the great strength of the Danish and West Saxon interest lay.

Upon the loss of the battle of Hastings, Githa, the mother of Harold, had taken refuge in the city of Exeter; and, either through the political indulgence of the Conqueror, or a particular stipulation in her favour by Edwin and Morchar, had remained here unmolested, with all her rich effects.

A. D. 1067.
William re-
news the tri-
bute of Dane-
geld.His pretences
for so doing.His reasons
for not calling
a parliament
upon this oc-
casion.The city of
Exeter rebellious.

A. D. 1067.

Her influence might have been the reason why this city was the first that refused to submit to the Conqueror's new regulations. They did not ground this opposition upon his imposing the tribute, but upon his other unconstitutional proceedings; for whether they thought he had already broken through his coronation oath, or whether they had any particular convention in their favour, they refused to swear fealty to him as their king, or to admit his Normans to garrison their city. This was to William a dangerous precedent. He sent them word, that he was not used to such subjects; and though winter was now pretty far advanced, he marched against them with an army. Upon this occasion he discovered himself a consummate politician. Though he had the bulk of his faithful Normans still in the kingdom, yet he chose to make the English subdue one another; thereby sparing his own troops, diminishing those of the English; and, what was most to his purpose, creating between two people of the same nation an irreconcilable animosity.

Advancing therefore against Exeter, with the English in the front of his army, he made dispositions to besiege the town in form. The men of property within the walls, seeing this appearance of resolution, and well knowing what the consequence must be, if the place was taken by storm, immediately treated of a surrender, which William accepted of, and received hostages not only for the performance of that, but of their future good behaviour. But the common people within the town having more resolution, because they had less to lose, refused to ratify the terms agreed upon by the deputies, and prepared for a vigorous resistance. Upon this, William opened the siege in form; but, to strike the greater terror into the besieged, he commanded one of their hostages to be brought out before their principal gate, where his eyes were barbarously put out. The assault was now given by all the various engines of battery common to that age; while the townsmen, unexperienced in such operations, in a short time saw most of their walls

undermined, or beaten down. This disposed them to submission. They implored the compassion of the Conqueror: but William, who knew no sentiment of that kind, would have made severe examples of them all, had it not been for the powerful intercession of the clergy, who, joined by the intreaties of the first deputies who had capitulated, saved the city from the rapaciousness, and the inhabitants from the swords of the Normans. As to Githa, she had, upon William's first appearance before the walls, found means to convey herself, with her effects, a-ship-board, and so escaped to Flanders.

William, having thus reduced Exeter, surveyed the place as usual, chose the most convenient spot in it for erecting a citadel to bridle the inhabitants in time to come, and leaving Baldwin, one of his Norman officers, to command it, he marched into Cornwall. There his presence soon stifled all disaffection; and having provided for the peace of that country, he returned to Winchester, where he ordered his army into quarters.

As popular commotions, when suppressed, ever strengthen the hands of government; so William now ventured to put in execution what he had been long meditating, I mean, seizing the estates of those who had joined Harold before, and at, the battle of Hastings, and dividing them among his officers and soldiers. As many of the proprietors of those estates had fallen in the field, William had little difficulty in entering upon them. But it appears, by the Black Book of the Exchequer, as it is commonly called, said to be wrote by Gervase of Tilbury, that, besides those, the estates of other kinds of rebels were likewise forfeited (1); of those that were still living, and in possession of their estates, if it had been found that they had been in arms against the Conqueror; of those who, being in arms, had fled; of those who, being summoned to fight against him, had not, through casual reasons, taken up arms; and of the children of the last, who, through favour of those to whom their estates were granted, still remained in possession. If those

A. D. 1067.

Its inhabitants pardoned.

William garrisons the town.

He seizes the forfeited estates.

which is taken by William.

(1) I shall, from Mr. Tyrrel's translation of it, transcribe this passage, and give my reader his observation upon the authority itself. The words of Gervase are: "After the conquest of the kingdom, and the just subversion of the rebels, when the king himself and his great men had viewed their new conquests, there was a strict enquiry made, who they were that had fought against the king, and saved themselves by flight. From these, and the heirs of such as were slain in the field, all hopes of enjoying either the lands, or the rents they before possessed, were cut off; for they counted it a great favour to enjoy their lives under their enemies. But such as were called out to fight against William, and did not, being hindered by their own or other affairs; if in process of time, by an humble submission, they could gain the favour of their lords, they had then the liberty of possessing somewhat in their own persons; but without any hope of leaving it in succession, their children enjoying it only at the will of their lords; to whom, when in after-times they became odious, they were driven from their estates, neither would any restore what they had taken away. Whereupon, when a general complaint of the natives came to the king, informing him, that being hated by all, and spoiled of their fortunes, they must be forced to go over to strangers; at length, upon consultation about those matters, it was ordered, that what they could obtain of their lords by deserts, or by way of bargain, they should hold by an inviolable right; but they should not claim any thing, from the time the nation was conquered, under the title of succession or descent. Upon how great consideration this was done, is manifest, says Gervase; for they being obliged, for their interest, by compliance and obedience, to purchase their lord's favour, therefore whoever of the conquered nation possessed lands, or such-like, obtained them not as if they were their right by succession or inheritance, but as their merits acquired, or else by some intervening agreement." Mr. Tyrrel then proceeds to examine the authority of the book itself. "I find it much doubted, says he, by some of our antiquaries, whether this book was really written by Gervase or not; for in a transcript of this passage, made by Sir William Dugdale, in a certain volume of historical collections, which is now in the Museum at Oxford, over-against it, in the margin, is set this note of Sir William Dugdale's own hand writing: *Ex codice nigro penes Theobaldarium, et camerarios scaccarii, vulgariter Gervasii Tilburienfis nuncupato, sed falso.* The like note I also found in certain extracts out of this very book, made by that learned antiquary Sir Simonds D'Ewes; though what reason they had for this opinion I cannot tell; yet sure it was sufficient to satisfy them that it was spurious, or else they never would have made such a note upon it." But had Mr. Tyrrel seen the reasons of Mr. Madox for believing that Gervase of Tilbury was not the author of this book, he would have easily known the reason of the observations of those two learned knights. Mr. Madox has proved the author of it to have been Nelson (Nigelli filius) bishop of London; but, notwithstanding this, it is of authority sufficient for all the use I have made of it.

A. D. 1067. distinctions are real, they prove the Conqueror to have proceeded indeed, at this time, upon very arbitrary and severe principles: but we ought carefully to distinguish in what points he acted unconstitutionally, as the Saxon constitution was then formed; and in what he acted only severely, but not unjustly, as it will tend greatly to clear our way in the remaining part of this important reign.

Considerations upon the nature of those forfeitures.

Nature of feuds among the Saxons.

Conduct of Hugh Capet,

imitated by William.

Of great use to the crown.

In the first place then, though the word (1) feod does for once, I think, occur in the Saxon antiquities; yet it is very certain, that the English, before the conquest, neither made use of feudal terms, nor were the estates, which were held by beneficiary services, which come the nearest to the Norman feuds, hereditary. At first they were enjoyed only from year to year; they were afterwards fixed for the term of life; but, after that life, the property reverted to the fountain, whether in the king or any great man, either spiritual or secular. This was not only the case in England, but all over Europe, till about the year 973, when, according to some authors, the emperor Otho, and his successor of the same name, rendered such beneficiary tenures hereditary. About fourteen or fifteen years after, viz. about the year 988, Hugh Capet, who was little better than an usurper, having seized the crown of France, turned such feuds into inheritances, thenceforth to be held by the possessors, and their heirs, in feudal manner, by the performance of homage and oaths fealty. By this means Capet threw out such a bait to the French nobility, most of whom held their estates only during their own lives, or the pleasure of the king, that they supported and carried him through in his pretensions.

This was a pregnant precedent for the Conqueror; and he resolved, in imitation of Capet, to turn all the feuds or beneficia in England into hereditary ones. By these means he inverted the nature of the subject's property, and gave much greater weight to that of the crown: for though, at first sight, it may be thought a disadvantageous exchange, for the crown to quit so valuable a part of its power, as the reversionary right to so great a part of the national property; yet, when we consider that it was followed by all the consequences of feudal tenures in the sense of the civil law, such as wardships, the profit of lands by wardships, the manerage of wards, livery and primer seisin, reliefs, times for licence of alienation, and other great prerogatives; I say, when we consider all this, this change raised the actual power of the crown greatly beyond what it was under the English kings. We shall hereafter, God willing, consider in what manner the allodial lands, or what the Saxons call Bocland, and which were held absolutely from the crown, without being subject to any beneficiary services, came to be resolved into

the great feudal system of this Conqueror. What I have already observed is sufficient for introducing the reader to the political motives of this great alteration; but some other motives which William had, were equally personal as political.

His own genius and good fortune had at once thrown him into that seat, which had cost the bravest captains, of the bravest nations, many years in endeavouring to possess. From the general character and short experience he had of the English, but above all, from the recent example he had before his eyes, even in his own lifetime, of the expulsion of the Danish race, he could not but consider his title to the crown as very precarious, unless it was supported by superior force. The circumstances of Normandy, and the neighbourhood of powerful and provoked princes, could not admit of his either keeping a standing army here, or of draining his hereditary dominions in maintaining it; it was, therefore, a wise expedient in him to give his soldiers an interest in the soil, and to make the tenure of that interest to be the supplying the exigences of his government, and the supporting him with their lives and fortunes, whenever his demands, or those of his successors, should require their services in the field. I have been the more particular in those observations, as I not only think them absolutely necessary, but because they are omitted by former historians. I shall now proceed to what I proposed.

Under the Saxons, all lands were forfeitable in cases of rebellion, and desertion of the owners from their immediate lord and superior; William, therefore, had great colour of right in seizing the lands of those who fell on Harold's side, at the battle of Hastings. But however this may be disputed in the main, it is certain that he had an undoubted right to the forfeiture of the estates of those who, after his having been elected king of England, had joined with his enemies, fled from trial, or committed any overt acts of rebellion. From these considerations it will appear, that this conqueror thus far might be justified, in seizing into his own hands not only such estates, but the estates of those who, by the indulgence of the new possessors, had, since the times of the late troubles, enjoyed their father's estates. But all those I apprehend would have been but an inconsiderable number, since, from the testimony of William of Malmesbury, we are certain Harold had in his army but few men of property; and the commotions which had happened between that battle and the period we now treat of, had not broke out into open rebellion. It must, therefore, have been owing to the proscription of those, who, being summoned to fight against him, yet were casually absent, that William was enabled to gratify

(1) We are to remark here, that this word is only used in a Latin charter, dated in the year 868, and which probably was translated from the Saxon, and very possibly by some monk who lived after the conquest, when feudal tenures became common. Now, as nothing was more common to the monks in those days, than not only to translate words, but to adapt sentences and manners of speech to the usages of the times in which they lived, it is very uncertain what the original word was in the Saxon.

A. D. 1068. the whole extent of his own avarice, and that of his hungry Normans. This was an illegal and an arbitrary ground of forfeiture, and comprehended perhaps every Englishman of property whom William might think fit to strip of his estate, since we may justly imagine that all of them had been summoned. In short, it opened a field for a boundless proscription: not but, in the progress of his reign, several rebellions and commotions happened, which gave him a justifiable colour for forfeiting the estates of those concerned: but even those were but few, in comparison of the infinite number of grants made in his time to the Normans. However, we shall have occasion soon to examine the latter; but I am apt to think, that, at first, he was contented to seize only those forfeitures that were most justifiable, and least invidious: and it is certain that he immediately clogged such with the burden of knight-services. Matthew Paris, who, at this period, is far from being accurate, tells us, that this was the first and chief reason why some of the greatest of the English nobility left the kingdom.

Gemitienfis.
A conspiracy
of the English
against the
Normans

examined.

Many of the
English sub-
jects retire
northward.

The Danish
armaments
encouraged by
the dispositi-
ons of the
English.

A Norman author mentions a very dark conspiracy formed against William, the spring when he returned from Normandy. Without mentioning names, he says, that some petty robbers entered into a plot to assassinate the Normans, as they went to church barefooted on Ash-wednesday; then to raise a rebellion, to prevent (1) William from getting any footing in the kingdom, upon his return from Normandy. The air with which this story is introduced, and the hands through which it comes, makes it very suspicious that the whole was a plot of the regency upon the English estates, and that William, upon his return, might have some colour for the forfeitures he intended to make. It is certain, however, that many of the English, about this time, either through the consciousness of having attempted somewhat they could not justify, or through indignation, at seeing the insolences and injuries committed by the regency, retired northwards towards Cumberland. There they fortified themselves in the best manner they could; and, after several times shifting their quarters, raised a strong fort, according to the fore-mentioned author, at Durham; but more probably in its neighbourhood. All this time the armaments making in Denmark for a descent upon England awakened the attention of all Europe. The English in general could not indeed propose to themselves any great advantage by a revolution in favour of the Danes; but the severity and insolence of the Norman government had determined many of them to have recourse to any other sway, rather than submit longer to that of William. Besides, as we may reasonably suppose that many among the rebels were of

Danish extract, they might have other views. Gemitienfis informs us, that they actually sent messengers to hasten the Danish descent; and that, in the mean time, they harassed the country round by their excursions.

A. D. 1068.

These outrages gave William a plausible handle for farther forfeitures; and all this summer he seems to have taken but very little precaution against the rebels. This negligence of so vigilant a commander as William was, may easily be accounted for upon two principles. In the first place, he found means to amuse earl Edwin with the hopes of giving him his daughter in marriage. This flattering the ambition of the young nobleman, kept both him and his brother firm on the side of the Conqueror for some time; so that William had but little to apprehend from any attempts in the north. Secondly, though the invasion from Denmark might have been of dangerous consequence, yet the politic Norman had taken care to embarrass the councils of that kingdom in such a manner, that their armaments being retarded, he knew no invasion could that summer take place. Adelbert, the archbishop of Hamburgh, was the engine he made use of on this occasion. Him William had gained over to his interests, as he had done many others of the Danish nobility, by placing properly among them a large sum of money. Through these means he had early and exact intelligence of whatever passed in their councils; and, as shall be seen hereafter, by the management of his agents, the most promising preparations of the Danes were defeated and frustrated.

William's farther severities,

He promises
his daughter
in marriage to
Edwin,

and entertains
a correspond-
ence at the
court of Den-
mark.

But the wide steps which the Normans were taking, to get into their hands the greatest part of the kingdom's property, left no farther room to doubt of William's intentions. The discontent became now general and loud; and the daily confiscations made, against all right and equity, in favour of foreigners, increased the number of the rebels. It is true the forfeitures were proceeded upon by a court somewhat in the nature of an enquiry. Upon this occasion we are told of a remarkable trial, which happened between an ancestor of the family of Sharnburn and two of William's attendants; William de Albany, and William de Warren, the first cup-bearer, and the latter forester to the Conqueror. Those two Normans had got from William a grant of Sharnburn's lands, and had actually served an ejection, and taken possession of them. Edwin, the former proprietor, with several of his neighbours and tenants who had likewise been ejected, immediately applied to William, loudly remonstrating, that they never had been in arms against him; that they never had aided or abetted his enemies, either before or since the conquest; and that

Remarkable
case of Sharn-
burn.

He complains
to William,

(1) Mr. Tyrrel and some others, who have followed him, are mistaken in their representations of their conspiracy; they say, that their design was to have killed the king himself; but it is plain, from William Gemitienfis, that the conspiracy happened before William's return to England. His words are as follow: Ipse vero in regnum remeans Angliam iterato plurimos ejusdem gentis reperit, quorum levitia corda ab ejus fidelitate prævaricatrix conspiratio adverterat. Conjuraverant enim latrunculi per totam patriam, quatinus milites, quos ad tuendum regnum reliquerat, in capite jejunii nudis vestigiis, quo solet usu, pœnitens Christianorum religio ad ecclesiam festinantes incautos ibique premerent, et sic seipsum a Northmannia regredientem levius e regno perturbarent.

A. D. 1068. the seizing their lands was a plain robbery and injustice. The Conqueror, upon this, ordered an inquisition to be made, which found the fact to be as the petitioners had alledged. According to the history of the family of Sharnburn, a very favourable verdict was then obtained from the Conqueror

who restores him to his estate;

but the possessors refuse compliance.

Remark upon the whole of this story.

by the petitioners; for he ordered that not only they, but that all the subjects of England, who had, in like manner, behaved dutifully and peaceably, should hold their lands in like manner as they held them in the days of his predecessors. But, says my authority, the noblemen, William the cup-bearer, and William the forester, to whom, in this particular case, a writ of that import was directed, refused to take any notice of it in its full and true extent; and all they did was to restore part of the lands to be held of them by the family of Sharnburn. If the credit of this story could be well supported, it would be of great use towards investigating the principles of William's government at that time. Sir William Dugdale, a man of industry in English antiquities, and Sir Henry Spelman, to whom, without exception, our history owes more than to any modern since the days of Leland, have given it admittance; and it has, by several of our antiquaries, been reasoned from as a fact: I dare not, therefore, absolutely reject it; especially as Camden, though an enemy to the doctrine which this fact tends to establish, has let it pass, without any note of reprobation. But admitting the whole of that narrative, it is far from answering the purposes of the violent of either party (1). They who contend for William's government upon the principle of conquest must admit, that, by this determination, he did not, at that time, claim any power of forfeiture, but what arose from the overt-acts of resistance to his arms. On the other hand, they who assert the contrary doctrine fail widely in their aim, as it appears, upon the fact itself, that the possessors, when restored, were not restored to their most important right; I mean their independency of possession. Thus the whole of the story has been denied by the warm of both opinions, though their proofs of its forgery amount to scarcely a presumption built upon a negative. What is most of importance to the ends of this history, is to re-

mark the haughtiness with which the Norman lords behaved, even after they had received William's orders; a strong evidence that they acted by virtue of some prior stipulation, from which they thought William's prerogative could not absolve him. But more of this hereafter.

In the mean time, the land became a wide scene of devastation and oppression; the former landlords were every day turned out, upon the least pretence or colour of their having been in arms under Harold. From this it would appear, that, now William had got possession, he was willing to strengthen his right, by claiming the crown not only by election, but the (2) nomination of Edward the Confessor; otherwise it will be hard to reconcile his conduct to the regard which he affected for the principles of justice, and of the English constitution. The confiscation of the estates of those who were no otherwise guilty, but because they had served under Harold, would have been too glaring an insult upon both, had he not pretended that Edward's nomination gave him a right, independent of his election. This is no unusual conduct in princes, who generally are averse to hold their titles by election, if they have the shadow of another claim; and often let their favourite titles lie dormant, during the dependency of their success, till a proper season offers for reviving them: and William, in this, was imitated by the most politic of all his successors. We shall now Henry VII, return to our narrative.

The English would have continued insensible of their condition, had it not been for the calamities they felt. But soon after the coronation of William's dutcheis, Matilda, by Aldred archbishop of York, which was performed about Easter this year, the ill-humours of the nation began to break out. Edwin was resolved not to be longer amused: in vain he had waited for his mistress, and seeing now no hopes of obtaining her, this disappointment, joined to the ill treatment his countrymen every where met with, prevailed with him and his brother to take up arms. It does not appear, from any good authority, that Edgar Atheling was actually in this rebellion; perhaps William thought it prudence to have a strict eye over that young prince, well knowing his great influence with the English. The brothers, how-

(1) As a proof of this, both Mr. Tyrrel and Dr. Brady have been very severe in their censures upon this story. The former, in the dispute he had with the doctor, with regard to the Norman's manner of governing, and the tenures of the estates after the conquest, says, that he had omitted this story: "For, says he, upon the perusal of the history of that family, I find it to have been of no great antiquity, and that Sharnburn's name is not to be found in Domesday book; and the owners of Sharnburn are only William de Warrina, Odo bishop of Bayeux, Bernerius Arbalistarius, and William de Pertenac, without any mention of William de Albany, under whom Sharnburn was supposed to hold." See pref. to his Hist. t. ii. p. 51. In like manner says Dr. Brady, in his answer to Arg. Antinormanicum: "There is no such plea as this in all Domesday book, nor any like it; which survey, as hath been said, was finished in the twentieth year of the Conqueror, who presently after went into Normandy, and never again returned into England; nor is there any such person as Edwin to be found in Domesday, that held any lands in Sharnburn." But all this objection is little to the purpose; for about eighteen years had passed between the time when this incident fell out, and the compiling of Domesday book; during which time many alterations of property might happen both in the Saxon and Norman possession, especially during a period wherein we may reasonably suppose there was such a fluctuation of property.

(2) This would be too bold an assertion, were it not founded upon many unquestionable deeds. One which I think most to the purpose, but least taken notice of, is an authentic duplicate of a charter granted by the Conqueror to the church of St. Martin's-le-grand in London, to be found Rot. cartar. 19. h. 6. nu. 16. m. 27. per inspex. Pro. decimo et capitulo sancti Martini magni London per inspeximus. Inspeximus cartam, quam celebris memorie Daninus Willielmus quondam rex Angl. progenitor nostri, fecit Deo et ecclesie sancti Martini magni London in hæc verba. Then, after a preamble, the charter goes on: Ego Willius Dei dispositione et consanguinitatis hæreditate Anglorum Basileus Normannorumque dux, et rector cuiusdam fidelis mei Ingelrici scilicet petitioni acquiescens archiepiscoporum, episcoporum, abbatum, comitum et universorum procarum meorum. Sacro concilio parens omnes possessiones terrarum quas tempore venerabilis ac dilectissimi cognati et redecessoris mei regis Edwardi.

A. D. 1068.

A. D. 1068.

ever, strengthening themselves by an alliance with Blethyn their nephew, one of the most powerful princes in Wales, soon raised a considerable force, which seems to have been increased by the accession of those I have already mentioned, who had taken up arms some months before. William, far from being alarmed, perhaps was well pleased at this insurrection, as it gave him a handle for new confiscations. He was in possession of the most important fortresses, and therefore did not fear the progress of the discontented. The first thing he did, was to visit those places of strength, and to guard them against a surprise. The castle of Warwick was new built, and committed to the custody of Henry de Beaumont, a Norman nobleman, whom he afterwards made earl of Warwick. William Pendel, another trusty Norman, was made governor of the important castle of Nottingham, which was likewise fortified anew. These, with many other vigorous precautions, damped the courage of the two brothers: they foresaw that they must be reduced to the discouraging necessity of passing the winter amidst their fastnesses, while William possessing the places of strength, would be enabled to cut off all their supplies. These considerations determined them to submit to the Norman, which they accordingly did; and William, not chusing to exasperate the English farther by any acts of severity, received them with seeming complaisance. The inhabitants of York, a place at that time of great importance, upon this, sent William the keys of their city; though it does not appear, that, before this time, they had ever recognized his election. This submission, therefore, must have been very agreeable to the Conqueror; he immediately gave orders for building two forts, each of which was garrisoned by five hundred men. Upon this, Archil, another nobleman of great interest in the northern parts, likewise submitted, and gave his son as hostage to William for his good behaviour. Egilwin bishop of Durham likewise made his peace, and had the merit of disposing Malcolm king of the Scots to submission likewise; for we are told, that, upon this occasion, he swore to observe peace with William. The Conqueror having weathered this storm, renewed his application to erecting castles wherever they were wanting, or might be useful. Lincoln, Cambridge, and Huntingdon were all bridled by strong forts, garrisoned by Normans.

William builds more forts.

More forfeitures.

Gospatric and Marleswyn revolt,

who persuade Edgar to fly.

In the mean time all the English, from whose influence with their countrymen William had ought to dread, suffered a kind of proscription, by being either stripped of their estates, or deprived of their liberty, or both. Gospatric and Marleswyn, two noblemen of the north, seeing now no prospect for any Englishman but that of chains, found means to make Edgar sensible of his and their dangerous situation. This had such an effect upon the young prince, that all of them entered into concert to retire to some foreign power, together with the other remains of the English blood royal, Margaret and

Christiana, Edgar's two sisters, and his mother Agatha. It must not be forgot here, that Gospatric himself had some distant pretensions to the throne of England. He was descended from Uthred, already mentioned, son to Waltheof earl of Northumberland, who had in marriage Editha, the second daughter of Ethelred II. Some historians say, that the original intention of Edgar and his friends was, to fly again into Hungary; which is far from being unlikely, when we consider the vigilance of the Norman, and how improbable it is, considering Malcolm's late engagements with him, that there was any previous concert between that prince and the exiles. The numbers of those who were engaged in this flight, and the necessary preparations for it, must, one should think, have made the matter pretty public. William therefore, perhaps, connived at it, since the court of Hungary was at too great a distance for him to apprehend any danger from that quarter. Be this as it will, Edgar and his company (either through choice; but, as is more probable, forced by stress of weather) landed in Scotland. The sentiments of common humanity could not dispense with Malcolm's receiving the illustrious fugitives with great civility. As he himself had been an exile, he was moved with compassion at their fate. This compassion, improved by intercourse, at last settled in an affection for the person of Margaret, whom he afterwards married. This match produced a noble issue.

[See p. 158.]

They land in Scotland.

Malcolm marries Edgar's sister.

Many English fly to Scotland.

William demands Edgar from Malcolm.

War between Scotland and England.

No sooner was Edgar's landing, and reception he met with in Scotland, known, than the Scotch court was crowded with English exiles, who imported into that country their manners, and, settling there, were highly caressed by Malcolm. This could not but alarm William. Not willing, however, to come to an open rupture with the Scots, he contented himself, at first, with requiring Malcolm to deliver up Edgar, who, he said, was his subject and a fugitive. Malcolm not obeying this summons, war was proclaimed on both sides. The Scot was a prince of unpolished abilities, and had many political reasons for endeavouring to check the Norman's power. The submission of so great a people as the English were, gave Malcolm but a melancholy prospect of his own fate, should William's ambition have tempted him to reduce the whole island under one head. He was now strengthened by almost all the nobility of the north of England, and he knew that a powerful faction was formed in favour of Edgar Atheling in the heart of the kingdom. Most writers are fond of transporting the two archbishops, Stigand and Aldred, into Scotland; but, notwithstanding the prevalence of this opinion, I can find nothing to countenance it in our most ancient and approved authors. With more probability it is asserted, that the two brothers, Edwin and Morchar, at this time joined Edgar's party in Scotland. It is certain, that about this time the good prelate, Aldred, began to entertain very different notions of William, whom he had ever before

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A. D. 1069.

Death of
Aldred arch-
bishop of
York.

The Normans
harrassed.

Many of them
return to the
continent.

The Scots and
Edgar solicit
the Danes.
A confederacy
formed ;

its strength,

and that of
William.

fore highly extolled, and had been very instrumental in persuading the English to submit to his government. The disappointment of his expectations had afterwards a fatal effect upon his spirits : he sent several very free remonstrances to the Conqueror, and represented the intolerable hardships which the English suffered through the severity of his government. This freedom was far from being agreeable to William ; and, upon his dismissing the messengers with a rough answer, the archbishop, in the bitterness of soul, cursed his king, and died. In the mean time, William, upon second thoughts, not knowing of the archbishop's death, but hearing how grievously he resented his behaviour, sent some persons to appease Aldred ; but, when they arrived, they found him dead. But some authors place the death of this prelate a year later.

All this while the disaffected party, encouraged by the support and assistance they received from Scotland, harrassed the Normans in their new possessions to such a degree, that we find many of them, about this time, throwing up all the command and estates they had here, and preparing to return to their own countries, under pretence that their wives were ready to mutiny at their long absence (1). William, though he could ill brook their absence, made it a point most religiously to observe all his engagements with those he had brought over, whether his own subjects, or those of the neighbouring states. Upon this principle he dismissed those who wanted to be gone with high civilities, not only punctually fulfilling all his engagements, but adding many gratuities.

Malcolm and Edgar's party, in Scotland, all this time were not idle. Embassadors were sent into Denmark, to solicit that people to hasten their naval armaments ; and a plan of operations was agreed upon, by which William was to be attacked by the Irish, by the Scotch, by the northern rebels, and by the Danes, all at the same time. Had this plan been as vigorously executed as it was wisely laid down, it must have shaken the Norman's throne ; but Malcolm was the only party in the confederacy who had not either open or secret pretensions for the crown itself. The Irish were headed by Godwin, Edwin and Magnus, three sons of the late Harold, who, upon his death, had fled to Ireland. At the head of the Danes were Harold, Canute and Osbern, the two first sons, and the latter brother, to the king of Denmark, another pretender. At the head of the discontented English was Edgar Atheling ; and Malcolm, who was himself no contemptible soldier, commanded the Scotch. Thus the only principle they united in was, to distress William ; but their schemes appear to have been destitute of that uniformity which was necessary for success. On the other side, William, notwithstanding the late secession of some part of his troops, was still at the head of the finest army in the world. His

generosity had devoted them to his service ; and the faith he had ever observed in his engagements, with all but the English, had given him such credit in France, and on the continent, that he was sure of a powerful support from that quarter. The dispositions of the English, however, made him redouble his severities and vigilance over their conduct.

The first effect which we learn of the confederacy against William, was from Ireland, from whence Harold's three sons landed in Somersetshire, at the head of a body of men, lent them by Dermot, a prince of Ireland. William, despising this invasion, imitated, says William of Malmesbury, the conduct of Cæsar, who attacked the Germans, in the forest of Ardens, not with his own soldiers, but sent against them Gauls : William ordered a body of English, commanded by one Eadnoth, to oppose them. This Eadnoth had been formerly master of horse to Harold, and seems to have been a man of consequence in his own country. He advanced against the enemy with an assurance of victory, and gave them battle ; but was defeated and killed (2). The Irish then spread their ravages all over Devonshire and Cornwall ; and the young noblemen who commanded them, having neither authority with them, nor interest in the country, they returned to their ships, as soon as they had got as much plunder as they could conveniently carry off. It must be owned, upon the face of this story, that the experiment which William made at this juncture, in trusting the English, was a dangerous one ; nor could it have proceeded from any other motive than the great contempt he had for the enemy. However, the invaders being reimbarked, he seems to have been under no farther apprehensions from them ; and very possibly it was their excessive love of plunder, and the great ravages they committed, which kept the English from joining them.

William's attention was now directed entirely towards the north, where his enemies were every day gaining more and more ground. In the year 1069, according to Simeon of Durham, whom we must follow at this time, the inhabitants of Northumberland entered into a combination to oppose all foreigners to the last drop of their blood. William had, before this time, created Robert Cumin, one of his Normans, earl of Northumberland, and this year sent him to take possession of his estate. The Norman, little acquainted with the spirit of that people, set out at the head rather of a large retinue, than of an army, and advanced as far as Durham, full of presumption that his very appearance would vanquish all opposition. Egilwin, the bishop of Durham, met him near that place, and without particularly explaining himself, counselled Robert to be aware of a surprize. The haughty Norman, disdainful caution as cowardice, made no

(1) Among those were Hugo de P. Grentmesnil, who commanded at Winchester ; Humfrid de Teliolo, governor of the fort at Hastings ; and many others.

(2) Odæricus Vitalis says, they were beaten by Brien son of Eudo, earl of Britain, and Gulielmus Gualdi,

A. D. 1069. other use of this advice than to treat the inhabitants with the utmost severity; collecting from the words of the bishop, that they had dared to entertain some thoughts of resistance: for entering Durham, he put to death a great many people, particularly some of the bishop's own tenants. The good bishop, however, received him with great regard and civility; and Cuming, finding no signs of resistance, imagined that the seasonable severity he had shewn, had been attended with the desired effect. The country, however, by this time, had taken the alarm, and the Northumbrians marched from

The Normans massacred all to one man.

all quarters by night towards Durham. About break of day they forced open the gates, which were possessed by the Normans, and entering the town with great fury, a general massacre of all the Normans ensued. The resistance made was but feeble, the latter being fatigued with their march the day before, had retired to rest, and were quartered through different places of the city. Thus, out of seven hundred persons, of which the Norman's retinue was composed, only a single man escaped alive. Cumin himself, with some of his attendants, taking shelter in the bishop's palace, made a vigorous defence with their long bows and arrows; but the English immediately setting fire to the palace, it was consumed, and all within it perished in the flames. The church, by means of a strong east wind, narrowly escaped the same fate. The rebels were now strongly supported by the power of Gospatric, who, by this time, raised all Northumberland in arms; while Malcolm, king of the Scots, lay ready to support him with his forces. At the same time, William being no longer able to prevent the descent from Denmark, news came that the Danes had landed, in two hundred and forty ships, in the mouth of the river Humber, where they were joined by Edgar Atheling, and some others of the most illustrious English exiles. Odericus Vitalis informs us here of a circumstance not taken notice of by our English writers; for he says, that, a little before this time, the Northumbrian rebels attacked the forts which William had built at York, and killed Robert Fitz-Gerald, the governor of that garrison, with a great many others; but that William Mallet found means to preserve the forts themselves till they were relieved by the king; who, after building another castle there, and giving the command of it to William Fitz-osbern, returned and kept his Easter at Winchester. It is possible that the former part of this story may be true; but we are not to confound it with what happened after the descent of the Danes the same year, about the end of August, or the beginning of September: for at that time the Danes landing, and being joined by the Northumbrians, under Gospatric, they marched all in one body to York. (1) William Mallet then commanded there, at the head of a numerous garrison, who, in hopes of being re-

lieved, resolved to defend themselves to the last extremity. With this view they set fire to all the houses that lay contiguous to the forts, fearing lest if they were only pulled down, the Danes might make use of the rubbish to fill up the ditches; but the flames communicated themselves to the neighbouring buildings till they caught hold of the cathedral church, and the monastery of St. Peter, which they quickly reduced to ashes. Before this fire was extinguished, the combined army of the Danes, English, and Scotch made a furious assault upon the forts, which they carried sword in hand. Three thousand Normans lost their lives on this occasion, few or none escaping, besides the governor, his lady, his two children, and one Gilbert de Gant, and a few others, whose lives were spared.

A. D. 1070. That city burnt.

It is taken,

with the loss of three thousand Normans.

The Scotch writers make their countrymen of great importance upon this occasion, but without regard either to names or chronology. They tell us of two Norman noblemen who were defeated by their arms, the first is named Roger, and the second Richard, earl of Gloucester; but we shall have soon occasion to see how grossly they are mistaken. It is certain, however, that the Danes got a considerable booty in York; but this proved the first ruin of their enterprize. As I have already observed the views of the principal commanders clashed with one another; hence proceeded mutual distrusts; and the plunder which the Northumbrians and Danes had just made, disposed them to retire, the one to their ships, and the other to their dwellings. William, who was not ignorant of all this, omitted no means for extinguishing the discontents, which raged now too generally to be subdued by arms alone. He found the effects of his oppressive partiality towards his own countrymen, and, says an historian, he humbled himself before the English, repressing the insolence of the Normans, and recalling from banishment many of the natives, whom he restored to their estates; and, continues the same historian, made with him a lasting agreement.

Error of the Scots.

The Danes and Northumbrians retire.

Matthew of Westminster.

William cajoles the English.

This hint from Westminster is well worthy the attention of the reader, since it strikes out light to a great civil transaction, for which it is necessary to stop, for a little, the narrative of martial affairs. For Hoveden, a writer of no mean credit, in his history of the reign of Henry II, mentions, "that William, in the fourth year of his reign, assembled the chief of the English, either for weight or knowledge in the laws of their country, that he might make himself master of their constitution. Every county sent twelve members upon this occasion, who recollecting all they could remember of the laws, as they stood in the time of Edward the Confessor, did upon oath repeat and lay them before William." But the same author, in another passage, and the book of Lichfield, lets us into farther particulars of this transaction.

[See p. 313.] He grants a confirmation of Edward's laws.

(1) Mr. Tyrrel is a little inaccurate in his account of this matter; for Simeon of Durham makes no mention of Fitz-Richard being then governor of York, which makes the account of Odericus the more probable.

A. D. 1070.

[Spelman.]
The history
of this grant,
and of the
progress of
the feudal
law.

As I have already hinted, the introducing the feudal laws, and all the customs and usages conformable to them, was William's favourite scheme in civil affairs. He had, by this time, observed, that the northern nations, wherever they came, planted their native rites, as they imported them from their native countries, into those nations where they settled. Thus the Saliques had carried them into the eastern, the Franks into the western parts of France; the Longobards into Italy, the western Goths into Spain, and the eastern Goths (both which people were of the same original with the Germans) into Greece itself. As the migrations of those people were more early or late, their conformity with the feudal law was in proportion weaker or stronger. The Saxons had come into Britain at a time when this law knew none of the servile engraftments which it afterwards suffered, and therefore their constitution was more excellent and free than that of any other nation, whose migrations were more late. The Danes and Normans leaving their native seats much about the same time, there was a strong similarity in their usages, manners, and laws. In those countries of England, therefore, where the Danes were settled, and where their particular constitutions prevailed, it was much more easy to introduce a conformity to all the Norman system, than it could be in those which still retained, undepraved and unmixed, the Saxon institution, which had admitted of very little variation from its original scheme, and the little it had admitted of, was in favour of the subject. The Danish counties in England were Norfolk, Suffolk, Cambridgeshire, and part of Northumberland; those counties, according to our historians, were governed by Danish laws, which William was determined to render the foundation of the English law; the transition from the Danish to the feudal or Normanic laws, which he thought of establishing, being more easy than from those of the Anglo-Saxons.

Error of
archbishop
Nicholson.

Had this passage of Hoveden been properly considered by archbishop Nicholson, it is probable that he would not have been so very peremptory in (1) rejecting the distinction of Danish laws in England; for that right reverend author attributes the original of this distinction to the author of the Black Book of the Exchequer, who was at least cotemporary with, but more probably posterior to, Hoveden.

But whatever may be in this, it is certain

that the English laid hold of this critical juncture, when William was distressed by the invasion from the north, and the descent from Denmark, to have their ancient Anglo-Saxon laws revived, and the late order repealed for their adopting the Danish laws of the aforesaid counties. William was, at first, very backward to gratify them in this, as he knew that it must create a material difference in the great system he meant to introduce with regard to fines and forfeitures (2), the Anglo-Saxon law being very tender on that head. But the English, who had sometime before been very industrious in recollecting the laws of Edward, pressed him very hard to suffer them to enjoy their native constitution, and that he would not compel them to live under strange laws. They even adjured him, "by the soul of king Edward, who, on his death-bed, had bequeathed him his crown and kingdom, and who made the laws they had laid before him the tenor of his government, to revoke his unjust decree, and to suffer them to remain, as they were Englishmen, without being burdened by a foreign yoke." Nothing but the necessity of the juncture could have bent the haughty soul of the Norman to this concession. He called a council, where the petition of the (3) barons (that is, of the twelve representatives from every county, who had recollected Edward's laws) was heard, and granted. And from that day, continues my authority, a greater deference was paid to the laws of Edward, than to the other laws of the country, by which he can only mean the Danish.

This concession left William now at liberty to turn the main stress of his arms against the Northumbrian rebels. The great objection which the English had against a foreign government was now in a great measure removed, both by William's reinstating many of the English in their fortunes, and by the prospect they had in general of being governed by their own laws; especially as we find the southern part of the nation satisfied, or its seeming to be satisfied, with his right of nomination from Edward. He improved those favourable dispositions; but provided for the security of his family, by sending his queen to Normandy. The southern English were well pleased to find that his rage was to wreck itself on the Danish blood, with which all Northumberland now was filled; they, therefore, with satisfaction, heard him solemnly swear, that he would exterminate that race; and then calling together

(1) Unde bono cum Deo, trifaria illa apud Anglo-Saxones lex (toties ab historicis nostris laudata) originem tulit? Dicam quod sentio, quodque viginti abhinc annis, dicere non verebar. Tota hæc fabula ex legibus hisce tuis primitus male intellectis, orta est. Putarunt nempe interpretes Normanni vocem laga (in Dene-laga, &c.) ejusdem ubique valoris cum ipforum, ley, et legem tantummodo significare; cum tamen regionem, sive provinciam, satis manifeste indicabat. In errore hunc primum omnium incidisse puto auctorem dialogi de Scaccario; quem et auctorem juxta existimo legum omnium (Pseudonymarum) boni regis Edovardi, quas Gulielmus Bastardus postea confirmavit, ne dicam et Henrici primi plane posthumarum. "Subastor, inquit hic, Angliæ rex Willielmus, propositis legibus Anglicanis, secundum tripartitam earum distinctionem, hoc est, Marchene-lage, Dene-lage, West-Saxena-lage, quasdam reprobavit, quasdam autem approbans illis transmarinas Neutrie leges, quæ ad regni pacem tuendam efficacissime videbantur, adjecit." Hinc illæ in versione legum harum Latina ineptiæ. Erat lex Danorum, Norfolk, Suffolk, &c. Præf. ad leg. Ang. Sax. ed. per Wilkins, p. 16.

(2) Erat etiam lex Danorum in Northfolc et Suffolc, et Cantebrigenfire, quod habet in emendationem foris facturæ ubi supradicti comitatus habebant octodecim hundreda, isti decem et dimidium; et hoc ex affinitate Saxonum temporis, major emendatio foris facturæ quater viginti libræ et quatuor. In omnibus aliis causis et foris facturis eandem legem habebant cum supradictis Norwensibus. Quam cum rex Willielmus audisset cum alii sui regni legibus maxime appetitatus eam, et præcepit ut observaretur per univcrsum regnum. Hoveden.

(3) Unde consilio habito precatui baronum tandem acquievit. Ibid.

A. D. 1070. his army, they saw him set out, with full resolution of compleating his revenge. But we learn, at this time, that the city of Oxford, from what cause is not known, had taken up arms against him. That he might not, therefore, leave an enemy behind him, he marched thither, and reduced it. From thence he marched towards York, by Nottingham; but when he came to Pontefract, formerly called Kirby, he found the waters so swelled, that he was obliged to stop, the river being unpassable, and the bridges broken down. One of his Norman knights, however (called, by the historian, Lufois, and who I take to be the same with Lacy, on whom the Conqueror bestowed the town of Pontefract) discovered a ford, by which William and his army passed. Advancing, therefore, into Yorkshire, which lay within the kingdom of Northumberland, he filled the whole country with blood and ruins; so that between York and Durham, a tract of sixty miles, all was void of inhabitants. When he came to York, he found the town defended by a body Danes and English. Particular mention is made of earl Waltheof, who, upon William's attacking the city of York after routing a party of the Danes who lay near it, posted himself at one of the gates, cut off, one by one, the heads of a great many Normans, as they attempted to enter the town. William of Malmesbury informs us, that this Waltheof was son to Siward earl of Northumberland; that he was a man of prodigious bodily strength; and that William, in consideration of his military virtues, afterwards received him into his most intimate favour. It is certain, however, that the Normans took the city of York; and that William, without distinction of sex or party, ordered all the inhabitants, wherever they were found, to be put to the sword. But the main body of the Scots and Danes were yet entire, and, in case of a junction, might have disconcerted all his schemes. It appears that the Danes were encamped near their ships, and that Osbern, brother to their king, was then their commander in chief. William, well knowing the principles on which they acted, and unwilling to have so powerful a body on his hands, chose to deal with them by gold, rather than by steel. He privately sent proposals to Osbern, offering him a large sum of money, with the liberty of taking what provisions he pleased for his army, on condition that, next spring, he would leave the country, and, in the mean time, continue inactive. The venal Dane accepted of the money, and thereby freed William from his most terrible apprehension.

Durham, ever since the death of Cumin, had remained in the hands of the rebels; but the Norman now resolved to reduce it. Accordingly he set out from York with his army, all the way continuing his ravages; which struck such terror in the garrison of Durham, as quite daunted them. Upon his approach, Egelwin, the bishop of that place, well knowing the provocations which William had received from the city, retired with

his clergy to Lindisfarne, carrying along with him the body of St. Cuthbert. But the bishop had no occasion for this precaution; his prudent conduct had gained him a friend in William; for, amidst all the ravages the country was filled with, when some of the Norman soldiers had purloined the treasures belonging to the church of St. Paul at Yarrow, which was burnt to the ground, the king ordered them to be seized, and referred their punishment to the bishop. In the mean time, the roads were spread with unburied carcases of those who had fallen either by the sword or famine; and William, in his march to Durham (that as few of the inhabitants as possible might escape) extended his army for near one hundred miles. This circumstance makes it very probable that there was, at this time, no body of the enemies in the field, excepting the Danes, whom William had already bribed into a neutrality; and that the Scotch, thinking themselves unable alone to oppose the Conqueror, had withdrawn to their own country.

When William came to Durham, he found the rebels had abandoned the city; upon which he took possession of it without any loss. He then ordered a new fort to be built within the walls, both for the security of the bishop, and for bridling the inhabitants. As to the garrison of the rebels, it had retired, upon William's approach, towards the sea, where they got aboard some ships, and subsisted by acts of piracy.

William, having thus, by creating solitude, restored peace, wisely resolved to pass the remaining part of the winter at York. Christmas was now approaching; he therefore ordered the regal ornaments to be transported thither, with whatever was necessary for the ceremonious observation of that festival. While he was here, Waltheof and Gospatric proffered him their submission. William, unwilling to discourage others in the like situation, not only gave them pardon, but bestowed his niece, Judith, upon the former in marriage, and soon after made him earl of Northampton and Huntingdon.

As soon as the season of the year could admit of taking the field, he put himself at the head of his troops, and marched against a party of the rebels, who were fortified within certain difficult and scarcely accessible passes; but they retiring upon his approach, he left strong garrisons both in York and Durham, and then, through unfrequented ways, marched across the country into Cheshire. His reason for this expedition was, to curb the Welsh, who, instigated by Edric, had besieged Shrewsbury. His approach reduced all the kingdom of Mercia to a state of obedience; and Edric himself, making a submission, got terms, and was received into favour. William then provided for the future quiet of that country, by building in it two strong forts, the one at Chester, the other at Stafford, and putting strong garrisons into both. He then proceeded to Salisbury, there to keep his Easter; and, imagining that his precautions had effectually secured his government from all disturbances in

A. D. 1070.

Stopped at Pontefract.

[Camden.]

His great cruelties in his progress.

Bravery of earl Waltheof.

William takes York.

He bribes the Danes.

William takes possession of the city.

He passes his winter at York.

He marches against the rebels.

then into Cheshire,

which he quiets,

He marches against Durham.

The bishop retires.

A. D. 1070.
and disbanded
his army.

in the north, he liberally rewarded his soldiers, and dismissed them from any farther hardships that campaign.

Invasion from
Ireland

repelled.

We are now to turn our eyes to other scenes of action, where William was not in person: for we are told, by Gemitienfis, that, during the war in Northumberland, the sons of Harold, being supported by their old friend Dermot the Irish prince, again invaded England, and landed at Exeter, with a fleet of sixty-six sail. Advancing a little way up the country, they burnt and plundered wherever they came. But they were soon attacked by Brien, son to Eudo, earl of Bretagne. This nobleman, fighting them twice in one day, killed seven hundred of the invaders, and drove the rest to their ships, with which they passed into Ireland.

Atheling and
the bishop of
Durham at
the mouth of
the Were.

It is uncertain where Edgar Atheling was during the time of the Northumbrian war; but, in all probability, he was with the Danes: for we find him with Siward, Marleswyn, and several other of the nobility, lying at the mouth of the river Were, soon after the retreat of the Danes, waiting for a convenient opportunity of going a-ship-board. He was here joined by the good bishop of Durham, who, weary of living in a country so harassed with wars and devastations, determined to seek a quiet retreat in foreign parts. Edgar returned to Scotland, where Malcolm was making great preparations for invading England, now that the Conqueror had retired to the southern parts, and dismissed his forces.

William's in-
justice.

In the mean time, William was proceeding in the south with a very high hand: either from false pretences, or seeming justice, he had already created a great majority of Normans in the council of state. From this we may easily conclude that, dread being now removed, he entertained no farther regard of the English. His favourite, William Fitz-osbern, is chiefly blamed, by our historians, for the violent measures he then pursued. According to them, it was by his advice that William laid his sacrilegious hands upon the riches treasured up in the monasteries. Whether this was done by the authority of a council of state, in which the Normans prevailed, is uncertain; but we find that, about this time, or soon after, William held a great council, or synod, at Winchester, where Stigand archbishop of Canterbury was deprived of his dignities, and several other revolutions in church matters took place, as shall be seen in the ecclesiastical history of this period. It is sufficient to mention here, that this council affords a great civil æra, which is the total alteration of ecclesiastical tenures. For William, having cajoled the court of Rome to be on his side, obtained (1) three legates from the pope to give their countenance to whatever should be here proposed. Having found means, by dispossessing some prelates, intimidating others, and supplanting others, to thin the assembly of English bishops, there appears to have been but little opposition made to what he proposed,

He calls a
council.

which was, to force all bishoprics and abbeyes, possessed of baronies, to exchange their tenure; and, instead of holding them free of all secular servitude, that they should hold them by knight-service or military tenure.

Though this was a violent, yet it was a wholesome, innovation; it was an innovation which afterwards saved the liberties of England; but it never could have been brought about, had it not been for the great majority of the Normans, whom William had raised to be the chief barons of the kingdom. For historians mention, that, by this time, there was a very great alteration in the property of England. The following are a few of the many preferments and estates, by this time, or soon after, bestowed upon the Normans and his other favourites.

“ To William Fitz-osbern, sewer of Normandy, he gave the isle of Wight and earldom of Hereford, and placed him, Walter Lacy and others, to oppose the Welsh. To Gherbod, a Fleming, he first of all gave the town and county of Chester, who, by most urgent affairs, being called into his own country, and by his enemies kept prisoner till death, he gave them to Hugh of Amanches, in his youth a profuse libertine, son of Richard surnamed Goz, who, with Robert de Rodelent and others, shed much of the Welsh blood. To Roger Montgomery he first gave Arundel, and then Chichester, and afterwards the county of Salop. To Waltheof he gave Northampton and Huntingdon, with his niece Judith. To Walter Giffard the county of Buckingham. To William de Waren the county of Surrey. To Odo, son of Tedbald, earl of Blois, that married king William's sister, he gave Holderness. To Ralph Guader, the earldom of Northwic, or the East Angles. To Hugh de Grestmesnel he gave the town of Leicester. And to many other noble persons he distributed many cities and towns, with great power and honours. To Henry de Ferraris the castle of Tutbury. And to many strangers and others of mean quality, he gave many and great honours; insomuch that they had here in England clients and dependants far richer and more powerful than their fathers were in Normandy.

“ His brother, Odo, by the mother's side, received from him the earldom of Kent; was a count Palatine, and gave laws as vice-roy, or second king, and was justiciary of England, the chief man for administering justice under the king; and, after the death of William Fitz-osbern, he was vice-dominus, or vidame of all England, under the king. Besides those in Kent, where he had one hundred and eighty-four lordships, or farms, he also had in Essex thirty-nine, in Oxfordshire thirty-two, in Hertfordshire twenty-three, in Buckinghamshire thirty, in Worcestershire two, in Bedfordshire eight, in Northamptonshire twelve, in Nottinghamshire five,

A. D. 1070.
He changes
the bishops
tenures.

List of the
Norman pro-
motions.
[Brady.]

[Tytrel and
Brady.]

(1) Harmenford bishop of Sedun, with John and Peter, presbyter canons.

A. D. 1070. " in Norfolk twenty-two, in Warwickshire
" fix, in Lincolnshire seventy-six; in all
" four hundred and thirty-nine."

Reflection
thereupon.

Though I am sensible that all the proprietors here mentioned were (1) not Normans; yet that is not of so great importance as some writers have made it. What we are principally to observe, is the vast alteration which was then introduced into the English tenures. Whether the new possessors were Normans by birth or affection, imports not us; it is certain they were either the one or the other: and the power by which William was enabled to transfer the estate of one Englishman to another, where there were no just grounds of forfeiture, was as unconstitutional as was that by which he transferred English property to Normans.

Those new proprietors were not only firmly devoted to the Norman government, but its great security: for, not to mention many others, who did the same upon their estates, Allan earl of Bretagne, obtaining a grant of the lands, late earl Edwin's, in Yorkshire, built upon his newly-acquired estate a castle, or fortress, for overawing the expelled English and the Danes. The officers who were obliged to garrison this castle had several knights fees allotted them for their services, according to the places or employments they had held. I have, in the notes, set down those (2) several places, with the fees annexed to each, that the reader may, from this instance, be enabled to form some idea of the Norman policy in this respect; this being of the utmost consequence towards understanding many future parts of the English history.

This honour, or barony, like all other feuds granted by the Conqueror, had for its

head a manor, or castle. Hence the castles, which were the heads of a barony, were originally unalienable from the barony; though, by act in law, the lands of the barony might be divided, especially when descending to females: but no act in law could divide the castle, or manor, which was the head of the barony, and always in (3) common course descended to the eldest. From this circumstance some have been brought to assert, that the possession of the head of a barony of itself ennobled the possessor, though before a commoner; but this is a vulgar error: neither William I, nor any of his successors, ever departed from their prerogative of being the fountain of honour; and a baronial title is incommunicable but by that fountain, as the granting it is an act of regality.

A. D. 1070.
Baronies not
alienable.

The original nature of fees proves this. The head of a barony was, as we have just seen, unalienable, and therefore the barony itself was so; but by consent of the sovereign: the granting this consent, therefore, is as much an act of regality as the original enfeoffment. We are farther to reflect, that it was in the king's power to refuse the performance of homage, as a baron, from any subject. Now this performance was an inseparable condition, originally and in all times annexed to every feudal tenure. It was likewise absolutely required, that the seisin of an honour should come from the king's own hand; in like manner as, upon deaths, or other alterations, it reverted to him again. Thus it is evident (4) nobility, as annexed to a barony, must proceed from the king, as its fountain; nor is there, I believe, in all the English baronetage, one instance of any person being seised in an

Fees did nobi-
litate.

(1) Mr. Tyrrel, though I think with no great reason, has exulted greatly in this observation. As there is some weight in part of what he says, I shall give it to my reader. " Dr. Brady having asserted, that almost all the English were dispossessed of their lands by William, or obliged to hold them of the Normans, it will not follow, says Mr. Tyrrel, that, because king William bestowed great estates upon the Norman or French noblemen above-mentioned, he therefore dispossessed far the greater part of the English of their estates; much less, that therein he always intended to act as a conqueror. For, in the first place, the lands here instanced in, will not amount to a tenth part of those of England; and as for the seven hundred and ninety-five manors, which the earl of Moreton had in Normandy and England, the doctor should have told us how many of these he held in England; for, as to those in Normandy, they signify nothing to the matter in dispute; and it appears, by Domesday book, in Surrey, quod ipse comes (scil. Moretonia) tenuit Estreham. T. R. E. viz. that this earl held this manor of Estreham, in Tonrige hundred, in the time of king Edward; and though he had very great possessions granted him by king William, yet I believe that, if this book were diligently searched, we should find that the same earl held also other lands in king Edward's time. Nor is the doctor less mistaken when he supposes, that Hugh Lupus and Roger de Montgomery, and those other Norman lords, on whom king William is said to have bestowed whole counties, had, by these grants, a right to oust all the English proprietors, and that they bestowed all those whole counties among their Norman vassals and tenants; since it is evident, by the manner of these great earldoms falling to the crown, viz. by the attainder of their owners, that only they themselves, and not their under tenants or feudatories, forfeited their own estates. And it appears, by the very time of king William's bestowing them, that he did it not as a conqueror, but as a lawful prince, since the lands of Edwin were not disposed of till after his rebellion at York; and those of Morchar could not be bestowed till after his last defection, A. D. 1071, which was in the fifth year of this king's reign."

(2) The place of Ranulph Fitz-robot, in the castle of Richmond, by the chapel of St. Nicholas. The place of the constable in the Keep, he had six knight-fees and an half. The place of Brian Fitz-allan, in the great hall of Scotland. The place of Torphin Fitz-robot of Mansfield, between the kitchen and brewhouse. The place of Ralph Fitz-henry, on the west part of Scotland-hall. The place of Conan Fitz-helias, by the Keep on the east-side without the wall. The place of the chamberlain, on the east part of Scotland-hall by the oven. The place of Thomas de Burge, on the west part of the great chapel by the canons in the wall. He had, in this part of the honour of Richmond in Yorkshire, sixty-eight knight-tees and an half; and had here, at the time of the survey, one hundred and sixty-six lordships, manors, or farms; in Dorsetshire one, in Essex eight, in Hantsire two, in Cambridgeshire sixty-three, and ten burgages or dwelling-houses in Cambridge; in Hertfordshire twelve, in Northampton one, in Nottinghamshire seven, in Norfolk eighty-one, in Lincolnshire one hundred and one; in all, four hundred and forty-two. All his tenants owed suit and service to his court; and for this honour, and under the title thereof, there were courts kept for the tenants of its several counties every three weeks.

(3) I say, in common course; for the king had great power over baronies and knights fees. Thus, when Henry de Essex let the king's standard fall to the ground, as he was marching against the Welsh, Henry II. seized into his own hand the honour belonging to Henry de Essex, and had him shorn a monk. The same prince took the barony of Mersniude from Robert de Mandeville, and gave it to his younger brother Ralph, because the latter was the better knight.

(4) Feudistæ omnes afferunt feudum quod dignitatem habet nobilitare: quod non puto verum; quia feudum non nobilitat nisi accipiatur a principe. Quomodo igitur potest baro vel comes, in dando feudum, nobilem facere; cum nobilitare non ipsius sed principis sit. Duarenus in Consuetud. feudorum, cap. iv. sect. 4. — Duarenus saith, " All the feudists assert, that a fief or fee, which hath in itself dignity or nobility, maketh the possessor noble. This, saith he, I think, is not true, unless the fief be received from the king: for how can a baron or earl, in giving a fief, make a man noble, seeing it is not in the power of him, but of the king alone, to make a man noble?"

A. D. 1071. honour, by paction or other contract with a subject. But we shall afterwards consider this subject farther.

Malcolm invades Eng-land,

which he ravages with great barbarity.

He burns the churches.

Edgar joins him.

The seizing all the gold, silver, and plate which were in the monasteries of England, though a very unpopular step, brought a prodigious sum into William's exchequer. The monasteries were, till that time, looked upon to be the repositories of wealth in times of public distractions, and therefore deemed inviolable. But the necessities of the state pleaded some excuse for this step; for Malcolm king of the Scots, till now, had been contented to act upon the defensive, probably not chusing to do otherwise because of the inactivity of the Danes, ever a faithless race, and their corruption now notorious: however, upon William's disbanding his army, he was encouraged to invade England through Cumberland, which he did with a rapaciousness incident to a needy people, and an unmanly fury, which it cannot be pretended he had yet received any provocation to justify. For, turning eastward, he destroyed Tese-dale, the tract that lies on each side of the river Tese, with all the adjacent parts, with the most depopulating ravages. Some English noblemen, which lay at a place called (1) Hundred's Keld, were there surprized, and put to the sword, with their followers. Malcolm then dividing his army, sent back to his own country a large detachment, with the plunder he had made. He then marched towards Cleveland, a division now in the North-riding of Yorkshire, which he laid waste in like manner. Then returning back to Tese-dale, he put all the inhabitants to the sword, who, hoping that he was gone, had returned to their habitations. He then marched into Heorteness, now called Hert, which in like manner he destroyed. From thence he marched to the bishopric of Durham, marking out all his road by inhuman devastations; the most venerable edifices, in that age thought sacred, were burnt to the ground, with all who, after the manner of the times, had taken refuge in them. Then coasting along, he burnt down St. Peter's church in Wermouth, and was himself a witness of the conflagration. In the mean time, the Danish fleet having failed, Edgar Atheling, with many of the English noblemen who had returned, upon their leaving the coast of England, arrived at the mouth of the river Were to join Malcolm; and that prince redoubling his caresses, assured them all of a safe and honourable retreat in his own dominions, upon which they again set sail for Scotland, where they soon after arrived.

But it was not long before Malcolm had cause to repent of his barbarous proceedings. Gospatric having now made his peace with William, paid him a sum for the earldom of Northumberland, according to our authors; but this is very improbable. I am rather apt to believe, that the Conqueror bestowed it upon him, as he did the earldom of Chester on another of his favourites,

on condition to be always ready with a body of men to attack and oppose his enemies in the field. Malcolm, at that time, possessed Cumberland; not of right, says Simeon of Durham, but by violence. Gospatric, intending to draw him out of that part of England he was then ravaging, marched with his troops into that principality, and severely retaliated all Malcolm's barbarities upon its inhabitants; but it appears, from our own histories, that this attempt had but little effect. It is uncertain whether the inhabitants repelled him, or whether the troops which Malcolm had sent home with the plunder, were now returned to Cumberland, and made head against Gospatric; but we know that this invasion, instead of damping, exasperated the Scot, who no sooner heard of it, than he ordered the English to be treated with double severity, and the inhabitants either to be put to the sword, or carried into captivity. The description of the miseries which the English then suffered is very affecting, as we have it from Simeon of Durham. Such of them as either age or infirmity disabled (among which were old men, women, and diseased persons) were butchered; while those whom health and strength rendered fit for manual exercises, were carried into a servitude worse than death itself. The number of those captives must have been very considerable, since Simeon of Durham, who wrote upwards of ninety years after, says, that there was not a little village, nay, not a house, even in his time, without them; I suppose he means without their descendants.

Gospatric, it seems, not able to penetrate far into Cumberland, retreated to Bamborough-castle, where he fortified himself; and Malcolm having now no object for his arms but desolation in that part of England where he now was, returned to his own country. It is here the marriage between this prince and Margaret, Edgar's sister, is fixed by our English historians. The strongest argument for this computation is the visible change that soon after appeared in all that prince's conduct and oeconomy: for, from the time of his marriage, he was humanized; and his natural capacity being great, his queen had the address to reform him into one of the most amiable characters of that age.

The great possessions which William had given to his followers upon the borders of Scotland, was perhaps the reason why he did not march against Malcolm at the head of a royal army, since he thought that the great men he had settled upon the northern frontiers were both sufficiently interested and enabled to deal with the enemy. The civil affairs of the nation were yet very unsettled, and the vast alterations he had effected, both in church and state, required him to make his southern counties the chief objects of his attention. For this purpose he gave great encouragement to commerce, that thus the common people among the English, finding the sweets of gain, might be less sensible of

A. D. 1071.

Cumberland invaded by Gospatric.

But Malcolm continues his ravages.

Great number of captives carried into Scotland.

Gospatric returns.

Malcolm marries Margaret, Edgar's sister.

Why William did not march against Malcolm.

He encourages commerce.

(1) This I take to be the same place that is now called Hundreth wal, not far from Bernard-castle.

A. D. 1071. political changes. Accordingly we are told, by a cotemporary author, that the English markets and fairs were now full of French tradesmen, and that the common people, both of the English and Normans, became very cordial the one with the other; while the king took great care to suppress robberies, to encourage agriculture, and to rebuild churches; but those were all filled with Frenchmen: For Stigand archbishop of Canterbury had been deposed by the late council, and, upon former crimes, was committed to prison. His brother, Agelmar, another prelate, was likewise deposed, and the see of York was now vacant. Many other abbots and churchmen were likewise deposed, all whom William supplied with Normans. The archbishopric of Canterbury was filled up with Lanfranc, who had been abbot of Caen; and that of York, by Thomas, who had been a canon of Bayeux. Many other Normans were likewise introduced into church preferments, as shall be more particularly related in the ecclesiastical history.

He fills up all the church offices with Normans.

A conspiracy against William, headed by Frederic, abbot of St. Alban's.

William's difficulties.

The men of property, who suffered by those changes, could not be easy at them. William being strengthened, by having on his side two subjects so considerable as the two archbishops, with many other prelates, whose professions and possessions, independent of their merits or character, gave them great weight, still made wider strides in oppressing his English subjects, who retained any thing to lose. This produced a conspiracy among the latter, which had almost proved fatal to the Conqueror. At the head of this was Frederic, abbot of St. Alban's. This nobleman, who was of the Danish blood royal, was a man of great spirit and great wealth. The affecting description which Matthew Paris, the author of his life, gives of the English miseries at this time, will justify the effort this abbot made to restore the old constitution; had no private injuries interposed; for we are told, that the best blood of England were drove into woods, where they lived upon rapine; and that every private subject's house was now become a little garrison, provided with offensive and defensive weapons, to repel the attacks of robbers. Frederic's indignation at those calamities, joined to the principle of self-preservation, made him cast about how to remedy them. He gave refuge to all the proscribed English, who were so numerous, that in a short time he got together a strong party, and found means to send for Edgar out of Scotland, to head them. The state of England, at this time, may be compared to that of an infant colony; the new planters were just beginning to taste the reward for a long course of military fatigues; agriculture, therefore, and the settlement of their new possessions, now employed their chief attention, and to have called them off from these, might have disgusted them. At the same time, William, through conscious demerits, feared the effects of this conspiracy, in which he knew, if not broken, every Englishman, sooner or later, would join. This disposed

him to give a favourable ear to the advice of Lanfranc, the new archbishop of Canterbury. This prelate, who was a man of address and sense, represented to William the danger of his suffering the conspiracy to come to a head, by farther exasperating the English. He therefore advised him to apply lenitives; to recall the most popular of the proscribed English, and to give them assurances of his future friendship and protection. All this William readily complied with, and at last prevailed with the conspirators to give him a meeting at Berkhamstead. Both parties repairing thither, after long debates, the terms of their submission were at last adjusted, and William swore to the observation of them in presence of his favourite archbishop. The tenor of the oath, which was administered by abbot Frederic, was as follows: "That he would observe the good, approved, and ancient laws of the kingdom, which the holy and pious kings, his predecessors, and chiefly king Edward, had ordained."

A. D. 1071. and dissimulation.

He takes an oath to observe the English laws,

After so solemn an oath, the English, little suspecting any deceit on the part of William, laid down their arms, and returned to their several habitations; but the Norman no sooner saw them disarmed, than he seized and imprisoned their persons, proscribed their estates, and filled their lands with his own countrymen. Edgar Atheling, who probably had never consented to this treaty with the Conqueror, no sooner heard of it, than he prepared to return to Scotland, which he did, notwithstanding the great vigilance of William to take him prisoner. His absence now leaving the English without a head, the dismal success of the late treaty made every man among them suspect his neighbour. Thus, instead of again uniting in their own defence, they submitted to the yoke; and William, continues my author, who, when they were collected, was not able to break them, subdued them now dissipated. It was in vain for Frederic and some of the chiefs among the English to remonstrate against this breach of faith; all they met with was the like treatment to themselves. This discouraged the stout abbot so much, that, fearing to undergo the fate of his countrymen, which was to be stripped of his possessions and shut up in prison, he retired to the isle of Ely, where he met with some other exiles; and, soon after, obscurity finished his life.

and breaks the conspiracy.

His perjury and cruelty.

Frederic retires to Ely,

where he dies.

It appears, that the earls, Edwin and Morchar, had been engaged in this conspiracy of the abbots, and that they two had come in upon the faith of William's oath; for we find earl Morchar retiring, much about this time, to the isle of Ely, which was held by the discontented English. As to Edwin, he fled towards Scotland; but in the way was murdered by his own people. In the mean time the malecontents in Ely daily increased; for we find, by this time, that they were joined from Scotland by the late bishop of Durham, and Siward a Northumbrian nobleman. But their chief hero was one Hereward de Wake, a young English nobleman

Some other noblemen likewise retire thither.

They chuse Hereward de Wake for their leader.

A. D. 1071.

His history,

and success
in his resist-
ance.His character
from Ingul-
phus.

nobleman of distinguished accomplishments. His cotemporary, Ingulphus, who cannot be suspected of partiality in his favour, describes him as compleatly fitted in his person for war; and, at the instance of his father, he had undergone a kind of banishment, by order of Edward the Confessor, for his untractable temper, when he was no better than a boy. During this exile, he had roved from place to place in quest of military adventures, and was now in the highest reputation. He was abroad at the time of the Norman invasion; but soon after returned to England, where he had large possessions, and an uncle, one (1) Brand, who was abbot of Peterborough. When he came to his manor, he found his mother, who was still alive, dispossessed of it, and his fair estate seized by Normans. This exasperated him so much, that getting together a body of his tenants who were faithful to his fortunes, he dispossessed the invaders; and to give him the greater character among his countrymen, he was knighted after the Anglo-Saxon manner (2). Various are the adventures he afterwards had with the Normans; for being now general of the English, he sought to signalize himself; and had he been properly seconded by the other noblemen, he might still have retrieved the affairs of his country. Though the monk of Ely, who has given us a particular description of his actions, is accused of exaggeration; yet, if we take the general words of Ingulphus, the reader perhaps may be of another opinion. He performed, says that author, so many noble actions in war, so often did he overthrow, so often did baffle his enemies, that he deserves eternal honour; for, as long as he was able, he supported the ruins of his falling country, nor would he suffer his countrymen to go unrevengeed to the shades below; and when all the rest submitted and courted the Conqueror, he was proof against all temptations, and remained unsubmitting and (3) unsubdued. He was not contented to keep upon the defensive only; for his uncle dying about this time, the Conqueror made one of his Normans, called Thorold, abbot of Peterborough in his room. As Hereward's paternal estate, with those of his relations, lay near that abbey, it was in the power of the new abbot and his Normans greatly to distress them. But Thorold, sensible that Hereward's high spirit would never brook this, sent for one Ivo Talboys to protect him. This Ivo was a Norman of great reputation for personal courage, and thought to be the only match for Hereward in the kingdom. The latter, however, at-

tacked the Normans, forced the new abbot to fly, and in open fight took Ivo prisoner; and setting upon his head a large ransom, carried him in triumph to the isle of Ely.

William now thinking that this rebellion might be of dangerous consequence, set out himself to suppress it. The first thing he did was to build Wisbich-castle on the east-side, and to stop up all the outlets from whence the English could make any excursions (4). But the rebels had fortified themselves too strongly for William to attempt to assault their works; all he could do was to form a kind of blockade, and so cutting off all communication between them and the main land, to attempt to starve them out. The active Hereward, however, while the Normans were one morning intent upon their work, sallied out, engaged, and routed the party he attacked, and then returned to the isle, loaded with plunder. In the mean time, the bishop of Durham, seeking to escape out of the island, was taken by William, and shut up in prison. He likewise, to strike the greater terror into the rebels, cut off the hands and feet, or put out the eyes of all the prisoners who fell into his hands. Finding, however, that those severities only exasperated them the more, he proposed a truce, and terms of accommodation. As the truce was convenient for the affairs of the rebels, it was granted, and Hereward, during its dependency, went over to the main land. The remaining noblemen, however, had too recent experience of William's guile, for them to trust the most solemn assurances he could make them. In short, they refused to deliver up the island, and hostilities recommenced on both sides. Hereward, all this while was not inactive. He had gathered together, during his absence from the island, a strong band of his countrymen, all in the same circumstances with those he had left, and all ready to share his fortunes. Those he bound by an oath to maintain the quarrel he was engaged in to the utmost. He then carried them over to the island, and they all resolved upon a vigorous resistance.

But there is some variation among writers, with regard to chronology rather than facts, in the remaining part of the history of this rebellion. We shall stick to what is most probable, that it was finished in 1071 or 72. For William suffering repeated repulses in his attacks, renewed the blockade; and increasing his army with fresh reinforcements of horse and foot, shut the rebels up so closely, that they could not sally out. As the isle belonged to the abbot and the monks of Ely, he then fell upon all their possessions which

(1) There is somewhat very remarkable with regard to this Brand, and his brethren, of Peterborough: for Hugh White, who lived, according to Leland, in the reign of Henry III, tells us, That when abbot Leuric, the predecessor of Brand, died, the monks unanimously chose Brand for his successor, and sent to Edgar Atheling, whom they thought was to be their king, to have their election confirmed; for which William never could forgive them. Vid. Hist. Ang. Scrip. varii ed. per Sparkes, Hug. Cand. p. 39.

(2) Viz. by confession of his sins, and watching and praying in the church the whole preceding night; then, in the morning before mass, he offered up his sword upon the altar; and, after reading the gospel, the priest, having first blessed the sword, put it over the new knight's neck; and so, having communicated, he was ever after held a lawful knight.

(3) Celeri nuncio Herardus ad eos accersitus, dux belli et magister militum efficitur; ubi tot pulchra bellica facinora fecit, toties adversarios vicit, tot vicibus illudit, quod perpetuam laudem meruit: quippe qui ruinas suæ patriæ pereuntis, quamdiu potuit, sustentavit, et inultos abire ad inferos non permisit. Cæteri optimates se regi dedentes, ejus gratiam tentaverunt, solus hic omnino hoc recusans, se subdere distulit, ac alias divertit.

(4) We are told, that he likewise built a bridge, two miles long, on the west-side.

A. D. 1071. lay on the main land, which were very considerable, and rifling them of their most valuable effects, bestowed them upon his soldiers who were employed in building and guarding the forts which helped to shut up the island (1). This touched the brotherhood to the quick, and provisions falling short within the isle, they contrived to hold a conference about giving it up. Upon comparing together all accounts of this affair, the most probable seems to be, that the monks carried on this negociation privately, without the knowledge and against the consent of the noblemen (especially Hereward) who were within the isle. For the terms of their agreement were, that they should submit to the king, who was to restore them to the possession of all their lands; to pay him a thousand marks, towards reimbursing him in the expences of the war; and, in the mean time, they were to deliver up to a party of William's troops one of the posts, which gave admittance into the island. Accordingly, on the day appointed, a detachment of William's army took possession of the post agreed upon, who kept it, notwithstanding the efforts of the noblemen within, till his whole army entered the island. The brave Hereward, however, with a few faithful followers, fought his way, with his sword in his hand, through all the Conqueror's troops, and escaped by the fens to Scotland, still preserving his independency, which rendered him so formidable to the Conqueror, that he soon after had his own terms, and was restored to the full and honourable possession of all his large estate in England. As to the other noblemen, they all submitted, with their followers, to the mercy of William, who ordered the common soldiers to be disabled, some by losing their hands, and others their eyes (2). Earl Morchar and the other noblemen were sent to close durance through different prisons of

The isle of Ely betrayed to William.

Hereward escapes.

The noblemen submit,

and are imprisoned.

the kingdom; while the bishop of Durham, being shut up in Abingdon, ended his days by a forced or voluntary abstinence from all food. The great power which the bishops of Durham were invested with, made his death very agreeable to William, since it not only removed an inveterate enemy, who had great opportunities of distressing his government, but made room for filling up that important bishopric with one of his own creatures. Accordingly we find one Walcher, a Lorrainer, now consecrated bishop of Durham at Winchester. He had been invited over from the church of Liege for that purpose; and William, to give him the greater lustre, ordered him a convoy as far as York, under Eliaf, one of his principal courtiers. He was there received by earl Gospatric, and by him attended with great pomp to Durham, where he entered in quiet possession of his bishopric.

A. D. 1071.

Walcher made bishop of Durham.

We are now to consider prelates in a very different light from what we have hitherto done. Their possessions, in the time of the Saxons, were allodial, so far as an allodium can subsist within a monarchy. Neither they nor their tenants, therefore, were subjected to the determined military services, as arising from feods, and the trinodis necessitas, by which is meant immunity from all vulgar and hard services, and is confined to expedition, with the assisting in building and repairing forts and bridges, was their hardest tenure. But this was so undetermined as to church possessions, that it was next to nothing; and about the year 855, Ethelwulf, by the famous charter of Winchester, freed them even from that. All the concern, therefore, they took in secular affairs, was merely voluntary; and in their late degenerated, inactive state, very few of them had made any opposition to the Conqueror, till they found their own possessions struck at, and that farther inactivity must end in

State of prelates at this time, and under the English.

(1) One fort, where the Normans had a garrison or guard, remains at this day at the south-west end of Audry causeway, in the parish of Wivelingham, or Willingham: it is large, of a circular or round form, encompassed anciently with a steep bank and a deep ditch, by the country people called Belfar's hills, but corruptly; for, in a parchment roll belonging to the bishop of Ely, of the soldiers names that were quartered in that monastery after the island was delivered to the Conqueror, I find one Belafius, or Belassis, that was general against the island, and had his station in this fort; from whom, says that roll, it was called Belafius, or Belassis berge, Burrough hill, or fort; or perhaps the fort might be called Belassis fort, for its opportune and convenient situation for the placing of a garrison against the island, being at the end of the great passage into it, from the two French words, bell and assis, signifying well-seated or placed, being so named by the Normans. Brady.

(2) The historian of Ely gives a different account of the close of this rebellion, which we shall give the reader from Mr. Tyrell. This author relates, That king William did not renew the siege of this island till after his second return out of Normandy, which was A. D. 1075; whereas the Saxon annals, and all our other historians, make him to have this war against Ely four years before, and in this very year: so that all this historian writes to have happened after that year, seems to have been pure romance, to enhance the honour of Hereward his hero, of whom he relates diverse impracticable stories, needless to be here recited, since we are not assured of the truth of them. At last this author agrees, that the abbot and monks, having had all their lands seized that lay without, and having also consumed all their provisions within the isle, they were forced at last to make peace with the king, sending abbot Thurstan and some of his monks to treat on their behalf: but they, it seems, not agreeing to the king's terms, he thereupon sent a new-raised army, both of horse and foot, against them, who falling upon the island afresh, by the help of the king's ships which blocked up the mouth of the river, they at length got over the lakes and bogs, and so assailing the besieged with their engines of war, put them to flight, and having once landed upon the island, soon made themselves masters of it and the abbey. After this, the king marched towards the monastery, shutting up the gates of the church, that the monks might not meet him in solemn procession, with their crosses and relics of the saints, and so appease his anger; then arriving at the monastery, he offered half a mark of gold at the altar or shrine of St. Audry, and having put a strong garrison of Normans into the abbey, as also in the castle of Alrehede, he returned the same way he came. Then the abbot and monks, by the mediation of Gilbert de Clare and other noblemen, endeavoured a reconciliation with the king; so being brought into his presence at Wicford, they made the best composition they could, viz. That they should pay him seven hundred marks; which was so great a sum, that they were forced to sell some of the plate and ornaments of their church. This sum being brought to the king's receivers at Cambridge, there wanted, by carelessness of the money-changers, a groat in weight (for, in those days, great sums passed by weight, and not by tale) which when the king understood, he was very angry at it (or at least pretended it) as if they went about to cheat him, and thereupon would not stand to the articles of peace; which did so perplex those monks, that they were forced to promise him three hundred marks more, to make it up a thousand; to raise which sum, they were necessitated to despoil the images of their saints of all their ornaments of gold and silver, and so disfigured the church of all the rest of the gold and silver that was left. And when this sum was paid, they bought but a precarious and uncertain peace; till Thurstan, their abbot, dying, the king made Theodwin, a Norman monk, abbot, who refused to accept it, unless the king would restore to the abbey the spoils which he had taken from it; and so, at last, they got them all again.

A. D. 1072.

ruin. But William roused them from their supineness: he made their lands, their possessions, and their dignities things of use. They held them not only by the tenure of military services, in like manner as other great subjects held theirs; but were obliged to the service of attendance in the king's great councils. Thus they are hereafter to be considered in a double capacity, their spiritual as clergymen, and their temporal as barons. This distinction came very early to be understood. The bishops of Durham, in particular, claimed the title of a count palatine; a high sounding distinction indeed, but I believe it will be found, that in those days it meant no more than any great baron, who had possessions enough to enable him to retain about his person all the great officers of a palace, to which, by the original institution of capital fees, they were entitled (1). But to return to our history.

The difference between a baron and count palatine.

William invades Scotland;

About the year 1072, William, having subdued all opposition in the south, now thought of repaying the visit the king of Scots made him the year before; but, to prevent as much as possible any disturbances at his back, he took along with him Edric, the Man of the Forest, the same who had rebelled upon the borders of Wales some years before, but had now submitted. Malcolm's success in his late invasions, the reputation into which the resort of the English noblemen had brought his troops, and his marriage with the sister of Edgar, had made him an enemy, whose conquest could grace the Conqueror's sword. But William had great difficulties to get over; all Northumberland, Durham, and what is now Richmondshire, with Yorkshire, as far as the river Humber, had been so depopulated, first by his own troops, and then by the Scots and Danes, that they could afford neither quarters nor subsistence for his army; he was therefore obliged, according to some writers, to lead his army through Westmorland and Cumberland, which was then in the hands of the enemy. Our historians are very lame in their accounts of this expedition. They have not, as usual, marked out the progress of the Conqueror through Westmorland and Cumberland; and the first place where

William emerges, is in the wild mountains of Galloway, the most western province of Scotland. From this circumstance I am apt to believe, that this invasion of the Conqueror was by sea, and that he landed somewhere in Solway-frith. What confirms this, is the mention which our historians make, of a naval as well as a land armament on this occasion. (2) The Saxon chronicle makes William to have blocked up the Scotch by sea; but says, that he had a very uncomfortable march by land (3), where he found nothing for his purpose. The other particulars of his expedition are but lamely mentioned by all our old historians, excepting Polydore Virgil. They are contented with telling us, in general, that William having penetrated through Galloway, Malcolm met him at a place they call Abernethy, and swore fealty to him; but we are in the dark whether it was for the counties which he held of the crown of England, or for the crown of Scotland. That it was not for the latter, I think the Scotch have clearly made out; if for the former alone, it was but a poor reward to William, without other advantages, which it appears he never got, for the expence and trouble he had been at. Polydore Virgil gives us a much more probable account of this expedition, though he is far from being a favourer of the Scots. He tells us, that William finding Scotland was the only receptacle of his enemies, determined to invade it: understanding, therefore, that the exiled English had taken refuge in Galloway, he marched into that country, where he harassed his troops in pursuing them, to no purpose; the enemy retiring to mountains, bogs, and other fastnesses, eluding all his search, and very often laying ambuscades to cut him off. Upon which, finding that he could make but small progress there, both through the cunning of the enemy, and his unacquaintance with the country, he resolved to attack Malcolm in the heart of his dominions. Upon this, he marched towards Lothian, and finding a proper situation for fighting, he drew out his men in array. Malcolm, who by this time had met him, at the head of another army, seeing William's

A. D. 1072. marches into Galloway.

Polydore's account of this expedition.

(1) We are apt, at present, to entertain a very high idea of this office; but this proceeds principally from our ignorance of the original institution of feods in England, under the Conqueror: for, by that, every baron was in his fee as in his caput honoris, an epitome of what the king was in his curia. It is true, that the division of the property annexed to baronies, brought some of the great noblemen, who held the caput honoris, (but, perhaps, without so much property as some of the knights who held of them) into circumstances which could not admit of their keeping up all this pomp. This seems to be the true reason why the distinction of count palatine, or comes palatii, came to take place; for it is certain, that, in more early times, such a distinction was little, if at all, understood; particularly with regard to the bishopric of Durham, which formerly was, and still is, one of the richest in England. In the time of Edward I, a great cause came before the king and his council, between John archbishop of York, and Anthony bishop of Durham; in which the latter pleads his privilege, as being a comes palatii quoad tenementa temporalia, as well as an episcopus quod spiritualia. (Et Ricardus de Bretteville qui sequitur pro rege dicit, quod prædictus episcopus Dunelm [ensis] habet duos status, videlicet statum episcopi quoad spiritualia; et statum com [itis] palatii quoad ten [ementa] temporalia. See Clauf. 21. Ed. I. M. 3. et Ril. ap Plac. Parl. p. 135.) This distinction was admitted of, but not from any speciality, in the bishop of Durham's case; for all the other bishops of England had the same privileges. It is true, the earls of Chester had generally been thought count palatines; but that seems to have proceeded from the great preeminence and property they so long enjoyed. But, after all, it is not quite clear, that some extra-feodal privileges were not annexed to those baronies that were seated on the borders either of Wales or Scotland; but of this I dare affirm nothing. In process of time, Edward III. erected the duchy of Lancaster into a palatinate, in favour of John of Gaunt; but when the privileges, granted by that charter, are compared with those exercised by the great Norman barons, immediately after the conquest, (particularly by the archbishops of York, the earls of Hereford, Pembroke and Gloucester, and several of the lord-marchers of Wales) we shall find their privileges, and those granted to the palatinate of Lancaster, pretty much the same; and therefore we may well suppose, that this title was designed only to give the greater lustre to John of Gaunt.

(2) The Saxon chronicle says, that he brought his land forces to the river *Γεραβε*, which the right reverend editor of that chronicle thinks to be the Tweed; but this is very improbable, though where that river was is hard to determine at present.

(3) Verum ibi nihil reperit quod sibi commodo esset. Chron. Sax.

resolution,

A. D. 1072.

resolution, remained on the defensive; and, after many conflicts within his own breast, sent deputies to him to treat about a peace. William heard this proposal with secret satisfaction, being unwilling to risk his own fate, and that of his army, on the event of a single battle, in an unknown country. A peace therefore was concluded, upon Malcolm's swearing homage to William, and obtaining pardon for all the English exiles. In memory of this peace, we are told, by the Scotch historians, that a cross was erected, on which was inscribed the arms of both kings, at a place called Stanmore, within Richmondshire. This cross was named, by the English, Rerecross; and part of it stood entire in the days of Camden, and was to serve as a boundary between Malcolm's feudal possessions in England, and those of the Norman. This is all the account we are able to give of this memorable expedition.

A peace concluded.

Rere-cross erected.

The Scots have indeed magnified the address, power, and courage of their own prince; but as they are scandalously inaccurate in whatever relates to the affairs of England in this reign, and pay no regard to the circumstances of time and place, their testimony is of little importance. An English author, one of the best of writers, but the worst of all historians, has furnished us with a romance of this prince's reign, in which he follows the Scots in their relations of this expedition. He has even put Malcolm and his army upon a level with William and his; and has attempted the character of both, without giving the preference to either; but with what propriety and justice, let any one, who has attended to the fortunes of each, determine. The one (William) almost singly surmounting all the disadvantages of illegitimacy, and a succession disputed, even in his most tender minority, by the most powerful princes on the continent; in his youth, the terror of his neighbours; raising his Normans from being barbarians, to engross almost the whole knowledge, either civil or military, in that age. In his maturity, nay, when verging on the decline of life, conquering a king of England; treating as slaves, though in breach of solemn engagements, one of the most powerful people in Europe; quelling all opposition, and laying the solid foundations of a succession in his own line to the crown of England upon a new plan, which he alone could have executed. Malcolm was not without his merits; but William was his cotemporary. The arms of England had restored him to his birth-right; the misfortunes of England had added to his power, and improved his policy; nor can it be denied that he was the father of many useful institutions to his country. But, after all, the characters of the two persons can no more admit of a parallel, than can the power, wealth, and commerce of their two countries.

Sir William Temple's comparison between Malcolm and William examined.

Peace being now concluded between William and the Scots, he returned to Durham, where he was seized with a disorder, probably from his late fatigues, he being now corpulent, and less fit for military toils.

William returns to Durham.

Having given orders there for erecting a new fort, he deprived Gospatric of his estate in Northumberland. This might, in reality, proceed either from his not being satisfied with his conduct, when he commanded against the Scots, or from a particular stipulation in the late peace. But Simeon of Durham says, that it was because of the hand he had in the murder of Cumin, and the slaughter of the Normans in York. A truer reason than both perhaps may be given, when we reflect on this nobleman's pretensions to the crown, and the convenience of his estate for admitting the Danes into England. He was succeeded by earl Waltheof, the son of Siward, the brother of Malcolm's first wife, and husband to William's niece. The remaining part of this year was filled with the famous controversy between the two archbishops about pre-eminence, which, relating entirely to ecclesiastical affairs, I shall give in the history of the church.

A. D. 1073. He dispossesses Gospatric.

In the year 1073, Edgar Atheling, in consequence of the late treaty between William and his brother Malcolm, came into England, and was received by William seemingly with great affection, having a noble revenue settled upon him. With this he was contented to live as a private person, forgetful of his high claim and blood. And indeed, when we consider the whole of his conduct, he appears to have had more virtues than abilities; with too much ambition not to fall into the temptations which the turbulence of the times, rather than any real affection to his title, offered for raising him to the throne of his ancestors; but with too narrow a capacity to pursue the necessary means for succeeding.

Edgar Atheling comes to England.

His character.

Philip, king of France, at this time, either jealous of William's growing power, or hoping that the unsettled state of his affairs might tie up his hands, attacked the dukedom of Normandy. Perhaps the knowledge of his intentions had determined William to grant Malcolm the advantageous terms he did, that he might be more at liberty to protect his hereditary dominions. William, on this occasion, seems to have been embarrassed. He could trust only to the Normans in subduing and awing England, especially in his own absence; raising therefore an army of Englishmen, officered probably by Normans, he passed over to the continent. Philip, by this time, was in possession of the city of Mans, and the province of Main, which had revolted; but William, being joined by a body of his native subjects, soon retook both. The Saxon chronicle informs us, that the English were very severe against the rebels; and that they destroyed their vineyards, and burnt their cities; and, after doing them all the mischief they could, reduced it entirely under the subjection of William, and then returned to England; but not before the latter had obliged the king of France to give him a safe and honourable peace.

The French attack Normandy.

William retakes Mans.

As the absence of a prince, especially in this king's circumstances, is ever attended with some commotions at home, we find that,

Commotions in the north.

A. D. 1073.

that, this year, Waltheof, the new earl of Northumberland, cruelly revenged the death of his father, Aldred, upon the sons of one Carle, who it seems had murdered him: for, while the latter were securely feasting at a place called Settrington, they were killed by a party of Waltheof's followers, and by his orders. At the same time a great civil difference happened between Lanfranc archbishop of Canterbury, and Odo bishop of Bayeux. The former, possessing the friendship of the king, was resolved to act up to his great character, without regard to any consideration of persons; and as every man of sense will be independent if he can be so, he sent over a complaint against Odo, for having, in the life-time of his predecessor Stigand, or during the vacancy that happened after his deposition, wrongfully seized many lands belonging to the see of Canterbury. William, who knew his brother to be bold, impetuous, and encroaching, immediately ordered the matter of complaint to be heard in a solemn manner. For this purpose an inquest was summoned, of the best and most creditable persons, not only in Kent where the disputed lands lay, but from other counties where the archbishop had any possessions: before them both parties were to be heard; and Lanfranc was to prove, that the litigated estate belonged to his archbishopric, and had been wrongfully taken from it. This proof, in the language of our antiquities, is called a dirationation.

Difference between Lanfranc and Odo,

referred to an inquest.

[See Madox's Hist. of Land Honours, p. 25.]

Account of the inquest.

The inquest consisted of many of the principal men then in England, as it was to be a leading case, and between two of the greatest subjects perhaps William had: Among others of the inquest was Godfrey bishop of Constance, who was appointed the king's first commissioner on this occasion; and Egilric bishop of Chichester, a man venerable for his age and knowledge of the English laws and customs, but now so infirm that he was brought thither in a waggon. Hayman, the sheriff of the county, was the summoner of the Kentish jurors, as the several sheriffs of other shires were of those lying in their respective counties; and Odo himself was ordered to be present. This commission from the king was held at Pinnenden-heath, near Ailesford, in Kent; but I cannot be persuaded that this particular case is of any importance to prove, that most of the juries, under the reign of William I, were composed of English. The fact, on this occasion litigated, was a matter which could be known to the English only; therefore there was a necessity of their composing, at least, the majority of the inquest. Be this as it will, Lanfranc, who was a man of eloquence for the times he lived in, chose to plead his own cause. The particulars of the controversy are not to my purpose; it is sufficient to say, that Lanfranc gained a complete victory, and, by common consent of all present, recovered from his antagonist no less than twenty-five manors, two parts in three of which lay in Kent, and the rest in Surrey, London, Middlesex, Buckinghamshire, Oxfordshire, Essex and Suffolk.

Verdict given for Lanfranc.

Another remarkable incident, which fell out during William's stay in Normandy, or soon after his return to England, was a demand made by pope Gregory upon William, That he would submit to hold the kingdom of England of the Roman see. As this pope was one of the most enterprising princes who had ever filled that chair, it required William's spirit to deal with him. No man better knew the difference between the church and the court of Rome, than this Norman did; nor were they ever better distinguished than upon this occasion. He was as jealous of the latter, as he was devoted to the former. The pope's pretensions seem to have been founded on the weakness of Offa and Ina, with some other bigotted weak princes, who had established but too many eleemosynary deeds, which, in the language of the papal court, were now construed into acts of fealty, and claimed as of right. Besides, the famous consecrated banner, sent by this pope's predecessor to William, and his excess of complaisance in return, might make Gregory imagine that he would have little difficulty to persuade him, that it was his interest to hold his crown of the see of Rome, since the papal approbation of his expedition had so greatly contributed to its success. William, however, was resolved to be independent; and there is still extant a letter (published by Mr. Selden, in his notes upon Eadmerus) wrote by William, in answer to this impudent demand. As the letter is well worthy of being transcribed, I Tyrrrel, shall here give it to my reader.

A. D. 1074. The pope demands submission from William.

Upon a ban pretence.

To Gregory, the most excellent pastor of Holy church, William, by the grace of God, king of the English, and duke of the Normans, wisheth health, and desireth his friendship.

" Most holy father,

" Your legate, Hubert, coming unto me, admonished me in your behalf, that I should do fealty to you and your successors, and that I should take better care for the payment of the money which my predecessors were wont to send to the church of Rome: one of these I have granted, the other I have refused. Fealty I would not do, nor will I, because I neither promised it, nor do I find that my predecessors ever did it to yours. The money, for almost three years, (when I was abroad in France) hath been but negligently collected; but seeing, by divine mercy, I am returned into my kingdom, what is gathered is sent by the aforesaid legate, and the arrears which remain shall be sent by the messengers of Lanfranc, our faithful archbishop, in time convenient. Pray for us, and for the good estate of our kingdom, because we have loved your predecessors, and do desire sincerely to love and obediently to hear you, above all others."

William's answer to the pope.

We are ignorant as to the effect which this letter had; but it is probable, that it extinguished

A. D. 1074. extinguished the papal pretensions: for we are informed by Eadmerus, that the king grew so jealous of the court of Rome, that he would not suffer any of his English subjects to acknowledge any pope, who was not to his own liking; nay, not to entertain any correspondence with that court, without laying it before the government.

Conspiracy of English and Norman noblemen against the government,

discovered by earl Waltheof.

Hostilities begun.

The conspirators disconcerted.

During the king's stay in Normandy, a conspiracy of a very extraordinary nature was formed in England, consisting equally of Normans and English. The grounds of this conspiracy, as we have them from the best authorities, are, I think, very dark and unsatisfactory. According to them, the first was, because William was a bastard; secondly, because of his severity in matters of government. As to the first, it was nothing new; as to the latter, whatever cause the English might have had, it is certain the Normans had none, to complain. I should therefore be apt to suspect, that the whole amounted to no more than unguarded expressions, prompted perhaps by the too liberal jollity of the occasion; and that William, unwilling to encourage either alliances or intimacies between his Normans and the English, was resolved, once for all, to set a severe example against all who should offend in that manner. For we learn, that, about this time, Ralph de Waher, earl of Norfolk and Suffolk, obtained the consent of Roger earl of Hereford, to marry his daughter Emma, at first, without the king's knowledge, and, afterwards, against his inclination. The Saxon chronicle, indeed, puts this matter in a different light. This Ralph de Waher was, on the father's side, an Englishman, or, according to the Saxon chronicle, a Briton; his mother being French, but, according to Polydore Virgil, a Welshwoman. He magnificently celebrated his nuptials at Ixningeham in Cambridgeshire. Many noblemen being invited, wine expelling reason, a change of government was talked of, or, according to others, it was resolved to depose William. Earl Waltheof, one of the guests, either through gratitude or dread, next morning reflecting on what had passed, posted to Lanfranc archbishop of Canterbury, to whom he revealed all he knew; and receiving absolution from him, by his advice, went over to Normandy, and discovered all to William. Earl Waltheof's journey, and the motions of the government in England, soon convinced the noblemen that they were betrayed; and they knew William's dispositions too well, to expect either safety or pardon, but from their own swords. The Welsh readily joining them, hostilities began, and a special messenger was sent to Denmark to invite another descent in their favour. The plan of the conspirators seems to have been, that the earl of Hereford, raising all his followers on the other side of the Severn, should have passed that river, and have joined with the earl of Norfolk; then marching southward, to have effected an universal revolt among the English. But the vigilance of William's government disconcerted this scheme. Several of the Norman possessions, indeed,

were at first plundered and destroyed; but the governors of the new-erected forts held out till Wulfstan bishop of Worcester, Egelwin abbot of Evesham, Urse sheriff of Worcestershire, with Walter de Lacy, raised a body strong enough to prevent the earl of Hereford from passing the Severn. Earl Ralph, in the mean time, having got together some troops, had advanced as far as Cambridge; but was met by Odo bishop of Bayeux, and Godfrey bishop of Constance, at the head of an army of Normans. Thus the English subdued that quarter of the rebellion where the Welsh prevailed; while the English, in another quarter, were suppressed by the Normans. So little were the English and Welsh yet reconciled.

A. D. 1074.

Ralph, finding himself over-powered, returned to Norwich, where he had his chief castle; and committing the custody of it to his wife, went over to France, and from thence to Denmark, hoping, perhaps, that his friends in England would be able to hold out till he could bring an army of Danes to their relief; while the court of France should cut out as much work for William, as should prevent his regency in England from receiving any assistance from him, or the troops with him.

The earl of Norfolk retires to Norwich; then to France and Denmark.

But all those expectations were disappointed; for William found leisure enough, in the autumn, to pass over into England, and vigorously pressed the siege of the castle of Norwich. The resistance of the lady was such, that he granted her terms; which were, That she should have liberty to retire whither she pleased, with her followers. Accordingly she took shipping, and went after her husband. In the mean time, the earl of Hereford, unable singly to hold out against the united force of both Normans and English, was obliged to surrender himself, and, by William's orders, both he and earl Waltheof, notwithstanding all his merit in discovering the conspiracy, were committed to prison. William then called together a great council at Westminster, where the case of the late rebels came into consideration. They were afterwards proceeded against with great severity. Of the inferior and lowest rank, some lost their eyes, and others their limbs. The Welsh prisoners, in particular, were handled very roughly; from which we may conclude, that William, at this time, either looked upon them as his own subjects, or that their joining in the rebellion was disclaimed by their chiefs.

William besieges and takes the castle of Norwich.

His severity to the rebels.

And now William totally subverted the constitution, if not the property of England, a measure he had been long meditating, and which he now found means to effect. The late rebellion gave him a fair handle for this purpose; and to this may be referred the celebrated passage of the black book of the exchequer, where the author says, "That after this great Conqueror had reduced under his own dominion the uttermost ends of the island, and struck terror into all the rebels, by the severe examples he had made, to prevent the like inconveniences for the future, he resolved to rule the people whom he had thus subjected

He subverts the constitution.

A. D. 1074. " subjected by a system of written law and
 " right. The English laws, therefore, be-
 " ing laid before him, according to the
 " three-fold distinction of Mercian, Danish,
 " and West Saxon laws, some of them he
 " abrogated, others he retained ; but ingraft-
 " ed upon them the foreign laws of Nor-
 " mandy, which were found to be most
 " effectual for preserving the peace of the
 " kingdom." To this period we are likewise
 to refer the institution of the court of exche-
 quer, which being filled with Normans, as it
 was at first abused, was no better than a court
 of inquisition. It was not, as now, restricted
 to particular departments of business, but ex-
 tended to all matters of property, and was mo-
 delled after that established in Normandy. This
 court was composed of the capital justiciary,
 the chancellor, the treasurer, or those officers
 which now answer to those names, together
 with many of either the ecclesiastical or lay
 nobility, who here acted not by a feudal,
 but by a commissary jurisdiction, and whom
 we may reasonably suppose had neither re-
 gard to, or knowledge of, the laws of Eng-
 land : but of this we shall have more occa-
 sion to speak hereafter, in the dissertation on
 that head. To this juncture likewise may
 be referred what we are told by all our old
 authors, that all the places of honour, power,
 or profit, civil, ecclesiastical, or military,
 were now filled up by Normans, or foreign-
 ers. To heighten the consternation of the
 English upon this occasion, and to take from
 them all expectation of ever being able to
 make any effort for their independency, in
 the year 1074, earl Waltheof, notwithstanding
 all the merit of his early discovering
 the late conspiracy, the sanctity of his life
 after his imprisonment, his large donations
 to the church, and his alliance with the royal
 family, had his head struck off, by the king's
 command, without the city of Winchester.

The court of
exchequer in-
stituted.

Earl Waltheof
beheaded.

The Danes
again invade
England.

William be-
siegues Dole.

In the mean time, earl Ralph had succeed-
 ed so well at the court of Denmark, that he
 sailed for England with two hundred ships,
 commanded by Hacun, a Danish nobleman,
 with an intention to make a descent on the
 coast ; but the rebellion being by this time
 suppressed, and the heads of it either impris-
 oned or put to death, they found the coast
 so well lined with William's troops, that
 they were obliged to sail for Flanders, with-
 out making any attempt here. It is probable
 that Ralph, landing in Flanders, took that
 opportunity of strengthening the forts be-
 longing to his estate there, which was very
 great. In that he was encouraged by Phi-
 lip king of France ; for William, always un-
 easy while the least particle of disaffection
 remained unextinguished, in the spring of the
 same year, settling a regency in England,
 carried over a large army to Brittany, where
 Ralph's estate lay, and besieged the castle of
 Dole, which he held either for himself, or
 the duke of Brittany. But Ralph made
 so brave a resistance, and so harrassed Wil-
 liam's troops, that the besieged held out till
 Philip marched to their relief with an army,
 which obliged the Conqueror to draw off
 his forces towards the coasts, and to return,

after an inglorious campaign, and great loss
 of men, to England. But the French hi-
 storians, who, in this matter, deserve credit,
 inform us, that, besides the quarrel which
 William had against Ralph, he had another
 ground of war, which was the duke of Bri-
 tanny's refusing to swear homage to William,
 as the former dukes of Brittany had always
 done to his predecessors : that on this ac-
 count he besieged Dole, which made so vi-
 gorous a resistance, that the duke of Brittany
 had time to come to its relief ; and forcing
 William to raise the siege, not only killed a
 great many of his men in his retreat, but rifled
 his military chest and baggage, in which he
 found to the value of fifteen thousand pounds ;
 a prodigious sum in those days ! The rest
 of this year is taken up with ecclesiastical
 occurrences, of which we shall treat in the
 history of the church.

Though William was thus far beyond ex-
 ample fortunate ; yet about this time he met
 with a check, which proves how little the
 ties of blood and nature avail, when put
 in the balance with those of ambition or in-
 terest. It was from his eldest son Robert.
 This prince had great fire, great sentiments of
 honour, a bold heart, but a weak head. His
 situation was such, that he lived but little
 about his father's person ; and William's par-
 tiality to his other children alarmed him so
 much, that he held not filial affection in the
 same proportion as he possessed other virtues.
 This made him a prey to all who either
 secretly or openly hated his father ; not but
 that the young prince had specious pretences
 to justify his conduct, were it possible to
 justify an unnatural attempt against the peace
 and dignity of a parent, who, by the course
 of nature, was soon to descend to the grave.
 For we are told, that, upon the surrender of
 Mans, one of the conditions was, That not
 only that city, but the whole county of Main,
 was to be given up to Robert, then adult,
 and of ambition fit for government. This is
 related as being the spark which lighted up
 the flame of this rebellion, though a long
 train of old discouragements and disappoint-
 ments had laid up fuel for it within the
 young prince's breast : for authors, the most
 favourable to William's memory, cannot
 deny that the Conqueror, both before and
 after his expedition to England, had pro-
 mised to put Robert in possession of Nor-
 mandy. What strengthens this assertion, is
 the probability that the Normans, then the
 most free people in the world, knowing that
 they must be deprived of the valuable pre-
 sence of their prince, if he succeeded in his
 expedition, would insist upon such a com-
 promise, as the only method of preventing
 their government from becoming a province
 to England. We are told farther, but I
 think with less likelihood of truth, that the
 Normans actually swore homage to Robert
 upon the faith of this compromise. What-
 ever may be in this, it is certain, that Wil-
 liam still found means to retain the govern-
 ment in his own hands, and evaded all per-
 formance, by remonstrating the improbabi-
 lity that he could ever mean to make a sur-
 render

A. D. 1075.

Prince Robert
rebels.

His preten-
sions.

A. D. 1075. render of his dominions during his life-time : adding, that his way was, never to strip till he was ready to go to bed ; and that all his design in the compromise was, to assure to Robert the succession of Normandy in case of his death. The young prince, however, being impatient after independent command, did not fail, from time to time, to hint to his father, that he expected the terms of the compromise would be fulfilled. But this served only to make William observe him with a more watchful eye. The French court, in the mean time, jealous of William's greatness, and willing to embarrass him in every respect, did not fail to blow the flames of ambition in Robert's mind ; and William loudly accused his son of encouraging and promoting all the conspiracies and rebellions which had been formed against his person and government. Mutual accusations begetting mutual enmity : an affront, which Robert received from his two younger brothers, adding to his resentment, he now broke out into open rebellion, being assured of assistance and protection from the king of France. The plausibility of his claim, and the popularity of his person, soon gained him numerous adherents ; while his father, foreseeing the storm that was to break, made suitable provisions against it. For Robert having attacked Roan, which was bravely defended by Ivory its governor, William was preparing with an army of English to march to its relief. Robert, being not yet in a condition to maintain a siege, and resist an attack, at once, thought fit to retire in time, which he did towards the confines of Upper Normandy. There he maintained his ground so well, by the assistance of the French court, by the affections of the Normans, and private supplies which, we are told, he received from his mother, whose favourite son he was, that he made several successful incursions into his father's territories. But William, with that expedition which is so peculiar to his character, advanced against him, and straitened him so much, that Robert was forced to apply to the king of France for a place of retreat against his father's resentment. This Philip readily afforded him ; and Robert withdrew to Gerberot, in the Beauvoisis, with his army. Hither William followed him, and made preparations to besiege the place in form ; but Robert, thinking it a disgrace to be shut up, at the head of an army, within the walls of a town, drew out, and gave his father battle. The dispute was bloody and obstinate. William, ashamed of being in danger of having all his laurels blasted by his own son, made prodigious efforts for victory. He was in close armour ; and, in the heat of the battle, was distinguished only by the wonders he enacted, and the numbers he killed. Robert, not knowing who he was, was glad of having, for once, an object worthy of his arms : he pressed towards him ; he encountered him hand to hand ; and proved himself worthy of his father's blood, while he endeavoured to spill it. In short, his lance, guided by the more active arm, killed his father's horse, and

threw himself to the ground, corpulent, and unweildy with age. And now Robert had been guilty of an execrable parricide, had he not been undeceived, either by his father's voice, informing him who he was, or by some particular distinction about his arms : but no sooner did he know him, than filial piety, and a generous remorse, overcame all resentment : he sprung from his saddle ; he supported his father, almost fainting with the fatigue of the combat, and a wound he had given him in his arm ; he mounted him on his own horse, and conveyed him from the dangers of the fight to a place of safety. But, lest this had been thought only a start of affection, arising from the horrors of circumstances, he soon after gave a more noble and solid proof of his sincerity : for, though he had gained a complete victory against his father ; though his brother, who was in arms against him, was dangerously wounded, and the English were in no condition longer to keep the field that season ; yet Robert gave William peace upon his own terms, and testified his sorrow for ever having borne arms against him, by the most sincere repentance. But the old man had received the affront done him too deeply to forget it, even by this generous, winning behaviour. Policy prevailed with him to treat his son with seeming regard, both for his pretensions and virtues ; but his reconciliation with him never was sincere. He watched him with a jealous eye ; he threw him from all place in his affection ; and, under pretence of sending him to command against the Scots, now meditating new matters, he carried him along with him, under an honourable kind of confinement, into England. I have thought proper to throw all these foreign incidents together, though taking up several campaigns, that we may be the more regular in attending to the affairs of England.

For William's wars in France, and a dreadful fire which broke out in London in the year 1077, and destroyed the greatest part of that city, distressing his government, the Scots, upon pretences that have not come to our hands, breaking the peace, again invaded England, and penetrating as far as the river Tyne into Northumberland, made great devastations upon the now recovering state of that country. It does not appear, either from the Scotch or English historians, that they met with much opposition in this invasion. Could the inaccuracy of the Scotch writers leave them any degree of authority, we might at this juncture fix the defeat of the two Norman noblemen, Roger and Richard ; the one of whom was forced to fly, and was afterwards murdered by his own people ; while the latter lost his army, which was harrassed out by Patric Dunbar, a Scotch nobleman. But this I only mention. Perhaps William was too intent upon his concerns on the continent, and in the southern parts of England, to risque the flower of his troops against an enemy who, he knew, could not have subsistence in the country they invaded, and therefore must return soon to their own : for we find him, at the time when

A. D. 1077.

His generous behaviour.

He is assisted by the king of France.

He besieges Roan.

He harrasses Upper Normandy.

He is besieged in Gerberot ;

encounters, wounds, and defeats his father.

A great fire in London. The Scots again invade England.

this

A. D. 1080. this invasion first took place, busied in building a strong fort, for commanding the Thames below London, the bridge, and the city itself. This fort, which since has admitted of many additions, goes now by the name of the Tower of London; but whether the foundation of a fortification was not laid there before the days of William, is, I think, justly questionable.

The tower of London built.

A revolution in Northumberland.

Its causes.

In the year 1080, a revolution happened in Northumberland, which was likely to have been attended with dangerous consequences. Bishop Walcher, ever since he had obtained or purchased the government of that country, had acted, as many distant vice-roys do, in an illegal, arbitrary manner; judgment was venal at his palace, and the impunity of all wickedness had its price. But the Northumbrians, ever a stubborn race, even under a mild government, could ill-digest this prelate's oppressions. An English nobleman, one Ligwulf, or Liulf, chusing to live where subjection was less immediate than in the southern parts of England, had retired to Northumberland, where the people retained the most independent spirit of any other in England. Here he lived retired, and by his prudent behaviour had reconciled to himself the esteem of the bishop. But, as the insolence of masters often communicates itself to servants, one of the bishop's chaplains, thinking that Liulf might supplant him in the credit he held with his master, found means to have him dispatched, by means of one Gilbert, kinsman and deputy to Walcher. The virtues and popularity of the deceased, soon begot an universal detestation of the murder; and Walcher, fearing the consequences, loudly disclaimed it, and threw the odium upon Gilbert and his associates. The English, however, were untractable; and making a complicated charge, not only of this murder, but of all the bishop's mismanagements and oppressions since he came to the government, they took up arms, and were headed by the relations of the deceased. Walcher, thinking to gain time, proposed to treat, and offered to prove that he had not been guilty of the murder; but, as both his chaplain and Gilbert, since the murder was

committed, had been received into the favour and countenance of the bishop, the people refused to give him a hearing upon that head. It appears, however, that a kind of an interview was proposed at Goatshead, between Walcher and the rebels. They reproached him with his partiality and oppression in his government; they put him in mind of his refusing to do them justice in his county-courts, where he presided, till he had forty pounds paid down; and of his taking all opportunities of pillaging and fleecing them. Walcher, who knew that if he could gain time enough till forces could march from the south to his assistance, that he would be safe, still thought of amusing the mutineers; and went so far, that he delivered into their hands Gilbert, whom they immediately dispatched, with some of the bishop's military tenants, who fought to defend him. They then called out, to have the wicked chaplain delivered up; but that being a sacrifice which Walcher thought unreasonable to make, he went to the door of the church to which he had retired, and endeavoured to expostulate with the rebels. They, however, receiving no satisfaction from what he said, one of their principal men made use of this expression: "Short rede, good rede, slea ye the bishop;" that is, "Quick justice is the best, kill the bishop." This was no sooner pronounced, than they drew their swords, and breaking into the church, murdered him and all his attendants, to the number of a hundred.

A. D. 1080. Interview between the bishop and the rebels.

who prove untractable,

and murder the bishop.

Walcher, being thus dispatched, the conspirators marched to Durham, and laid siege to the new-erected castle, which was for some time bravely defended by the Norman garrison left in it; but being destitute of provisions, and seeing no probability of being relieved, they retired by posterns; and the rebels, first taking possession of the castle, pursued and dispatched them wherever they fell into their hands. So dangerous is it for power, however protected, wantonly to sport with the calamities of a people, however despicable or reduced, since they ever find either revenge or safety in despair (1).

They besiege and take Durham.

A rebellion, attended with such flagrant circumstances,

(1) Though I have given this story as it most probably happened, yet Simeon of Durham and Matthew Paris differ widely; the first seems to extenuate matters a good deal with the bishop, and the latter does the same with regard to the people. For the former says, That Walcher, being informed of Ligwulf's death, was very much troubled, and, in a passion, pulling off his hood, and flinging it on the ground, told Leobwin (being there present) That he had, by his wicked contrivances, been the ruin of himself and his whole family: then, retiring unto the castle, he immediately sent messengers throughout all Northumberland, to publish that he was wholly innocent of the death of Ligwulf, and that only Gilbert and his companions were guilty of it, whom he had already outlawed. Upon this, diverse messengers passing between him and the kindred of the party slain, he appointed them a certain time and place where they should come and make a firm peace and agreement with him. At the day prefixed, the bishop came to a town called Gatesheved (i. e. Goatshead); yet would not treat with them abroad in the open air, but in the church, with his clerks and feudal knights (i. e. those that held of him by knight-service); whose advice being taken about this affair, he sent out, more than once, some of his people to make peace with the dead party's hundred; but they would not agree to his proposals, because they believed Ligwulf was slain by his command; for Leobwin had not only received Gilbert into his house the night after the murder, but also the bishop had again taken him into his favour and family. Wherefore they first fell upon, and slew, all those who belonged to the bishop, who were without the church, and suspected no such matter. Thereupon the bishop, to satisfy their fury, commanded his kinsman, Gilbert, whose life they chiefly sought, to go out of the church; but some knights immediately following to defend him, they were all in a moment killed by the enemies without. Then Walcher, understanding that their fury could not be otherwise assuaged, unless Leobwin, the author of all this mischief, was given up, desired him to go out to them; but he absolutely refusing it, the bishop himself went to the doors of the church, begging his life might be spared; but this being denied by the conspirators, the bishop covered his head with his gown, went out, and was presently run through with their swords. Then they called upon Leobwin to come out, who still absolutely refusing it, they set fire to the roof of the church; and so, at last, he being half burnt, leaped forth, and was there presently cut to pieces. — But Matthew Paris says, That Walcher, contrary to his episcopal function, troubling himself with temporal affairs, he bought the earldom of Northumberland of king William, and there acted the part rather of a sheriff than a bishop; and busying himself in the secular courts, extorted vast sums of money from the people of all ranks and conditions; till, at last, the ordinary sort of people being, by the exactions of the bishop and his officers, reduced to extremity, were so highly incensed, that, assembling privately together, they unanimously agreed to meet armed at the county-court, to repel any injuries, if there was occasion; but

A. D. 1081. *cumstances, could not fail of greatly alarming the government; and William, to chastise the rebels, immediately sent down Odo, his brother, with orders to lay their country waste, and to put all to the sword who fell in his way. We are told, in general, that Odo performed those orders; but, from the complexion of the times, I am inclined to believe this expedition was of more consequence than our English writers have made it. For we find William's court, at this time, very apprehensive of an invasion from Denmark; and that the Scots were actually then in arms, ready to favour it. It is therefore probable, that the rebels of Northumberland had a correspondence with both those powers; for William's express orders were, That Odo should take care to leave no means of subsistence to the Danish army, in case it should land. We have no particulars of any action between Odo, and either the rebels or the Scots; but the prelate seems to have but half executed his commission; for, in the autumn of that very year, William being now old and unweildy, Robert was sent at the head of an army against the Scots. Though this prince was both brave and experienced, yet he did nothing more remarkable in this expedition, than laying the plan, and building part of, a town upon the banks of the Tyne, and which has since, through the advantages of its situation and the commerce of the country, grown to be one of the most considerable in the kingdom. The town I mean is Newcastle upon Tyne, till then the habitation of monks, and from thence called Monkcester. If we are to believe the Scotch historians, both Robert and Odo were far from getting any honour by their expeditions: the former, according to them, was defeated by Malcolm and Siward, and lost all the spoils he had taken; while the latter was obliged to act upon the defensive. But those writers have been inaccurate enough to put both those expeditions before the general peace was concluded, in which the English exiles were comprehended.*

Invasion threatened from Denmark.

Robert founds Newcastle upon Tyne.

Account from the Scotch historians.

A diractionation upon the lands of Ely.

The Welsh rebel, and are subdued.

In the year 1080, William ordered another diractionation, in which both English and Normans assisted, with regard to the lands of the abbey of Ely. Odo bishop of Bayeux presided at this proceeding, and sentence was given fully in favour of the abbey.

The next year, 1081, begun with skirmishes and invasions on the part of the Welsh. Canute had succeeded his father Sweyn in

the throne of Denmark, and was every day threatening to invade England. This possibly might encourage commotions within the island; and we find the Welsh had been so successful, as to carry off a great number of captives. William resolved at once to punish and disable them. Accordingly he raised a strong army, and marching in person into Wales, humbled them so effectually, that he not only obliged them to swear to a peace, but to pay him tribute, and to deliver up all their prisoners. Perhaps it is to this period that we ought to refer the settlement of the Welsh marches: for when Gherbod the Fleming, whom William had made earl of Chester, and consequently lord warden of the Welsh borders, was taken prisoner in Flanders, William found that post of so much importance, that he invested Hugh de Abroncis, or Avranches (1), in Gherbod's lands, even in the life-time of the latter. One of his principal officers was Robert de Roelant, whose seat was at Roelant, or Rutland-castle, and who obtained from the Conqueror, as we are told, the farm of all North Wales, for no higher consideration than the payment of forty pounds a year. As this captain was a very adventuring person, he engaged himself so far on a particular occasion, and perhaps at this very time, that he was killed by the Welsh.

A. D. 1081.

Great consequence of the earl of Chester.

William, having thus subdued the Welsh, and receiving intelligence that he had nothing this year to apprehend from Denmark, went over to Normandy, where his affairs required his presence. While he was there, he received a piece of very extraordinary intelligence; that his brother Odo was caballing for the papacy, that he had actually hired a palace at Rome, and that he had proceeded as far as the isle of Wight in his voyage thither. This news would not have been disagreeable to the Conqueror, had he not been sensible that the immense sums which Odo was able to draw out of the kingdom, would greatly impoverish it; and that a plausible pretext to seize his treasures, would be of infinite service to his government at that juncture. Add to these considerations, the danger of leaving the kingdom destitute of the principal nobility: for Odo had engaged Hugh earl of Chester, and great numbers of other distinguished Normans, to attend him to Rome. This might have been followed with a rebellion, especially as this year the kingdom was visited with a famine. All

William goes to Normandy.

History of Odo.

but when all the people of the country came into that court, and making their complaints, desired justice to be done them for several injuries, then the bishop roughly answered them, That he would do no man justice in any matter, unless he first paid him down forty pounds in good money. Then one of them, speaking for all the rest, asked leave of the bishop that he might confer with the brethren about this demand, that so he might the better know what answer to return him; which the bishop agreeing to, and that they had now withdrawn themselves for a little while, at last one of them, whose opinion they all depended on, cried out in English, "Short rede, good rede, flea ye the bishop;" and then all of them, at this word, taking arms, cruelly fell upon and slew the bishop and a hundred of his company, at a town near the river Tyne, where the county-pleas were then held.

(1) It was commonly said, that this earl had several barons under him; it is certain that he had, as his officers, the following great tenants, who in power and following were as powerful as many barons who afterwards held of the king in capite. They were as follow: Robert Fitz-hugh, whose seat was at Depenbach, now called Malpas, who held of him thirty-one manors, part of manors, or towns. William de Maldebenge, whose seat was at Wickmalbone, now called Nantwich, held forty-seven manors, &c. William Fitz-nigell, called sometimes Constabularius, had the chief seat at Heleton, and held of him twenty-nine manors, &c. Richard de Vernon, whose seat was at Shipbro, held of him seventeen manors, &c. Hugo de Mara held fourteen manors, &c. Hamo de Masci, whose seat was at Dunham, commonly called Dunham Masci, held ten manors, &c. Begot de Loges held twelve manors, &c. Gilbert Venator, or de Venables, whose seat was at Kinder-ton, held nineteen manors, &c. Robert de Roelant, whose seat was at Roelant, or Ruthelan-castle in Flintshire, from whence he had his surname, held sixteen manors, &c.

A. D. 1082.
William's difficulties.

those reasons determined the Conqueror to crush his brother's aspiring hopes. He knew that the great character and reputation Odo, and the noblemen who were with him, had acquired, put them above minding any legal summonses or citations prohibiting them from departing the kingdom. To have got transports in time, for carrying over troops to force them back, was impracticable; therefore, notwithstanding all his bodily infirmities, he formed and executed a resolution, well worthy his high spirit. He went in person to the isle of Wight; he commanded his followers to seize Odo; but they were so much impressed with his character as a priest, and the apprehensions of his power as a great nobleman, that William could not prevail with them to lay hands on his person. Odo, on the other hand, insisted strongly on his sacred function as a clerk, and that he was accountable to none but the pope. William, who knew better than any man ever did, how to distinguish on such occasions, seeing the arrogance of his brother, and the timidity of his own followers, boldly seized the delinquent with his own hand, telling him, That he was resolved to bring him to justice, not as bishop of Bayeux, but as earl of Kent. This ready distinction reconciled his followers to their duty; and daunting the friends of Odo, William confiscated all his immense treasure into his own hands, and ordered articles of impeachment to be drawn up, for justifying his own proceeding. The charges against him were, his extortion in matters of government, and his seducing the great peers of the realm to leave the country. Polydore Virgil says, that Odo, upon this occasion, was sent prisoner to France.

He seizes his brother Odo, for caballing for the papacy.

The charges against Odo, who is imprisoned in France.

We now come to the calm of William's reign. All rebellions at home, all opposition abroad, were quieted; and William had now leisure to put the last hand to the prodigious scheme he had been long meditating, I mean

that of ascertaining the value of the English lands, and consequently his own and his successors revenues. This he did by a method partly Saxon and partly Norman; and the revenue itself may be said to arise from three great branches, which admitted of many sub-divisions, and which the matter of this work necessarily calls upon me to explain.

The first branch consisted of that which all wise governments have ever laid as the foundation of their income, and which ought to direct all other branches, viz. the produce of the soil. This we may call the natural branch of revenue, others being accidental. So far back as the time of good king Alfred this revenue had been clearly distinguished, and truly stated; and, before the Conqueror's time, was called hidage, because arising from the tax laid upon every hide of land, which is generally thought to have contained about one hundred acres. The reader may remember, in former laws, to have met often with this term; but as it is of importance that he have a clear idea of it, I have, in the (1) notes, fully explained the word.

Account of the revenues of England at this time.

Hidage.

The next branch of this income was Norman, and purely accidental; for it consisted of those fines and emoluments which arose in consequence of the Conqueror's new feudal system, and were wholly unknown in England before this time; but they sufficiently prove, that the feudal tenures were firmly established in England before William set about this great work. Under this head are comprehended reliefs for succession to hereditary fees, assignation of dower out of the estate of the husband, compositions for licence to marry, for the wardships of heirs, and entrance upon farms. These have been, by some, supposed to have belonged to the common law of England before that time; but in what sense this is to be admitted, and

Fines.

(1) A hide is a portion of land, as much as one plough can labour, and supposed to be sufficient for the maintenance of one family for a year. Some authors call it a manor; Bede calls it a family. It comes not, as Polydore Virgil says, from a cow's hide, or as much as that could cover, according to that line in the first book of Virgil's *Æneids*,

Taurino quanto possent circumdare tergo;

but from the Saxon word *hýden*, which signifies, to hide or cover. In the same manner did the Saxons use the word *hýð*, as our Latins now use the word *tectum*, or a covering; for it contained not only the dwelling-house itself, but the lands which belonged to it. Thus, in the charter of king Ethelwulf, about the year 845, he says, *Famulis Dei semper decimam mansionem perdonari dijudicavi*; "I have adjudged the tenth manor to be given to the servants of God." Which William of Malmesbury explains, in his first book, as follows: *Semperque ad finem seculi in omnis suæ hæreditatis decimo hida, pauperem vestiri et cibari præcipit*; "He likewise commanded the poor to be fed and cloathed out of the tenth hide of all his heritage, to the end of the world." It is also taken for a family; for what Bede, in his ecclesiastical history, calls a family, other authors, and his Saxon translator (Alfred) call *hidas*, and *hýðelander*. It is also taken for a carucate, or a portion of land sufficient for one plough in a year. This, as we have hinted before, is its known and vulgar signification. Thus Henry of Huntingdon, in his sixth book of his history, speaking of the reign of king Ethelred, in the year 1008, says, The king ordered, that one ship should be fitted out from three hundred and ten hides through all England, and from every eight hides a sword and helmet. But a hide, in the English language, was said to be so much land as was sufficient for the culture of one plough. Thus the author of the annals of Waverley, in the year 1083, says, The king sent five of his justiciaries through every shire or province in England, and ordered them to enquire, upon oath, how many hides (that is, acres sufficient for one plough in a year) were in each division. Thus Matthew Paris, in the same year, adds and says, And so many cattle as were sufficient for the culture of one hide. The quantity of a hide is uncertain. Gervase of Tilbury says, that a hide in the first institution, consisted of a hundred acres. The distribution of England into hides is very ancient, and before the days of Alfred. There is mention made of it in the laws of king Ina, who lived one hundred years before Alfred, in the fourteenth chapter; and some traces of it may be found even before this time. Sir Henry Spelman mentions a very old rent-roll of all England, south of the river Humber, divided into hides, under certain heads, many of which are now impossible to be investigated; but I shall set them down from him, for the satisfaction of my reader.

Hidas.	Hidas.	Hidas.	Hidas.
1. Myrcena, continet—30000	10. West-Wixna, — 600	19. Oht-Gaga, — 2000	27. Witherigga, — 600
2. Wokan-Setna, — 7000	11. Spalda, — 600	20. Hysynca, — 7000	28. East-Willa, — 600
3. Westerna, — 7000	12. Wigesta, — 900	21. Ciltern-Setna, — 4000	29. West-Willa, — 600
4. Pec-Setna, — 1200	13. Herefinna, — 1200	22. Hendria, — 3000	30. East-Engla, — 30000
5. Elmed-Setna, — 600	14. Sweordora, — 300	23. Uncunga, — 1200	31. East-Sexena, — 7000
6. Lindes-Farona, — 7000	15. Eyfla, — 300	24. Arofeatna, — 600	32. Cant-Warena, — 15000
7. Suth-Gyrwa, — 600	16. Wicca, — 300	25. Fearfinga, — 300	33. Suth-Sexena, — 7000
8. North-Gyrwa, — 600	17. Wight-Gora, — 600	26. Belmiga, — 600	34. West-Sexena, — 100000
9. East-Wixna, — 300	18. Nex-Gaga, — 5000		

A. D. 1083. how far they differed from heriots and other Saxon fines, shall be seen in the (1) annexed dissertation. To this branch likewise belonged the extra-feodal emoluments, arising from fines for offences and malversations, and which varied not so much in their nature, as in their proportions from those established by the Saxon laws. We may likewise, under this general head, rank forfeitures of all kinds, and even the perquisites falling to the crown from those controversies which so frequently arose from feudal tenures, and from liberty granted to sue and take out writs, of which we shall have evident vestiges in our law. The Conqueror, as I formerly observed, laboured to introduce commerce; his vast interest on the continent, the genius of his Normans, and the inviting situation of England contributed greatly to the success of this plan; and if his successors had possessed as strong principles of trade as he did, England would not have been so late as it was in becoming the emporium of Europe. With right maxims of government he made commerce contribute to public emergencies; but rather by securing its own privileges, than by any oppressive imposts to discourage its commencements. Tolls and customs, therefore, for the immunities and privileges of markets came under this denomination. Those indeed were paid to his predecessors; but commerce under them was more cramped, the king's officer being a kind of necessary witness at all public bargains and sales; a circumstance entirely discouraging to the genius of trade.

The last branch of his revenue was Normannic likewise; though, to one who is little acquainted with the prodigious alteration of all property at this juncture, it appears to be Saxon: I mean the crown lands. Of those he had no fewer than one thousand four hundred and twenty-two manors or lordships in several counties, besides the straggling possessions he had through several countries, and not comprehended under the designation of manors. The nature of the new feudal law occasioned a vast fluctuation in the value of this branch of the revenue; for as the property of the crown lands depended in value upon the lands which, either by deaths, forfeitures, failure of heirs, or from other causes, were escheated to the crown, these, in the days of the Conqueror, rose to a prodigious value. Under this head are comprehended not only the reservations either in money or in kind, which were made by the sovereign, but all the great sergeancies, which are certain services of a civil as well as a military nature, paid by the possessors of lands granted by the crown. To those we may add reservations of entertainments, and provisions to which certain landholders were obliged. As to the proportions which those bore with the present value of commodities and money, the reader may judge of that by what we are told by Gervase of Tilbury, or whoever was the author of the Black Book of the Exchequer: That when the commissioners specially sent into the several counties to settle the commutation of provisions into money, they did it at the rate of one shilling for wheat, sufficient for a day's bread to a hundred men; a shilling for a sheep or ram, and the same for provender to twenty horses. Some authors have, under this head of revenues, ranked the customs of merchandizes, and the tolls paid for liberty of foreign commerce and free navigation; but these, perhaps, may come more properly under the second branch.

Having thus taken a general view of the several branches of William's revenue, the enquiring reader cannot be displeased if we make some attempts to bring it near the value of money at the time of writing these pages. As a foundation for this, we must take the mean calculation of Odericus Vitalis, a cotemporary author, who computes that this income amounted to one thousand and sixty pounds sterling a day. This sum, in a year, amounts to three hundred and eighty-six thousand, nine hundred pounds; which, when multiplied by twenty (the difference between the value of money then and now) amounts to seven million, seven hundred and thirty-eight thousand pounds: an immense sum, when we consider that William had no army to pay out of it, that not being comprehended in the calculation; and that casual amercements are not included. As to his army, it consisted, as is on all hands admitted, of sixty thousand, two hundred and fifteen knights-fees. Were we to compare this immense revenue and army, with the like in modern times, without making allowances for the difference of circumstances, it would seem incredible. But we ought to consider, that war was then the universal trade; and the crown, either mediately or immediately, by force or art, had made itself almost the sole proprietor of England. Colonies were then unknown to this nation; commerce was in its infancy; and therefore the public was free of those great drains of men which after-ages experienced. Luxury was then new; consequently manufactures employed but a few hands, in comparison of the present number; and the more could be spared for war.

In short, the division of property was then very unequal; and had that of the crown been as well ascertained as it was rapaciously acquired, the liberties of England must have soon been swallowed up: but, either through oversight, design, or necessity, the enclosures granted to great military tenants by William were so loose and undetermined, that his successors, in less than an age, ignorant what to exact, and too weak to command, were stripped of great part of their vast interest in the soil, and found themselves obliged to suffer the consent of their subjects to become in a great measure the measure of their allegiance. The form of enclosures, in the time of the Conqueror, or the manner in which fees were conferred, was so

A. D. 1084.
Commuta-
tions.

William's re-
venues re-
duced to the
present stand-
ard of money.

Reflection
thereupon.

Error of Wil-
liam's govern-
ment the safe-
ty of the peo-
ple in after-
times.

(1) Viz. upon the Norman engraftments on the Saxon constitution;

A. D. 1085. unsettled, that the reservations of military services were generally rather implied than expressed. From thence it happened, that when summonses ad habendum servitium, that is, for performing military services, were issued, many great barons and others used to deny perhaps two-thirds of the services with which their fees were originally charged; while the exigences of the war or kingdom obliged the king's marshal to admit what they proffered; and then one or two precedents established the right of the subject to perform no more. This has not been sufficiently attended to by our historians; for to that principally was owing the favourable turn which public liberty afterwards took under encroaching princes. For the like curtailings happened in all aids and escnages, which last were commutations of personal services into money. By this the old signorial way of assessing and levying aids and escnages came so early as the reign of king John to be disputed. This obliged the sovereigns to have recourse to common consent and council, that their services and payments might be ascertained, while the subjects wisely laid hold of such meetings to emancipate themselves from many yokes, which the power and craft of the first princes of the Norman line had imposed. And about that time, says a knowing author, it became a general opinion among men, that if they consented, they were answerable, if they did not consent, they were not answerable, for the prestations and payments charged upon them. But all those several observations will be properly illustrated in the sequel of our history.

Madox.

History of
Domesday-
book.

We are now to return to the business of the year, which was, the making up the great rent-roll of the kingdom, so famous since by the name of Domesday-book. It was composed by verdict, or presentment of juries, summoned from every county, wapentake and hundred, that was surveyed (1). The number of the jurors in each county differed, according to the largeness of the county. In some hundreds, the names of the jurors, according to Mr. Selden, did not ex-

ceed the number of eight or nine; and in others, all who were capable of the service were obliged to attend. Their business was, to make a presentment, before certain commissioners sent from court, and commonly Normans, to each county, of the quantity of arable land, pasture, meadow, and wood; the names of the occupiers, their extent and value, both in the time of Edward the Confessor, and in that of William. The survey itself was made by counties, hundreds, towns or manors, hides, half hides, virgates, and acres of land, whether meadow, pasture, or wood. It likewise contained the mills and fishings within their several limits; and, in some counties, the number of freemen (2), sockmen (3), villains (4), bordars (5), young cattle, and all quadrupeds; nay, even the quantity of bee-hives. In every county, the king's name is first set down; then, after him, those of his chief tenants, with numbers placed before them, for the greater ease of finding them. The whole was contained in two volumes; and the survey itself is of part of Wales and all England, excepting the three counties of Cumberland, Westmorland and Northumberland. Of those volumes the smallest contains only the counties of Norfolk, Suffolk, and Essex.

But with whatever general exactness this work was performed, it was impossible, through the greatness of the design, but that several omissions happened. The intention of the Conqueror was chiefly that he might be able to form a judgment of his own lands and demesnes, and those of his capital tenants. This occasioned often a negligence in certain counties with regard to the subfeudatories and under-tenants, who were not so particularly marked by the commissioners. Thence it is, that many places, now considerable for riches and commerce, are omitted in this survey: neither can any true judgment be formed, from it, of the number of people then in England; because, besides the omissions just mentioned, the number of women and children is not set down, nor even that of freemen, sockmen, villains and others, unless in those town-

Its defects.

(1) Those for Worcestershire, and many other counties, were, Remegius, bishop of Lincoln; Walter Giffard, earl of Buckingham; Henry de Ferriers, earl of Derby; and Adam, brother unto Eudo, steward of the household, or sewer to the king. Mr. Selden gives an account, in his preface to Eadmer, from an ancient manuscript (he thinks, as old as the survey itself) of the names of the great men that were sworn in diverse hundreds in Cambridgeshire and the isle of Ely, which were most Normans, and presented the survey according to the form the king had directed. And, Comitatus dicit or testor hundreda, vel wapentachium dicit, vel testatur. Again, Homines qui juraverunt. The men that were sworn in this or that county, hundred, or wapentake, do witness, say, and aver so and so, concerning diverse matters in debate and controversy, do often occur in the survey itself. The names of the jurors, mentioned in some hundreds by Mr. Selden, exceed not the number of eight or nine; in others, besides those named, all that were fit for the purpose were sworn. Brady.

(2) This appellation is very undetermined, and is to be only known by the subject matter when it is used, and the words joined with it in construction.

(3) Sock signifies the liberty of tenants of a court; and it differs from *faca*, because that is a liberty given to any one, of holding pleas and trying causes, and also of receiving the mulcts and forfeitures coming from them within his soke or jurisdiction, and comes from the Saxon (*face*), or German (*facke*), a cause, controversy, or accusation. Sometimes it signifies a territory or precinct, in whose *faca* or liberty, a court or trial is exercised. Sometimes it signifies a payment.

(4) Those servants and villains were almost the same, and were of two sorts, better or worse, or predial and personal. Predial are properly the villains; and although they were of a servile origin and condition, yet they possessed their goods and lands at the will of the lord, performing such rustic and servile works as were commanded them, in villa's or villages, from whence they were called villani. The personal servants had nothing of their own; but what they gained was their lord's, who fed and kept them. These, and their children, were in perpetual servitude. The former, probably, by purchasing a certain estate in their lands, having by their industry grown rich, many of them became freeholders, or at least copyholders of inheritance. In process of time, the word *servus* was quite disused, and the word *villanus* used, to express both these sorts of people; unless *nativus*, or bond-servant, or man, might haply be used for the personal servant, which were the same with the German (*mancipia*), so frequently mentioned in their very ancient laws, charts, or charters, and called by our Saxon ancestors, *AGEN-HINE*, that is, *proprius servus*, one's proper servant.

(5) *Bordarii*, from the French (*bordier*), a villain or cottager; and that from *borde*, a little house or cottage in the fields, &c. *Bordage* was a tenure, where such a house or cottage was given to any one, to do any base service for his lord, as to be an executioner or hangman, or other base service; and he who had any thing given him after that manner, could not sell, give, or engage it; for that it was given him to hold after that form.

A. D. 1085.

Its partiality
to the church.

ships and manors belonging to the king and his head tenants. Another inaccuracy with which this survey has been charged, arises from the partiality of the commissioners in favour of the religious houses. An instance of this we have in Ingulphus, who owns, that the inquest which gave in their returns were very favourable to his abbey; and therefore, lest it might have been oppressed by future exactions, they did not return the exact survey of the monastery, either with regard to the value or extent of its lands (1).

Reason of its
name.

However, with all its defects, this survey was a noble and a useful design; and both William and his successors, sensible of the infinite altercations which any variation from it must occasion, held its report to be certain and irrevocable; from whence it has the name of the Domesday-book, its sentence, in imitation of that pronounced at the last day, being final.

William's
great tax upon
England.

It was near six years before this work was completed; and William's attention was, during all that time, turned towards this and other works of peace, which led him to cultivate a good correspondence with all his neighbours. But the better to secure his tranquility from abroad, we find him, in the year 1084, imposing a tax in England of no less than six shillings upon every hide of land. This raised a prodigious sum, which he soon found occasion to employ. He had long lived upon bad terms with the earl of Flanders; Robert, the then earl, had given his daughter to Canute king of Denmark. This formed a powerful alliance against William, who happened to be then in Normandy. Having his coffers full, he levied a great army of foreigners, both in

his own dominions and the adjacent countries, whom he immediately sent over to England about the autumn. This expedition was the more necessary, as the Danes were at this time actually ready to make a descent upon England with a strong naval armament, which was to be joined by the forces of Robert earl of Flanders. William's foreign troops arriving in England, were no doubt very disagreeable to the natives, who found they were not to be trusted with the defence of their own country. The Normans who were settled here, and who held the great fees, were too much busied in settling their new concerns for them to take the field, and therefore they quietly gave quarters to the foreigners. The Saxon chronicle says, that the army brought in upon this occasion, both of horse and foot, was greater than ever arrived in England, so that the people admired how the country could find them in subsistence. From this it appears, that the charge of maintaining them must have been excessive; and we are told, by the same author, that every man's proportion of the expence was according to the land he held. Thus it fell equally upon all bishops, abbots, earls, barons, sheriffs, and other great officers either of law or state. But this was not the only misery which England then experienced; for William, conscious of the rigours of his government, dreading that, upon the enemy's landing, they would be favoured by a general insurrection of the English, ordered all the sea-coasts to be laid waste, that the Danes, if they should land, might find no means of subsistence; and the English, withdrawing towards the heart

A. D. 1085.

Invasion
threatened
from Den-
mark.Great army of
foreigners in
England.

Saxon chron.

(1) That the reader may have the clearer conception of the manner of entering the lands in this book, the following are some instances:

Eassfa terra regis dimid. hundred. de Witham. Witham tenuit Haraldus T. R. E. pro maner. et pro 5 hidis: tunc 21 villan. modo 15; tunc 9 bordar. modo 10; tunc 6 servi, modo 9; tunc 23 sochemanni, et modo similiter; tunc inter totum valebat 10 lib. modo 20; sed vicecomes inter suas consuetudines et placita, de dimid. hundred. recepit inde 34 lib. et 4 lib. de gersuma. In hoc manerio adiacebant T. R. E. 34 liberi homines, qui tunc reddebant 10 sol. de consuetudine et 11 d. Ex illis tenet Ilbodius 2, de 45 acr. et val. 6 sol. et redd. maner. suam consuetudinem. Tedricus Pointel 8, de dimid. hid. et 22 acr. dimid. redditentes consuetud. Ranulph Piperel 10, de 2 hid. et 45 acr. non redditentes consuetudinem. Willielmus Grosse 5, et unus tantum reddit consuetudinem, et val. 3 lib. 13 f. Rad Baignard 6, et unus reddit consuetud. et val. 20 f. Hamo depifer 1, de dimid. hid. et val. 20 f. Goscelinus Loremarius habet terram unius, et non reddit consuet. &c. Modo custodit hoc manerium, Petrus vicecomes in manu regis. — Thus in English: "Eassfa, title in the top of the leaf, the king's land; and before the particular manor or town, the hundred in which it lies is noted, as here the half-hundred of Witham. Harold held Witham, in the time of king Edward, for a manor, and for five hides. Then there were twenty-one villains, now fifteen, (for they set down what was in Edward the Confessor's time, as well as in the Conqueror's); then there were nine bordars, now ten; then six servants or slaves, now nine; then there were twenty-three sochemans, now the same number; then the whole was valued at ten pounds, now twenty pounds. But the viscount, or sheriff, received from the half-hundred, for his customs and mulcts, or forfeitures, thirty-three pounds, and four pounds for fine or income. In this manor, or belonging to this manor, or in the bounds of this manor, there were, in the time of king Edward, thirty-four freemen, which then paid an accustomed rent of ten shillings and eleven pence. Of these, Ilbods holds two, which had forty-five acres, and they were worth to him six shillings, and paid their old rent to the manor. Tedric Pointel holds eight, who had half a hide, and twenty-two acres and a half, paying custom or old rent. Ranulph Piperel holds ten, who had two hides and forty-five acres, which paid no custom or old rent. William Grosse holds five, and only one of them paid custom, and were worth to him three pounds, thirteen shillings, (by the year is to be understood in all these sums). Ralph Baignard holds six, and one paid custom; they were worth twenty shillings. Hamo, the sewer or steward, holds one, who had half a hide, and was worth to him twenty shillings. Goscelin Loremar hath the land of one, and pays no custom. Peter the viscount, or sheriff, keeps this manor in the king's hand."

Eassfa, terra regis hund. de Beventre. Haveringas tenuit Haroldus T. R. E. pro 1 maner. et pro 10 hid. Tunc 41 villan. modo 40 semp. 41 bordar. et 6 servi, et 2 car. in dominio; tunc 41 car. hominum, modo 40; sylv. d. porc. c. acr. prati mod. 1 molen. et 2 runc. et 10 animalia, et 160 porc. et 269 ov. Huic maner. adiacebant 4 lib. homines, de 4 hidis, T. R. E. redditentes consuetudinem, modo ten. 3 hid. Rob. fil. Corbutonis, Hugo de Montefori quartam hidam, et non reddidere consuetudinem ex quo eas habuere, &c. Hoc maner. val. T. R. E. 361. modo 40; et Petrus vicecomes inde recepit 80 l. de censu, et 10 l. de gersuma. — Thus in English: "Essex, title as before, the king's land, the hundred of Beventre. Harold held Haveringe, in the time of Edward the Confessor, for one manor and ten hides. Then there were forty-one villains, now forty; there were always forty-one bordars, and six servants or slaves, and two carucates in demesne, or the lord's hands; there were forty-one carucates among the men or tenants, now forty; wood sufficient for five hundred hogs, one hundred acres of meadow, now one mill, and two working horses or pack-horses, and ten young growing beasts, one hundred and sixty hogs, and two hundred and sixty-nine sheep. To this manor there belonged four freemen, who had four hides in the time of Edward the Confessor, paying an accustomed rent. Now Robert, son of Corbutio, holds three of those hides, and Hugh Montfort the fourth, and have paid no rent since they held them. This manor was worth thirty-six pounds, now forty; and Peter the viscount, or sheriff, receives from it eighty pounds for rent, and ten pounds for an income or fine."

A. D. 1086.

William
bribes the
Danes.Death of Ma-
thilda, Wil-
liam's queen.He fills up the
vacant bishop-
rics.He exacts a
new oath from
all his English
subjects.

of the kingdom, might be in the less readiness to join them. The book of Peterborough lets us, upon this occasion, into a circumstance which, perhaps, better accounts for the disappointment of the Danes, than all those precautions and the contrary winds, which are given by our other historians as the reason of the enemy's not landing: for we are told, that William, following his old policy, bribed the counsellors of Canute, who found means to embarrass the expedition, so that it never took place. This storm being thus blown over, William, to give some ease to his subjects, sent back part of his army to Normandy, and kept part of it in England for the security of his government.

It was about this time, as is most likely, that Mathilda, William's queen, whom he had left regent in Normandy, died. Her affection for her son Robert, gave her husband some uneasiness; but she excused it, by representing, that, of all her sons, he alone was about her person; that he was her eldest, left by his father to her care; and had ever been affectionate and dutiful to her, whatever his differences might have been with his father. These reasons so far excused her conduct to William, that he testified a sincere sorrow for her death, and gave her a noble funeral in the nunnery of the Holy Trinity at Caen.

In 1085, William, having just finished Domesday-book, and thereby having perfected the great work of the national census, bestowed the three vacant bishoprics of London, Thetford and Chester, upon three of his Norman chaplains. I mention this transaction here, because we are told, that they claimed them as of right, by a promise which the Conqueror had made them before they could be prevailed upon to come to England; a proof, at once, of William's good faith with his Normans, and of the clergy, as well as the laity, being adventurers in the lottery of William's fortunes in England. Those bishoprics were filled up at Gloucester, where the king kept his Christmas; and next year we find him keeping his Whitsuntide at Westminster, where he knighted his youngest son Henry.

Every preliminary for subjection being now adjusted, and William free of all disquietude both in the field and cabinet, he resolved to rivet the chains he had forged. For this purpose, in July 1086, he summoned a general meeting of the collective body of all his great tenants, both lay and ecclesiastic, who were ordered to attend him at Salisbury. The appearance, no doubt, was as numerous as the occasion was important; for we are told, that he here exacted from them a new oath of subjection and fealty, nay, that they entered into an association to defend his person and government against all attempts of his enemies. Having got this last and greatest proof of their subjection, he began to treat Edgar Atheling with a greater degree of indifference and contempt than before. That prince soon perceived the change, and knew

its causes: he had seen too much of William's jealous disposition, to think himself any longer safe than the Conqueror thought his safety answered his purposes; he therefore resolved to provide, with the first opportunity, for his own preservation. An occasion soon offered: for William, having established his despotic power by the lately exacted oath, resolved to go to Normandy; but, as usual, took the isle of Wight in his way. He then gave his subjects a taste of what they were to expect from their late engagements: for, while he lay there, he issued out warrants for levying money, upon the most frivolous pretexts; and, when even those were wanting, upon none; against all law and colour of equity. The author of that part of the Saxon chronicle which touches upon this year, appears to have lived, and to have wrote, at that very time, and upon the spot; his words are therefore worthy of notice. After recounting the miserable state of England, through the dearth and barrenness of the season, he says, "That the king and his nobles were excessively fond of money; nor did they care how they came by it, provided they got it. The king let out his lands at as high a price as he could; but if an offer of more money was made him for the same lands, he dispossessed the first tenant; and if a third came and offered more than the second had given, the land then was his. In short, whoever proffered most, was the last possessor; nor did the king care how many iniquities and frauds the sheriffs were guilty of. The more that just laws were talked of, the more was injustice committed; iniquitous taxes were exacted, and it is scarce possible to recount how much the people were oppressed."

William, passing over from the isle of Wight, carried Edgar Atheling along with him into Normandy. Here the author I have last mentioned, and who at this juncture is worthy of credit, says, that Edgar deserted William. But other authors tell us, that he had leave from the king to go with two hundred knights into Italy, with Robert the son of Godwin; and from thence, that he went into the Holy Land. I believe the truth of the matter to be, that his departure was agreeable both to himself and William; and that the two hundred knights here spoken of, were some of the old English, who chose to share in Edgar's fortunes. As to his unmarried sister, Christiana, she had before this time retired, as a nun, into the monastery of Ramsey in Hampshire.

The year 1087 was calamitous to England on many accounts. Where property is not secure, and where oppression prevails, the fairest blessings of nature grow barren of happiness, the finest soil lies uncultivated, and the richest lands unpastured. This occasions famine; famine, of course, produces diseases; and both of them joined, mortality. Hence it is, that in old histories we so often meet with such desolations of nature in certain years: calamities to which modern times

A. D. 1087.

His intoler-
able exactions.Description of
the English
miseries from
the Saxon
chronicle.Danger of
Edgar at this
juncture.
Chron. Sax.
ad an. 1085.A famine now
in England.

A. D. 1088.

From what
causes.

are less subjected, because less subjected to oppression; and the subjects being more secure in property, are more assiduous in industry. This year was a memorable instance of this observation. The oppressed English pined under their own shades; they lost the spirit of industry, because all its fruits were to be applied in enslaving themselves; they thought, and they thought wisely, that famine was a more tolerable evil than slavery. Add, to this misery, another, arising from the frequent burnings which, no doubt, were secretly owing to the oppressed; for it is some comfort to the miserable to have sharers in calamity. In short, we learn, that this year the church of St. Paul's, and the city itself, was almost burnt to the ground.

William in-
vades France.

But, all this time, William, disregarding the miseries of the English, whom he at once hated and feared, thought that their weakness took from him all grounds of apprehension: raising therefore a great army of such as chose to die in any country rather than starve in their own, he passed over into Normandy. From thence he invaded France, on account of some late infractions of treaties on that king's part: for Philip, taking advantage of fresh disgusts which Robert daily received from his father, invited the young prince again to take up arms. This provoked William. Robert's popularity in Normandy made him afraid of a civil war there, should he have pursued any violent measures; and the state of his affairs in England made him apprehensive, that any civil war in one part of his dominions, would be soon attended with the like in another: he therefore chose to invade France, which he did with great fury. Finding himself, however, oppressed with years and corpulence, he accepted certain proposals of peace made him by Philip.

Ill-timed jest
of the king of
France,severely re-
sented by Wil-
liam.

Soon after, falling ill, he kept his bed for some time at Roan; and the king of France, whose dread of William was now converted into unmanly contempt, was guilty of a jest, which roused the spirits of the old lion so much, that, with his last roarings, he made all France tremble. For Philip, hearing of his illness, said, "he hoped his brother of England would soon be delivered of his big belly, and be able to go abroad." This being reported, by one who was present at the unseasonable scoff, to William, he swore, "by the brightness and resurrection of God, that, when he was well, he would light up a thousand candles in France, by way of thanksgiving for his recovery." His indignation and resentment got the better of his disease. About August, he put himself at the head of a great army; he marched into France; he destroyed the corn and fruits; he burnt down the towns and churches, and omitted no severity that might the sooner accomplish his promise. Among other cities, that of Mant felt his fury; for, having taken it, he set it and all its churches on fire; and so punctual was he in his vengeance, that he continued on horseback to enjoy the conflagration. Happening, however,

to be too near the fire, he found himself disordered through the heat; upon which, as he was riding to a greater distance, his horse fell into a ditch which he attempted to jump over.

In the fall the king happened to bruise the rim of his belly against the pommel of the saddle, and he contracted at once a rupture and a fever. This proved fatal to him.

While he was on his death-bed, all his iniquities rose full to his view. The mighty Conqueror, who had so often faced death in all its terrors in the field, trembled at its approach in the bed. Reflection upon his oppressions and injustice became intolerable to his mind; he cast about how to evade his approaching dissolution, or to soften its agonies. He sent for Anselm, the abbot of Bec; he ordered his treasures to be distributed, that he might make some recompence to those, particularly the clergy, who had suffered by his late ravages. He then ordered

A. D. 1088.

William falls
from his horse,
and contracts
a rupture, with
a fever.

He repents;

orders the pri-
soners,
Morchar, Ro-
ger, Siward,
and Odo,
to be released,
[See p. 308.]

the doors of the prisons to be set open, and gave liberty to earl Morchar, Roger, and Siward, who had been concerned in the late insurrections. He did the same by Wulnoth, brother to Harold, who was delivered over to him as a hostage by Edward the Confessor, and who had continued in an unjust confinement ever since. Application was likewise made for the release of Odo, then a prisoner; but William knew too much of the temper and character of that prelate, to comply so easily with this request: however, it was granted, at the earnest intercession of the earl of Mortaigne, brother to Odo, and others who were then about William's person. It was very probable, likewise, about this time, that he sent his son William into Britain, with a letter, recommending him to the care of Lanfranc archbishop of Canterbury, as his successor to the throne of England. Odericus Vitalis informs us, that, upon his death-bed, he called together his friends and sons, two only of the latter being present, Robert and Henry; he then, according to that author, made a long speech, which, saving some circumstances of vanity not very well suited to William's character, is likely to be genuine in the main, but is immaterial to this history. The late differences between him and Robert were not yet cemented, and William is brought in calling that young prince both proud and foolish; and saying, that he foresaw that any people whom he was to govern must be miserable: however as he had been born to inherit the dukedom of Normandy, he could not help bequeathing to him that succession. As to the kingdom of England, he bewailed his acquiring it by so much blood unjustly shed, and ruling it with so much cruelty and injustice as he had done. For this reason he said, he could not presume to bequeath it as any part of his property or inheritance, but left it to the disposal of heaven: but, however, so it pleased God, he should be glad that William, his most obedient and best-beloved son, should enjoy it after his death. As to his third son, Henry, the

He sends his
son William
into England.He bequeaths
the dukedom
of Normandy
to Robert,England to
William, and5000 marks
to Henry.

A. D. 1088.

same author says, he left him no more than five thousand merks; and that when the young prince shewed some discontent at this, his father cheered him, by prophetically foretelling, that he should one day succeed to the whole, and excel both his brothers in power and riches (1). But this last part of William's speech is, I believe, the invention of the monk in favour of Henry, who was the darling of the clergy; for our English historians inform us, that he not only left him money and jewels to a great sum; but likewise the county of Maine, which was his mother's inheritance.

William dies at Hermentrude.

William having thus settled his affairs, found his end drawing near; and that he might go out of the world as quietly as possible, ordered himself to be removed to a village, called Hermentrude, lying on the river Seine, over-against Roan, where he soon after died (2). The history of his coarse is a melancholy proof of the infidelity of worldly grandeur; for the breath no sooner went out of his body, than it was abandoned by all but one attendant. The great officers, dreading lest the resentment of Robert should extend to those who shewed regard for the remains of his father, took horse, and went to pay their court to the new duke. The inferior servants, by their departure, being now no longer under any restraint, fell to strip the house in which their master died of all its rich furniture. Their rapaciousness extended itself even to the breathless body, which was left naked, and for some time indecently exposed. William had ordered it to be deposited in a church of his own founding, in Caen; and the archbishop of Roan, in compliance with his will, gave directions to have it transported thither; but none could be found to take upon themselves that charge: by all which it appears, that there was still, at the time of William's death, an unnatural enmity between him and Robert. At last, one Herlwine, a country gentleman, was generous enough to have it embalmed and prepared for interment, at his own expence. He then carried it in a coach to the mouth of the river Seine, where putting it on board a vessel, it was conveyed, sometimes by land, sometimes by water, to Caen.

Conveyed to burial by a private gentleman.

There the abbot and the monks of the convent came out of the town to meet it, and the procession was increased by great numbers of citizens and others, who wanted to do honour to the deceased, this being the favourite place of the Conqueror, adorned by

his cares, and enriched by his munificence. But, in the midst of the solemnity, a fire broke out, threatening the destruction of the city and convent. Again was the royal body deserted; each abandoned it as his interest and concerns directed him. At last, the violence of the flames being abated, the ceremonies were resumed, and the body introduced into church. There a venal oration was begun by the bishop of Evreux; in which, after magnifying the merits of William, his failings were extenuated upon three principles: first, on account of the multiplicity of a prince's affairs; secondly, because of the trust which he is obliged to devolve upon others; and lastly, because what frequently is deemed by particular persons a grievance, proves beneficial to the whole. He then applied the latter part of his oration to the occasion, and entreated every person present, who might think himself injured by William, to forgive him. No sooner had he finished, than a young Norman gentleman, one Anselm Fitz-arthur, stood up, and, in the face of the assembly, declared, that the spot upon which they then stood had been the floor of his father's house, and had been iniquitously seized to found that religious building upon; not through neglect, misinformation, or necessity; but from the spirit of oppression and rapaciousness: "Therefore, continues he, I do challenge this ground as my right; and do hereby charge you, as you will answer it before the fearful face of Almighty God, that the body of the spoiler be not covered with the earth of my inheritance."

A. D. 1088.

Deserted again.

Funeral oration upon William.

This terrible adjuration, spoken in such a manner, and on so solemn an occasion, struck the assembly; and many present declaring, that the charge upon the deceased was just, the clergy and nobility paid Fitz-arthur three pounds down for the ground that had been already broken to receive the coffin, promising to see him fully satisfied for the residue of his claim. Accordingly Henry, who was the only one of William's sons who assisted at the funeral, paid him afterwards one hundred pounds for the whole. But when matters were thus adjusted, the mason-work of the grave for receiving the body proved too narrow, the bowels burst out in squeezing it down, which emitted such a stench, as overcame all the incense and perfumes that were burning, and drove the assistants away before the interment was completed (3).

He is denied burial by Anselm Fitz-arthur.

who receives one hundred pounds in compensation.

These incidents are far from being immaterial

(1) Authors are a good deal divided with regard to this patrimony left Henry: some say, he had five thousand merks a year; some, that he had only five thousand merks in all. This last is the most concurrent opinion.

(2) The dying king (for kings must die) having raised his weak body upon the pillows, heard the sound of the great bell in the metropolitan church of St. Gervais, near Roan; and demanding the cause, one replied, That it did then ring prime to our lady: whereupon, with great devotion, lifting his eyes towards heaven, and spreading abroad his hands; "I commend myself, said he, to that blessed lady, Mary, mother of God, that she, by her holy prayers, may reconcile me to her most dear son, our Lord Jesus Christ;" and with these words yielded up the ghost, upon Thursday the ninth of September, the fifty-sixth of his duchy, the twenty-first of his kingdom, the sixty-fourth of his age, and year of Christ Jesus 1087. J. H.

(3) In the year 1562, when Castilian took the city of Caen, with those broken troops that escaped at the battle of Dreux, certain savage soldiers, of diverse nations, led by some dissolute captains, beat down the monument which king William, his son, had built over him, and both curiously and richly adorned with gold and costly stones. Then they opened his tomb, and not finding that treasure which they expected, they drew forth his bones with very great derision and despoil. Many English soldiers were then in the town, who were very curious to gather his bones, whereof some were afterwards brought into England. Hereby the report is convinced for vain, that his body was found uncorrupt, more than four hundred years after

A. D. 1088.

William's
character.

terial to the history of this mighty Conqueror; they prove how little he regarded all laws which obstructed his rapacious desires, and how unlamented he died, even among his own natural-born subjects, whom his conquests had ennobled, and his toils had rendered happy. From thence we may conclude, that true fame and glory can only attend the memory of a prince, whose munificence is directed by wisdom, his severity by justice, and his conduct by reason. All those qualities existed in William, but their principles were wrong. His passions rendered his virtues useless: his genius was great for conquest, but greater for command; and seeking to live and reign over slaves, his life was unblest, and his reign unquiet. Both of them were without that even tenor of government which distinguishes the father of a people from the scourge of a country. Glory, and not virtue, was his aim; therefore power, without happiness, was his reward: and, when he went to the grave, his fortunes were admired, while his memory was cursed.

Considera-
tions there-
upon.

But not to derogate from the memory of this greatest of men in his age, where it is possible to do it justice, some considerations ought to mingle with our censures. When he undertook his expedition into England, the unhappy commencement of his preparations put it out of his power to gratify any sense of equity: he, in effect, bargained away the properties of the people he sought to reign over. In this case, a state of slavery to the people is the only principle of preservation to the prince. One act of oppression introduces the necessity of another. The governor and the governed equally throw aside all moderation. Both become untractable; the former, because unable to retreat with safety; and the latter, because despairing to subsist through oppression. This, in a great measure, was William's case. His engagements were deep, and with men whom he durst not venture to disoblige. The confiscations he made at the beginning of his reign, were absolutely necessary towards defraying some part of the great debt he had contracted; and the new possessors could be confirmed in their acquisitions only by strengthening their party with additional numbers, who all embarked upon the same bottom, and could be satisfied only by the like means. All these considerations rendered severity as it were indispensibly necessary in the Conqueror, after he had once set his hand to the great work; severity degenerated into cruelty, till the whole system of his government required to be upheld by breach of contract, and at the expence of humanity itself.

His lenity to
the English
nobles exam-
ined.

His lenity to the English noblemen, and Edgar Atheling, has been particularly extolled. Of the former, earl Waltheof alone suffered death; and the latter obtained pardon, after repeated defections; nay, was at last admitted into favour. But nothing shews

the genius of William's government more strongly than this lenity. He looked upon himself as a lucky adventurer; he had drawn the fairest prize in Europe; but had eventually mortgaged many shares of that prize to those who had enabled him to become an adventurer. This good fortune he was unwilling ever after to risk. Thus we find him, on all occasions latterly, chusing rather the methods of treaty than of enmity. To have lavishly spilt the blood of the English nobility, who did not fall in the field, could have served no purpose but that of exasperating and driving to despair the English themselves. It was much more for his advantage, either, as he did, to keep them in durance, by way of pledges for the fidelity of the inferior sort, or to win them over to re-accept of their possessions by feudal tenure; that, thus depending upon his great barons for their properties, he might have the best assurance of their allegiance. As to earl Waltheof, a great many causes may be assigned for his execution. The juncture was critical, and required one example of severity to daunt the English. Historians say, that the Conqueror's Normans in a manner obliged him to it, that they might share the plunder of his confiscated estates; and some are not wanting to lay the blame of his death upon his wife Judith, who finding that, by the church getting a saint, she had lost a husband, solicited his removal to make way for another. But whatever may be in this, William did not risk much in taking off that nobleman's head. His weakness, in betraying his companions, had, doubtless, broken his credit with the nobility; and, in whatever light priests and monks might have held him at his death, we may easily suppose he was very contemptible in the eyes of the nobility, both English and Norman.

To Its motives.

And of earl
Waltheof's
death.

As for his clemency to Edgar, little can be said on that head. The favours he received from the Conqueror, were, I think, all of them got by treaty. That prince had the good fortune, though strictly watched, to keep out of William's power, after the conspiracy of the abbot of St. Alban's. All the favour he received before that time, was after William's first entering upon the government, when he submitted to him, and when it would have been bad policy in the Conqueror not to have treated him with the highest marks of distinction. His return to England was not till after the treaty with Malcolm, which our historians say, expressly stipulated the terms of his pardon and submission. All the merit the Conqueror's mercy, therefore, can claim, is in not sacrificing him to his jealousy, after he had him in his power. But this, besides the breach of faith, might have been attended with very fatal consequences, since the right of blood in Edgar, a weak, inactive prince, must then have devolved upon Malcolm and his family, a much more formidable rival. After all, as we have already seen, when the

His clemency
to Edgar ex-
amined.

after it was buried. Hereby also it is found to be false, that his body was eight feet in length: for neither were his bones proportionable to that stature, as it is testified by those who saw them; and it is otherwise reported of him by some, that he was of a great stature, yet not exceeding the ordinary proportion of men.

A. D. 1088. Conqueror grew too powerful in England for him to regard any efforts made by the English, he soon altered his behaviour towards Edgar; which that prince perceiving, fought safety in retreat.

His cruelty to the inferior English.

His great forests oppressive.

He blames the policy of the Danes.

He establishes the curfew-bell.

But whatever plausible arguments may be formed, in favour of William's conduct towards the English nobility, he was certainly inhuman and cruel towards the inferior common people. This is, I think, on all hands admitted, and sufficiently justifies the general character I have given of his person and government. So little regard had he to them, that he turned their habitations into mansions for the beasts of the field; witness the many forests he enclosed in his time, particularly that called New-Forest, in Hampshire, extending upwards of thirty miles, and for which he destroyed many towns, villages, and dwellings of the wretched inhabitants, as if the brutes, with which he was to people it, had been a nobler species than they. That this seemed to be his real principle, appears from the laws of those forests, by which he made it highly penal for any Englishman to hunt in them. So many of his posterity perishing in such forests, gave room for many reflections. In short, he sported with the calamities of the English so much, that when some of his Normans were free enough to tell him, that the people spoke evil of him, his usual reply was, "It is well they can do me no evil." He used to blame the policy of Sweyn and Canute, who, after their conquests here, had suffered the former possessors to retain their lands, which enabled them to recover their constitutions, by expelling the strangers. But his great end was to bring the nation over to be Norman. This he partly effected by ordering the forms of law to be in French, and introducing (1) Norman customs and manners of living. These indeed had greatly prevailed before his reign; but no penalties had ever been annexed to the disregard of them. Our historians generally tell us, he was so jealous of the common people of England entering into cabals against his government, that he ordered all lights and fires to be extinguished in the

houses, upon the ringing of a certain bell, called the curfew-bell; but for this I think there is but very little foundation from our original historians, though there is some from a law made under Henry I.

He died on the 9th of September, 1087, in the twenty-first year of his reign. As to his personal qualifications, the best description we have of them is from William of Malmesbury, who not being suspected of any prejudice against him, but being rather a strenuous advocate in his vindication, I shall translate his words (2): "In his stature he was graceful, his corpulence too predominant, his look stern, his forehead bald; and so strong was he in his arms, that it was wonderful to see how, after no man was found strong enough to bend his bow, he used to bend it on horseback, stretching out the string with his foot. He had great dignity in his aspect, either sitting or standing; though the protuberance of his belly somewhat abated the majesty of his person. He enjoyed so great a stock of health, that he never had any dangerous ailment besides that of which he died. So addicted was he to hunting, that he ordered many miles to be laid waste, and turned the inhabitants out of their dwellings, that he might, at his leisure hours, there take his diversion. He was great and sumptuous at his entertainments upon high festivals. When he was in England, he held his Christmas at Gloucester, his Easter at Winchester, and his Whitsuntide at Westminster; and on those occasions, he summoned all his peers of every denomination to attend, that foreign ambassadors might there have an opportunity of admiring the splendor of his attendants, and the magnificence of his entertainments. Upon no occasion did he ever shew greater affability, or more gentle manners, than at such feasts; which made strangers from all parts of the world extol his liberality, as being equal to his riches. His immediate successor kept up the manner of entertaining, but it was afterwards dropped.

"His chief and real vice was the love of

Character of William's person from Malmesbury.

(1) We are told, that, in order to extinguish the Saxon tongue, he ordered the English children to be taught no other language but French. We may believe, however, that he found this scheme impracticable; for we find he was willing, in his old age, to learn English himself. Ingulph tells us, he likewise designed to destroy the English tongue, and, to that end, commanded, that the laws of the land, and statutes of our English kings, should be handled or pleaded in French; and that boys should be taught, at school, their first rudiments of grammar in French, and not in English; and yet he could never compass that design. "And the English tongue, says Mr. Tyrrel, continued still the same, with very little mixture of French words, till the reign of Edward I, and Richard II, as any one may observe by that writ or proclamation, in old English, of the 43d of Henry III, and which is also printed in Mr. Somner's Saxon dictionary, title, *Unnam dare vel concedare*; or, if he will but take the pains to compare the old manuscript history of Robert of Gloucester in verse, he will see by what degrees the French tongue came to be intermixed with our modern English."

(2) *Iustus fuit staturæ, immensæ corpulentæ, facie fera, fronte capillis nuda, roboris ingentis in lacertis, ut magno spe spectaculo fuerit, quod nemo ejus arcum tenderet, quam ipse admissio equo pedibus nervo extento sinaret; magnæ dignitatis sedens et stans, quamquam obesitas ventris nimis protensa, regium corpus deformaret, commodæ valetudinis, ut qui nunquam aliquo morbo periculoso præter in extremo decubuerit; exercitio venationis adeo deditus, ut (sicut prædixi) multa millia ejectis habitatoribus, silvescere juberet, in quibus a cæteris negotiis avocatus, animum remitteret. Convivia in præcipuis festivitatis sumptuosa et magnificia inibat. Natale Domini apud Glocestriam, Pascha apud Wintoniam, Pentecostam apud Westmonasterium, agens quotannis quibus in Anglia morari liceret, omnes eo cujuscunque professionis magnates regium edictum accersebat, ut exterarum gentum legati speciem multitudinis, apparatusque deliciarum mirarentur. Nec ullo tempore comior, aut indulgendi facilius erat, ut qui advenerant largitatem ejus cum divitiis conquare ubique gentium jactarent. Quem morem convivandi primus successor obstinate tenuit, secundus omisit. Sola est de qua merito culpetur pecuniæ cupiditas, quam undecunque captatis occasionibus, nihil unquam pensi habuit, quin corroderet; faceret, diceret nonnulla, et pene omnia, tanta majestate indigniora, ubi spes numini effluisset. Non est hic aliquid excusationis quod asseram, nisi quod quidam dixit, necesse est ut multos timeat quem multi timent. Nam ille pro timore inimicorum provincias suas pecunia emulgebat, qua impetus eorum vel tardaret, vel etiam propelleret; persepe ut sit in rebus humanis viribus cassatis, fidem hostilem præmio pignorus; regnat adhuc et indies augetur hujusce dedecoris calamitas, ut et villæ et ecclesiæ pensionibus supponantur, et ne hoc quidem perpetua exactorum fide, sed quicunque plus obtulerit, statim, pactis irritis prioribus, palmam habeat.*

A. D. 1088. " money, which he took all opportunities, without valuing any means, to amass. Upon this principle he said and did many things, generally the more unworthy royal majesty, as they proceeded from the lust of lucre. I shall not pretend to bring any excuse for this meanness, other than what was said by a certain person, that the man whom many fear, must necessarily fear many; for William, from dread of his enemies, drained his country of money, thereby either delaying or disappointing their attempts very often; making, as is the case in human affairs when power is wanting, money a pledge for the fidelity of his foes. This shameful abuse still prevails, and daily encreases; so that both towns and churches are rendered venal, without having even, always, regard to the bargain; for whoever offers more, carries away the prize, no respect being had to the former purchaser."

Reflection upon it.

William's passion for hunting.

His character from Henry of Huntingdon.

From those words of an admirer of William, we may easily conclude oppression to have been the ruling principle of all his reign; I shall not therefore set down all that is said of him by the Saxon annalist, who may be supposed to have been his enemy, from the bitterness with which he treats his memory. Some of his expressions, however, are remarkable; for after enlarging upon William's rapaciousness and passion for hunting, he says: " That as he forbid the killing of deer, so he did of wild boars; for he loved all those beasts, as if he had been their father." Henry of Huntingdon, another author, who was far from being an enemy to William, speaking of his court says, " That under him the great were so blinded with avarice, that it might have been said of them, with justice, from whence they had money, none of them asked; but have it they must. The more they talked of equity, the more iniquitous was their oppression. As to his justices, they were the heads of all injustice. Lord-lieutenants and sheriffs, whose duty it was to have put the laws in force, were more rapacious than the most rapacious, and more cruel than the most cruel of all robbers." He then agrees with the Saxon chronicle in observing, that William used to sell the same possessions over and over to the best bidder. As to William himself, the same author says, " That he was the bravest of all the Norman dukes, the most powerful of all the English kings, and the most glorious of all his predecessors. He was wise, but deceitful; rich, but covetous; ostentatious, but fond of fame; humble before the servants of God, but severe to those who resisted his will."

To sum up the history and character of this prince: he was not without private virtues; for he was a tender husband; an indulgent parent; and, when matters of state did not interpose, a generous master: and there is great reason to believe he was strictly

chaste. His attendance at the stated services of the church was remarkable and regular; and we ought in charity to believe, that the many iniquities he was guilty of, arose rather from the exigences of his situation, than from the cruelty of his nature.

His off-spring was as follows:

By his queen, Mathilda, daughter to Baldwin earl of Flanders, he had Robert, surnamed Curthoise, or Curthose, from his wearing short boots, or hose; according to some, because of the shortness of his thighs. This prince had variety of bad fortune, as will be seen in the sequel of this history. He was married twice; first, when both parties were but very young, to Margaret, daughter to the earl of Main, who died before she came to the years of puberty; secondly, to Sibilla, niece to Guischar, earl of Apulia in Italy. He had issue, Richard, a young prince of great expectations, who was killed as he was hunting in his grandfather's new forest. This Richard has been, by our historians, commonly thought to be the second son of William. Some authors indeed say, that there was a son born to William between Robert and Rufus; and that he received likewise his death in New-forest. In his epitaph, preserved by Sandford, he is termed Beorniaë Dux.

William Rufus, his successor in the crown of England, was another son. He was named Rufus, as is said, from the colour of his hair and complexion, and was educated under Lanfranc archbishop of Canterbury.

His third son was Henry, surnamed Beauclerc, from his excellent knowledge in all literature common for those times. He was born at Selby in Yorkshire, in the year 1070; a circumstance which afterwards proved of great use to him against his elder brother, Robert, who had the misfortune not to be born an Englishman.

Cicely, William's eldest daughter professed herself a religious, and was first a nun in the monastery of Fetchamp in Normandy, and afterwards abbess of the house of the Holy Trinity at Caen, where she died in the year 1027.

Constance, the second daughter of the Conqueror, was married first to Allen, surnamed the Red, earl of Brittany, to cement the peace between him and her father. It was to this prince that William gave the great honour of Richmond, in the north of England.

We are told of a third daughter whom the Conqueror had, her name Adela; her husband was Stephen earl of Blois, and after his death she became a nun.

The daughter who was promised to Harold, we learn, died before William's expedition into England; and another daughter, mentioned by Gemiticensis, after being betrothed to Alphonso king of Castile, not relishing a married life, died a nun (1).

2. WILL-

(1) I shall now, as indispensibly necessary to the nature of my undertaking, give my reader an abstract of the laws of this great Conqueror, as published by Mr. Selden; and perhaps the same which Ingulphus says, at the end of his history, he had brought from London to his abbey of Croyland, using Mr. Tyrrel's translation where I think he is not mistaken.

The first establishes the rights of sanctuaries within churches, and the fines upon sacrilegious offenders, and those who broke the king's peace. These pleas belonged to the crown.

The second establishes a double forfeiture of what any body else should pay for the like offence, under different circumstances, upon any one who shall evil entreat the man of the king's bailiwick, and shall thereupon be convicted by the king's justice, he shall forfeit double to what any other man should forfeit in the like case.

The third is concerning violators of the public peace. He who breaks the king's peace by Dane law, shall make amends by an hundred and forty-four pounds; and the king's forfeiture, which belongs to the sheriff, is forty shillings by Merchen law, but fifty shillings by West-Saxon law. And if any freeman, having sac, and soc, and toll, and team, and infangen-theof be impleaded, and condemned to forfeiture in the county-court, then that belongs to the sheriff, viz. forty ores by Dane law; and of another man, that has not those liberties, thirty-two ores. Of these thirty-two ores, the sheriff shall have ten to the king's use; and he who impleads him shall have twelve ores more, for satisfaction; and the lord, on whose land he dwells, shall also have the other ten ores: that is the law of the Danes.—This law is evidently of Saxon original. As to the word ore, it appears that it was a quantity of bullion, and not any determined specie of money. Mr. Somner thinks, that twelve ores made a pound.

The fourth law is concerning one accused of theft, and what shall be done with his surety, the party being fled. In which case, the Mercian law is, That if any one be appealed of theft or robbery, and then is bailed to appear to justice, and shall after that fly for it, his pledge or bail shall have four months and one day to find him out; and if he cannot find him, he shall then purge himself by the oath of twelve men, That he knew him not to be a thief at the time when he bailed him, nor had any hand in his running away, neither can find him. The rest set forth, what forfeiture he shall pay to the king, and what for the were, or head of the party so absenting himself; which is different, according to the West-Saxon and Dane law; yet so, that if, within one year and four days, he can find the thief, and bring him to justice, the twenty shillings which was paid for his head, shall be restored to his pledge or surety.

The fifth is concerning the apprehending of a thief, without any pursuit or cry: in which case, if the pledge shall deliver him up to the person from whom he stole, if he fly, and shall afterwards appear, he shall pay ten shillings for his first escape; but the person is bound to try him at the first court after his taking; but if he fail to do it, he shall forfeit forty shillings.

The sixth is concerning the particular sums of money that any man shall pay to the provost, who shall rescue any horses, bullocks, cows, hogs, or any other sort of beasts; which is called in English, forfengen. In which case, the complainant shall pay to the provost, or under-sheriff, for the rescue of a cow or an ox, eight-pence; for a hog, four-pence; for a sheep, one penny. And farther, the party who seized them shall find sureties, that if any other come to claim the cattle within a year and day, he will then produce in court whatsoever he had before rescued.

The seventh is concerning things found by chance, which is much to the same effect with the ancient Saxon laws concerning such things, viz. that is, first they are to be shewed in three places of the neighbourhood, that so there may be good witness of their being found; and if any will come and lay claim to them, he shall find pledges, that in case any other shall also claim them within a year and a day, he will be ready forthwith to produce in court whatsoever he had so found.

The eighth is concerning homicide, and the were, or price of each man's head, to this effect: If any one kill another, and be convicted, and yet deny to make satisfaction, he shall give unto the lord for his manbote, for a freeman, ten shillings; for a servant, twenty shillings (as a were, or price of the life); that of a thane, by the Merchen and West-Saxon law, is twenty pounds; and the were of a villain, a hundred shillings by the same law.

The ninth is concerning those to whom the were, or price of the head or life, was to be paid: if the manslayer were of the half blood to the widow, thus; That the manslayer shall pay to the widow and orphans, ten shillings; and for their share, the orphans and kindred shall divide it among them.

The tenth is the value of certain animals, when they are taken in weres: a stoned horse is valued at twenty shillings; a bull, at ten shillings; and a heifer, at five shillings.

The eleventh appoints a penalty on him who wounds another.

The twelfth orders a groat, or four-pence, to be paid by any one who shall wound another, so as that the bone is laid open or extracted; and a farther composition to be paid, in case the offending party shall not express great regard and kindness for the offended, which if they do, the latter is to accept whatsoever the former shall offer.

The thirteenth establishes the several rates that are to be paid for the loss of limbs or joints: a hand or foot was to cost the moiety of a were, according to the offence; a thumb, the half of that; the fore-finger, fifteen shillings; the middle-finger, sixteen shillings; the ring-finger, seventeen; five shillings for the little-finger; the same for a nail; and five shillings and four-pence for the nail of the little-finger.

The fourteenth makes the fine for violating a married woman, the same as for death.

The fifteenth makes the fine for false judgment the same as for death; unless the judge shall swear upon the gospel, that his sentence was according to the best of his knowledge.

The sixteenth establishes the manner in which one accused of theft is to purge himself: for if one accuses another of theft, and if the one accused be a freeman, and hath clear testimony of his honour, he shall purge himself by his oath; but he who has been infamous, must do it by the express oath of fourteen lawful men; or if he cannot have so many, by that of twelve; if he cannot have those, he must stand his trial; and the appellant, with seven other men, shall swear, that he did it not for hatred, or any other motive, but to come at his own right.

The seventeenth is concerning those who are appealed or accused of breaking open a monastery, or a house; where, if such were never before counted infamous, they should purge themselves by twelve lawful men; but if he were a person of bad fame, then by forty-eight men; and if he cannot procure them, then by trial. The sense of the rest is what share the archbishop, bishop, as also the count and baron should have by the Mercian law, within whose diocese or jurisdiction the theft was proved or confessed.

The eighteenth is concerning the payment of Peter's-pence, viz. that a freeman, who has to the value of thirty pence in cattle, shall give one penny to St. Peter; but for four-pence that any lord shall pay down, all his cottages, villains, and servants shall be acquitted: but a townsman, who had chattels to the value of half a merk; as also a freeman, living under the Dane law, having cattle to the value of half a merk, shall pay likewise one penny.

The nineteenth is concerning a rape, which forfeits the offending member. The throwing a woman to the ground, and attempting her chastity, forfeits ten shillings to her lord and master.

The twentieth provides for the payment of Peter's-pence.

By the twenty-first, the putting out the eye is attended with a fine of seventy English shillings; but only half so much when the eye is only blemished, and the person is not rendered blind.

By the twenty-second, the relief of an earl belonging to the king is established to be eight horses fully caparisoned, four corselets, four helmets, four spears, four swords, four shields, four hunters, and four palfreys, with bridles and head-stalls.—The reader may compare this law with the rate of hariots appointed by the sixty-ninth law of Canute, p. 288.

The three and twentieth sets down the relief of a baron, viz. four horses saddled and bridled, two halberts, two helmets, two shields, two lances, two swords, and one huntsman, one hunting horse, with bridles and head-stalls.

The twenty-fourth is concerning the relief of a vavasor to his liege lord, viz. that he was to be acquitted for his horse, such as he had at the time of his death; as also by his halbert, and his helmet, and his shield, his lance and his sword; but if he died so unfurnished of these things, as to have neither horse nor arms, then the heir was to pay one hundred shillings in money.

The twenty-fifth is somewhat obscure, by reason of the perplexity of the syntax; but this is the purport of it: If any man shall cry embleat, (i. e. shall challenge any ware or merchandize taken from him by stealth) and find pledges to pursue his claim, then he, in whose hands the thing is found, shall name his guaranty (that is, the person of whom he had it) if he have any such; but if he have not, he shall name his hennel burh (i. e. his surety) that the thing shall be forth-coming, and his witnesses, whom he shall have ready at a certain day or time; but if he have no guaranty, nor witnesses, he shall lose his goods, and pay a were to his lord, as it is in Mercian law, Danish law, and West Saxon law.—The rest of the law Mr. Tyrrel justly thinks so unintelligible, that it cannot be translated.

The twenty-sixth appoints the mulct to be paid by a hundred, when a manslayer, or one accused of manslaughter, cannot be brought to justice. By this law, if a Frenchman was murdered, and if the hundred could not take the murderer and bring him to justice, and to stand his trial in eight days time, then the hundred shall pay forty-seven marks.

The twenty-seventh enacts, that if a tenant wants to dirationate, or to direign, that is, plead off, a covenant, with regard to his possession, against his lord, it ought to be direigned by the peers of the tenant in the same tenure, who shall be summoned for that purpose; for it cannot be direigned by strangers.

It is hard to comprehend the meaning of the twenty-eighth; it seems to be, that a person, pleading in any court, excepting that where the king is personally present; and if that person shall be questioned for any things, and there any thing said which he does not confess, unless the person so accused can direign, by eleven intelligent men, who are to contradict the fact, then

then the person so accused shall remain at the king's mercy.—Mr. Tyrrel, in his translation of this law, seems entirely to have misunderstood its sense. The words of Glanville (*de L. L. et Consuet. Ang. l. x. c. 12.*) attempting to explain it, are almost as obscure as the law itself: the reason of it, I take to be, that a man, speaking words in a court, can easily clear himself, if questioned for those words, by eleven persons present, of being the author of such words; which, if he does not do, the charge must be admitted, and he remain at the mercy of the court. It is fit I should set down both the words of the law and of Glanville, that the reader may judge for himself, as I own myself to be very diffident on this head. The words of the law are as follow: *Home qui plaide en curt, a qui curt qui eo scit fors la ou le cors le rei est, e home li mettid sur quil ait dit chose qui il ne voille cointifre, se il ne pot derainer per i i entendable home del pleidant et veant qui il nel aurad it recovered a fa parola.* The words of Glanville are: *Quicumque aliquid dixerit in curia, vel in placito quod iterum negaverit, vel unde sequela vel warrantum probationem sufficientem non habuerit, vel ad hujus contrarium dicendum, vel ad quod negandum per sufficientem probationem districtus fuerit, in misericordia Domini regis remanet.*

The twenty-ninth is concerning the relief of servants or villains; which was to be the best live cattle, whether horse, bull or cow, that he had at the time of his death, which he shall give to his lord, and afterwards he shall be admitted to frank-pledge as other villains.—The reader is here to take care not to confound this, or the foregoing reliefs mentioned in these laws, with the heriot, so common among the Saxons; for, notwithstanding the laws of king Canute on this head, being so very similar with those of the Conqueror, we shall, in the annexed dissertation, have an opportunity to prove, that what are properly called reliefs came in with the Normans.

The thirtieth enacts, That whoever shall kill a person, travelling upon any of the three great streets of Watling-street, Ickning-street, or Fosse, breaks the king's peace.

The thirty-first says, That if a thing stolen, together with the stealer, be found within any one's ground, the lord of the land and his wife shall have the moiety of the robber's goods, if they find them; but if the robber be found within sac and soc, the lord's wife shall lose her share of the robber's goods, and the lord shall have them all.—Mr. Tyrrel, in translating this law, inserts a parenthesis, as if the lord were to have the goods, even though the lawful owner, from whom they were stolen, should claim them; but this I do not find in the original French.

By the thirty-second, a man shall be appointed, out of every hide of land of the hundred, between Michaelmas and Martinmas, to guard or keep the high-ways; and the ward-reeve, or overseer of the highways, shall, for his pains, have thirty hides discharged of this service: and if any horses or cattle die in the highways, which he is to oversee, and that he cannot shew that it suffered violence, that horse, &c. shall be made good by him.—But, though Mr. Tyrrel has thus translated it, the sense, in the original, seems to be very different; for it implies, that if the cattle shall stray without any force, being proved, or if they should be denied water, then the bailiff ought to make them good.

The thirty-third says, That they who till the land ought not to be troubled for aught, but their chief rent; nor ought the land-tillers to leave their lord's land as long as they are able to perform their stated services. The natives, who leave their land, ought not to ask for a certificate, of being a native upon another land, that so they may avoid the services appendant to their own land; and if they leave the lands upon which they were born, and go to others, none shall retain them or their goods, but shall send them back to perform the services belonging to them; and if the seignories, or lords of manors, will not make those fugitives return to their lands, the law shall do it. [The tenants who are *glebæ ascriptitii*, were (according to Bracton, *l. i. c. 11.*) freemen, though they did villains services; for those services were not appendant to their persons, but their possessions, and were inseparable from the glebe or soil; nor could they be disseized of their tenements while they paid what they owed, nor could their masters compel them to continue longer in their tenements than they pleased.]

The meaning of the thirty-fourth seems to have been quite mistaken by Mr. Tyrrel; for it implies no more than, that no villain shall withdraw any part of the service he owes his master, on account of any indulgences formerly shewn him by that master.

The thirty-fifth exempts women, who are with child, and under sentence of death, from undergoing that sentence before they are delivered; and the same with regard to the loss of her limbs.—This law is still in force when a woman pleads her belly.

By the thirty-sixth, If a man dies intestate, his estate is to be equally divided among his children.

By the thirty-seventh, If a father shall take his daughter in adultery in his own house, or in that of his son-in-law, he was then at liberty to kill the adulterer.—This law seems to be of Saxon original, since we find no such power vested in their husbands.

The thirty-eighth law is remarkable, but, I think, not near so difficult to be understood as Mr. Tyrrel has made it: it says, That if a person kills another through necessity; or if I, the more easily to manage my vessel, or to avoid death, should throw your goods overboard, then I cannot be impleaded of those actions.—The rest of the law is the same, vice versa.

The thirty-ninth says, That where there are two partners, and one of them is absent (as where two are co-partners of an heritage, and one of them, being impleaded without the other, loses his right by his own negligence) it shall not prejudice him who was absent, because such judgment ought not to affect him.—Mr. Tyrrel has translated the Saxon word *grith*, which is used in this Norman law by the word *heritage*; but it seems properly to signify an agreement, and is rendered by Lambert and other glossaries by the word *pax*.

By the fortieth, the lawful relief of a tenant, who holds his lands at a yearly rent, is made to be one year's rent of such lands; but Glanville (*l. ix. c. 4.*) says, That the reasonable relief of any one, according to the custom of the kingdom, is an hundred shillings for one knight's fee, and a year's rent for soccages. As to baronies, the reliefs are uncertain, they being in the king's power, and at his mercy.

By the forty-first, justice is recommended to judges, and an injunction is laid against selling any person out of the land, especially into a heathen country. (I cannot understand what Mr. Tyrrel means by translating this part of the law; And we forbid any Christian, in this land, to sell his garment for payment; for care ought to be taken that a life be not lost, which Christ redeemed with his blood.) The law goes on; Whosoever shall promote or give false judgment for hatred, or malice, or bribery, he shall forfeit to the king forty shillings; and if he cannot prove that he could do no better, he shall lose his freedom, if he cannot redeem it at the king's pleasure; and if he be within the Dane law, shall forfeit *lahstile* (i. e. pay the mulct for violation of the law) if he cannot prove that he could judge no better. But whosoever shall refuse or deny right law and judgment, he shall forfeit to him to whom he denies it, according to his rank; if to the king, six pounds; to an earl, forty shillings; if it be within an hundred, thirty shillings; and to all those who sue in England, all must be paid in English money: if within the jurisdiction of Dane law, whosoever denies right judgment, he shall be obnoxious to the punishment of *lahstile*; nor shall any man complain to the king of failure of judgment in hundred or county.

The forty-second is concerning taking a distress. None may take a distress, either within the county or without, until he has three times demanded right in the hundred and county-court; and if he cannot have right at the third demand, he shall then go to the county-court, and that shall appoint him the fourth day; and then if he who should claim it fail to appear, the other may use his liberty to take the distress to his own use.—This law is entirely of Saxon original, as are the two next.

The forty-third is, that none shall buy any thing without lawful vouchers, viz. None shall buy to the value of fourpence, either of dead or live goods, without the testimony of four men of the borough or town; and if any one challenge it, and he have no testimony thereof, nor warrant for it, he shall render to the challenger his goods, and he shall have the forfeiture to whom it is due: and if he have witnesses (as we have said above) let him vouch them three times, and the fourth time *direign* (i. e. stand trial for it) or else restore it.

The forty-fourth, concerning stolen goods put into the hands of a third person, seems only to be a continuation of the former to this effect: For it does not appear reasonable to us (i. e. the king) that proof be made by the witness of those who know that the thing is sequestered, or put into the hand of a third person; but that no proof be thus made till six months after the things were stolen.

The forty-fifth is a kind of a commentary upon a law of king Canute's, and runs as follows: He who is accused in court of robbery by witnesses, and makes defaults three times, and the summoner shews his three defaults, then he shall be required to find sureties for the peace, and to take trial; but if he will not, or cannot be found alive or dead, let all he hath be seized, and let the accuser have his chattels, and the lord the moiety of what remains, and the hundred the other moiety.—Two or three sentences more of this law, which Mr. Tyrrel has not translated, seem to lay a forfeiture upon the next of kin, outlawing the thief at the same time; but is very confused and unintelligible.

The forty-sixth appoints, That none shall lodge a stranger above three nights, unless he be recommended by a friend.—This law likewise is a confirmation of many laws to the like purpose among the Saxons, and was intended to prevent the fraying of servants, and their being harboured.

The forty-seventh is, That no person shall let his man or servant depart from him, after he is accused of any crime.—Mr. Tyrrel has translated this law rightly. There seems to be some mistake in the translation printed by Wilkins.

The forty-eighth ordains, That whoever meets with a thief, and, without cry, lets him go, he shall be mulcted according to the value of the thief, unless he can clearly prove that he did not know the party to be a thief.—Mr. Tyrrel has, I think, mistaken the meaning of the original here: for he says, unless he can prove the party was no thief; but the law supposes that the party is a thief, therefore it could not lie upon the party accused to prove that he was no thief; for that he was so, must appear by the evidence of the prosecutor, in which if he fails, the party accused is acquitted of course. It must be owned, however, that there is a great darkness in the original.—And he that shall make a cry, and presently cease, the king shall mulct him for his so ceasing, unless he can purge himself.

The forty-ninth is, That every lord shall produce his servant, or his pledge, that if he be accused, he may be tried at the hundred court.

The fiftieth law is concerning the manner of the purgation of one accused, to this effect: If any person accused be within the hundred, and four men arraign (i. e. accuse him) he may purge himself by the twelfth hand (i. e. the oaths of twelve men;) but if he fly from the place where he was arraigned, his lord shall pay his were; and if the lord be accused that he was privy to his flight, he shall clear himself by six men; but if he cannot, he shall be fined to the king, or else be outlawed.

After these laws, which the reader may perceive are generally penal, there is another code, which is considered and set down, by Mr. Tyrrel, as being a distinct body, and containing the civil digest. Sir Roger Twisden gave them, with some variations, from the copy published by Lambert from the Red book of the Exchequer. In that book none of the laws of William I. were distinguished into heads, that being first done by the learned Selden. In the copy of these laws, printed by Wilkins, they are printed as a continuation of what we have just given; but with what propriety I cannot see, since they run in a quite different form, being given by way of charter. I shall therefore set them down, because they are of the utmost importance to this history, and consider them as a distinct code.

William, king of the English, and duke of the Normans, to all his subjects, French and English, greeting.

The first law concerns religion and public peace, and is only a general injunction to all his subjects to observe uniformity in their worship, and their belief in Christ.

The second law recommends loyalty and duty towards their king, to be observed by all freemen within the kingdom of England, by oath and fealty; and that they defend his lands, honours, and possessions against all his foes, and against all foreigners.

The third law is concerning the death of a Norman or Frenchman, and runs as follows: We will and firmly enjoin, that all who came with us, or who shall come after us, be under our protection, and in our peace, throughout all our foresaid kingdom; and if any of them shall be killed, his lord shall produce the man's lawyer within five days, under the penalty of paying six and forty marks of silver to us, so far as the substance of that lord can hold out; and in case of that failing, the hundred in which the murder was committed shall make it up in common.—The reader may compare this law with the twenty-sixth above.

The fourth law enacts, That every Frenchman shall pay according to the law of England, if, in the time of Edward the Confessor, he was a partaker of what is called scot and lot.

The fifth law is concerning the feudal right, and the privileges of freemen. It runs thus: We will, firmly command, and grant, that all freemen of our foresaid monarchy and kingdom, have and hold their lands well and in peace, free from all unjust exactions and tallages, so that nothing may be exacted or taken from them but their own free service, which they rightfully owe and are obliged to perform to us, in like manner as has been appointed them, and is given and granted by us as an hereditary right in perpetuity by the common counsel of our foresaid kingdom.—This law is of importance, as it plainly proves that the Conqueror passed acts in his assembly of states; or parliament, which he consulted in the same manner as Saxon princes had done. By this act it likewise would appear, that tallages were by this time come in use. As this word will often occur in the English history, it is proper to explain the rise of it from the history of the exchequer. The principal regal revenue anciently arose from the lands and tenements granted by the king, and they were terræ dominicales, the demesne lands, and are so mentioned in Domesday-book, under the title of terræ regis, the tenants whereof were anciently to maintain the king's table, and had their residence on, and their living out of, the king's lands, rendering their corn, sheep, oxen, and other produce of the land itself to the king; but because this was cumbersome to deliver in specie, they came afterwards to another method, which was by assessment of those demesne lands, according to the value and produce thereof, and the king's necessities; and this tallage was settled by justices, who went, by the king's orders and overlooked such lands, and made the assessment; and therefore the title is, de tallagio dominorum regis, per Galfridum de Luci & facios suos. Frequent examples of this are to be met with in Maddox, 483. 4, 5. These tenants being the king's villains, were thus taxable by the king's justices; but otherwise were free from all suit and service to any court whatsoever, except their own, that so they might mind the business of the king's husbandry, and be the better able to supply the king. These supplies, when paid in money, were called gifts donalesfizæ redditus affizæ, &c. but most frequently tallagium, and were of two sorts, viz. First, what were gathered by the sheriff; and secondly, such as were gathered by other great persons, that had many of them in their own hands, and therefore paid them themselves into the exchequer, and these received the acquittances. Such were the tallages of the cities who appeared in the exchequer, and accounted in person; but the other manors, that were dispersed in the countries, as it appears by Maddox, 519, were accounted for by the sheriff; for none were tallaged (i. e. taxed by the king or his justices) but ancient demesnes and boroughs holding of the crown, Madd. 520.

The sixth law is concerning night-watches, and is as follows: We do also ordain and firmly command, that all cities, towns, castles, hundreds, and wapentakes of our said kingdom be watched and kept each night by turns, to prevent enemies and malefactors, as the sheriffs, aldermen, provosts, and other our bailiffs and ministers shall see fit, by the common-council, for the benefit of the kingdom.

The seventh is concerning measures and weights, thus: Also that all the persons above-mentioned keep, through the whole kingdom, faithful sealed measures and weights, as our good predecessors have ordained.

The eighth is concerning the duties of tenants or vassals, thus: We also ordain and firmly command, that all earls, barons, knights and their servants, and all freemen of our said whole kingdom, always have and maintain themselves well provided both with horse and arms, as behoves and becomes them to do; and that they shall be always ready to fulfil and perform their whole service to us, whenever there shall be need, according to what they owe to us of right out of their fees and tenements, as we have appointed them by the common-council of the whole kingdom, and as we have given and granted to them in fee, according to hereditary right; and this our command shall not be violated in any wise, upon pain of absolute forfeiture.

The ninth enjoins, that the subjects do all they can to preserve the royal prerogative from all violations, and is as follows: We likewise appoint and firmly ordain, that all the freemen of our kingdom be as sworn brothers, in defending, with all their might and power, our monarchy and kingdom against all our enemies, and in manfully preserving inviolable the peace and dignity of our crown and right judgment; and in causing, to the utmost of their power, justice to be done, without fraud or delay, always, and in all respects.—This law was enacted at London.

The tenth is, that there be no buying and selling, unless before witnesses, and in cities, viz. We also forbid that any live cattle be bought or sold, unless in cities, and that before three faithful witnesses; or that any thing forbidden be sold, without security and warrantice; and whoever does otherwise shall repay the value, and afterwards forfeit the thing bought.

The eleventh is concerning markets, and the privileges of cities and towns of note, and runs thus: No market or fair shall be kept, or permitted to be held, unless in the cities of our kingdom, and in boroughs or walled towns, or in castles and safe places, where the customs of our kingdom and the common law (ordained by our predecessors) and the dignity of our crown cannot be violated. Let all things be done fairly and openly, according to judgment and justice; and since the castles, boroughs, and cities were built for the defence of the kingdom and its subjects, they ought therefore to be kept free and inviolable.

The twelfth is only a repetition of a charter granted by the Conqueror, to be found in Brompton, and runs as follows: William, by the grace of God, king of the English, to all to whom this writing shall come, greeting: Know ye, That I ordain and command it to be observed through the whole English nation, That if an Englishman appeal a Frenchman, by duel, of theft, homicide, or any thing for which combat ought to be allowed, or judgment to be given between two men, the appellant shall have full liberty of demanding it; and if the Englishman shall refuse the duel, the Frenchman shall be then compelled

compelled to purge himself by his witnesses, upon oath, according to the law of Normandy. Also, if a Frenchman appeal an Englishman, by duel, concerning the like things, the Englishman has leave to defend himself by duel, or by judgment (i. e. of ordeal) if he shall chuse it rather; and if either of them be weak, so that he refuse the duel, or cannot perform it, he shall then find a legal champion; and if the Frenchman be vanquished, he shall pay to the king sixty shillings; but if the Englishman will not defend himself by duel, or purge himself by testimony (i. e. oath of twelve men), he shall clear himself by the judgment of God (i. e. by ordeal).—By this, says Mr. Tyrrel, you may observe, that whereas, in Lambard's copy of these laws, where an Englishman appealed a Frenchman, and would prove it by judgment or duel, it seems as if the Frenchman might have purged himself by oath only, without any ordeal; whereas it appears more plainly, by Brompton's copy (which I here take to be the truer) that the Englishman had the same privilege with the Frenchman; for it follows thus: The king has ordained, in all matters of outlawry, that an Englishman shall purge himself by judgment (i. e. ordeal); and if an Englishman appeal a Frenchman of outlawry, and will undertake to prove it upon him, the Frenchman shall defend himself by duel; but if the Englishman will not undertake to prove it by duel, the Frenchman shall clear himself by his full oath, and not by meer niceties of words.

Mr. Tyrrel, for what reason I know not, translates no farther in those laws, though the following are of equal authority:

The thirteenth provides, That the laws of Edward the Confessor should be observed, together with the laws of William himself.

The fourteenth requires, That every freeman should have a pledge or surety, who is to be answerable to bring him to justice in case he should offend, and to pay for his offence if he should escape; and those sureties are to purge themselves, that they were not privy to such escape. Let the hundred or county, as in former times, be summoned; and such as ought to come, but refuse, after two summonses, let them lose one ox; after three summonses, if they still neglect to attend, let them lose another ox; and, on the fourth neglect, let the party's goods pay whatever he shall be mulcted in, which is called *ceapzylb*, besides a forfeit to the king.

The fifteenth is concerning servants and their freedom, and runs as follows: We forbid any one to sell a servant out of his country; but if a master has a mind to give a servant his liberty, let him, in a full county-court (for so I understand the words of the original) deliver him over, by the right-hand, to the sheriff (vice comiti) and free him of the yoke of servitude by manumission, and shew him free egress and regress; then give him arms (that is, a halbert and sword) by which means he becomes a freeman.

The sixteenth is likewise concerning servants, and enacts, That all servants shall be free, who, after serving for a year and a day in a royal city or walled town, without reproach or in camp.

The seventeenth runs thus: We forbid any one to be put to death, or hanged, for any fault; but let their eyes be put out, their feet, or their testicles, or their hands be cut off, so that they may remain living monuments of their treachery and roguery: let always the punishment be proportioned to the offence. These laws are not to be violated, without full satisfaction.

2. WILLIAM II. surnamed RUFUS.

A. D. 1088.
Mistakes of
former histo-
rians about
Rufus.

NO character of importance in the English history has been so much misrepresented as that of William II. It will appear, from the course of this history, that he possessed all the abilities of his father, and as many virtues as the political considerations, which must prevail with all princes, would give him leave to exert. Very different was his situation from that of his father. The one had, in his own family, no competitor for the crown of England; and, by his good fortune and address, he had quelled the short-lived opposition in Normandy. Fidelity to his government was the greatest security his nobility had for the enjoyment of their properties; and they holding them by the same tenure in England as in Normandy, the measure of their duty in both countries was clear and express. Thence it happened, that, after the English were quieted, he had no troubles in his regal dominions.

The situation
of his affairs,

Rufus, at the time of his father's death, had many disadvantages to struggle with, which to any genius but his own, must have been unsurmountable. Address, without courage, could never have conquered them; and brutal courage, the only quality which our historians allow to this prince, without the most consummate address, must have proved ineffectual. He was the younger brother of a prince brave, noble, generous, and popular through suffering. He was the elder brother to another prince of great address, great courage, and solid wisdom. He was beloved by neither, and despised by both. His father, whose darling he was, died hated by his own natural-born subjects, and this hatred fell strongly upon his favourite: but these were not the chief disadvantages Rufus had to encounter. He had a nomination, and that too little more than verbal, to a kingdom, the nobility of which, in another capacity, owed their allegiance to his elder brother. The military tenures, by which they held in both kingdoms, rendered their duties to both incompatible, in case of any difference, since the same nobleman, or knight, who was obliged personally to attend William, at the head of his tenants in England, was personally obliged to attend Robert, in like manner, in Normandy. Robert's right to Normandy was undisputed, and undisputable; but that of William's to England was disputed and doubtful. Robert being duke de facto, as well as de jure, had a plausible title, should he succeed in his pretensions, to treat the followers of the king de facto, only, as traitors; but William having no pretensions on the dukedom of Normandy, the possessions of all who adhered to Robert there were safe. From those and many other considerations, I make no doubt but the reader will, with me, consider Rufus's acquisition of the crown of England to have been effected by as master-

and his diffi-
culties at his
father's death.

ly a genius, as was that of his father the Conqueror. But to proceed to our history.

A. D. 1088.

Robert was in France during the time of his father's sickness and death. William, as we have remarked before, getting from the Conqueror a recommendation to archbishop Lanfranc, finding his father past recovery, set out for England, and on the road was overtaken with the account of his death. He was attended by two trusty servants of his father; the crafty Eudo, who had been high treasurer in the late reign; and Bloet, his father's chaplain, a person extremely agreeable to Lanfranc archbishop of Canterbury, on whom Rufus chiefly depended for success. The Conqueror's death being now known to them alone, Eudo posted on before; and coming to Winchester, without discovering any emotion, demanded the keys of his master's treasury from William de Ponte, arch-constable of that castle. His high post, and the opinion the constable had of his person, soon put him in possession of an immense treasure, that spring of all success; but how to dispose of it to advantage, was the next consideration. The principal fortresses were to be secured, Dover especially. Thither Eudo hastened from Winchester, and got the governor on his side, engaging him, without his leave and authority, not to deliver up the keys of the castle. His outward pretence was, that his master's affairs in Normandy detained him longer there than he expected; that, having a difference with the king of France, it was but reasonable, in his absence, he should be assured of the fidelity of the castles and forts lying next to that kingdom. The compliance of the governor of Dover rendered the like application at Pevensey and Hastings equally successful. All this time William's death was concealed from the public, which makes it probable that Eudo had fallen upon other means, through the treasure he had just seized, to bring those governors over to his interest; and as their ports were the chief from Normandy, it was easy for them to suppress, for some time, all intelligence; especially if we consider, that the differences between William and the king of France might put a stop to all other communication between France and England.

He sets out
for England.

His servants
get possession
of his father's
treasures,

and of Dover,

In the mean time, Rufus and the chaplain arrived. Their first application was to Lanfranc. This great prelate had many reasons for supporting the party of Rufus: he had educated him, he had made him a knight, he knew his genius, and perhaps thought that the defects of his title might prove an earnest for the equity of his administration. Such were his personal considerations. As to his political ones, they were no less engaging. He was not himself a French subject to Robert, he had therefore little or no concern in the affairs of the continent: he lay under great obligations to the Conqueror; he

Rufus applies
to Lanfranc
archbishop of
Canterbury.



A. D. 1088.

The motives
of the prelate
for favouring
him.

he knew the aspiring spirit of the bishop of Bayeux, he knew their former differences had never been digested; and that whenever that prelate, who was highly in favour with Robert, came again into power, he would seek to be revenged, for his late disgraces, on all the favourites and counsellors of the last reign. These, with other considerations, made him give a ready ear to what Rufus proposed; but he was determined by the representations of the prince himself. For William, with equal truth and good sense, put him in mind, that his father claimed the crown, and afterwards held it by virtue of a nomination from Edward the Confessor, who himself had not the right of blood: That if this nomination from Edward was valid, the nomination from William must be equally valid: That unless this were admitted, no Norman nobleman in England, who came in with his father, could have a right to his estate, since they all proceeded from royalty, not through inheritance, but destination. This argument, which I think to be not only plausible, but unanswerable, could not fail of making, upon the minds of many, impressions very favourable for William. But Lanfranc, who had now acquired an English heart, did not shew great forwardness openly to espouse the party of Rufus, till he swore solemnly, in case he were admitted to the throne, "to govern with justice, equity and mercy; to defend the church in her peace and liberties; and to observe the directions of the archbishop." Neither the character of William, nor that of Lanfranc, can admit us to suppose, that, by this last part of his promise, he subjected himself to reign as a deputy king to the archbishop. The directions expressed here, were those which the archbishop, by virtue of his office, was obliged publicly to give him, at and after his coronation; a custom, which, as I have before observed, had prevailed ever since the year 1042, at the coronation of Edward the Confessor, and probably was much older.

The English
disposed to
favour Rufus.The terms to
which he
swore.

[Reflection.]

It is uncertain what the dispositions of the old English were at this period. I am apt to believe, not very favourable for the Norman government in any branch. Rufus had so far obeyed the letter of his father's will, as to take Wulnoth and Morchar out of prison, and had brought them along with him into England, where he found it convenient for his affairs again to shut them up, which he did at Winchester. It was in this city Eudo first declared that the Conqueror was dead, and had appointed Rufus for his successor. The latter, therefore, perhaps pretended, that he had complied with the will of his father, and that those noblemen had been set at liberty by his orders; but that now he was king, and had a right to secure them as he pleased. But the whole, in reality, might have proceeded from his desire of letting the Normans see, that he did not intend to alter the present course of property,

He again im-
prisons Mor-
char and
Wulnoth.

by restoring any of the old English; for we find, at this time, a great change in his favour among many of the principal clergy and nobility; so effectually had Lanfranc's persuasions worked upon some, and William's gold upon others.

A. D. 1088.

The day of the coronation was now fixed, in a great (1) council of the kingdom, for the twenty-seventh of September, at Westminster. It was performed by Lanfranc, in presence of the archbishop of York, most of the other prelates in the kingdom, and many of the temporal nobility. Though this was a main step towards William's possession; yet a great deal more was to be done. For his elder brother, Robert, hearing of his father's death, instantly set out for Roan. There many of his Norman and English nobility represented to him the necessity of his passing over to England, that he might prevent the ambitious measures which William was carrying on. They told him, that in Normandy he had nothing to fear; and that he would be inexcusable, if, through indolence, he should endanger so fair an inheritance as the crown of England. But Robert, with insupportable haughtiness, swore by the angels of heaven, "That were he in Alexandria, the English would wait for him, and not dare to make a king before his arrival. As for that brother of mine, William, continues he, who is so ambitious, as you say, he will not presume, without my leave, to take one step." This security, joined to the contempt he had for Rufus, brought irretrievable misfortunes upon his affairs, as it gave William leisure to strengthen his party. Odo had by this time returned to England; and William, either willing to try whether pardon and favours would bring him over to his party, or being too weak to keep him out of possession, had agreed to his being restored to his English estate. As it never had been forfeited, the latter is more probable, since he held it upon the same terms with the other Normans who had great baronies in England. We find him attending Rufus the Christmas following at London, when every thing seemed to promise fair for the new government. William, since his coronation, had found means to bring the clergy firmly into his interest. As few or none of them had any foreign estates, it was their interest that England should be governed by a prince who had no concern on the continent, since no act of limitation had ever past, by which the crown was tied up from bestowing upon foreigners the great offices of church and state. This, I say, made it evidently their interest to side with Rufus. But he obliged them in another manner; for, immediately after his coronation, he went to Winchester, where he opened his father's treasures, which consisted of no less, as is said, than sixty thousand pounds (equal to about twelve hundred thousand now,) and fulfilled the real or pretended last will of his father. To

He is crown-
ed.His brother
Robert's mad
conduct.
Gemitienfis.Odo restored
to his estate
and honours
in England.

(1) Convocatis terræ magnatibus. Brompton. Sed postea quam Lanfrancus sua autoritate, qua apud omnes maxime valebat, et assiduo studio optimates provocaverat, ingentibus promissis muneribus, frequentes ad Westmonasterium in consilium convenire, ubi loci post longam consultationem, Gulielmum Rufum eo nomine secundum, regem fecerunt.

A. D. 1088.
The generosity of Rufus to the church.

some of the chief cathedrals and churches he gave to each ten, to some six marks of gold, more or less, according to their degrees of dignity and reverence with the people. Upon their altars he bestowed rich furniture of gold and silver; to each country church he sent five shillings, and to every county one hundred pounds, to be divided among the poor. All these popular measures were followed by strong declarations, on the part of William, that he intended to govern by law, and to take from the necks of the English great part of the yoke, under which they had groaned during the reign of his father.

Cabals of the party of Robert in England.

All those popular measures began to rouse Robert and his party. They had hitherto been contented with forming dark cabals, trusting to an opportunity of some insurrection among the English for a proper time to declare themselves. William was sensible of their design, but was unwilling to give them any handle for coming to hostilities. As they had all of them sworn fealty to his person, he knew that he had thereby a great advantage over them. The summer drew near, and nothing was yet concluded upon; while they saw themselves pressed by Robert, who had by this time declared his intentions of asserting his primogeniture, and were thereby in danger of having their Norman possessions seized. This consideration drove them upon action. The ring-leader was Odo, whose chief interest lay in Kent, where he had a great following. Robert de Moubray, earl of Northumberland, and Geoffrey bishop of Constance, undertook for the west; Roger Bigot for Norfolk; Robert de Belleme, with the bishop of Durham, were to bestir themselves in the north; while Roger earl of Arundel and Shrewsbury, with Eustace earl of Bolloign, Hugh Grentmesnil viscount of Leicester, with many other powerful barons, were to raise all their followers in other parts of the nation. Robert earl of Mortaign, brother to Odo, had likewise a great hand in the measures then carried on, and was employed in bringing over those Norman noblemen, who had estates in England and were yet in France, to favour the intended revolution. Though it was morally impossible but that Rufus must have known great part of the concert among the disaffected; yet we find him making no attempts to seize any of them before the season of action. He was contented to let the justice of his government speak in his vindication; and so well did he copy the great example set him by his father, in the beginning of his reign, that the common people in general were well disposed to his interest; a conduct which afterwards proved of singular service to his affairs.

The conduct of Rufus,

and of Robert.

Odo, bishop of Bayeux, undertook the correspondence between the conspirators and Robert: he acquainted the latter, punctually, of the dispositions they were ready to make, and earnestly pressed him to support both them and his own undoubted right of primogeniture. Robert, though without resolution, was not without ambition: he promised to favour their rising, upon an ap-

pointed day, by invading England: he sent over to England such Norman noblemen as had interests there, with instructions how to behave: he punctually fulfilled his father's will in Normandy, as William had done in England, by the distribution of his pious legacies; and, to make himself more agreeable to the army, he bestowed large donatives upon all who had served under his father, promising them farther rewards as soon as he met with success in his attempt: but, finding his father's treasures insufficient for all those purposes, he was obliged to apply to his brother Henry for a loan of three thousand pounds. That crafty prince knew Robert's necessities, and the weakness of his head; taking therefore the advantage of both, he demanded to be put in possession of the Contantin (almost a third part of Normandy) and the castle of St. Michael's mount, as a mortgage for his re-payment. Robert, not doubting the success of his enterprize, consented to all this; and every thing was now in great forwardness for the descent from Normandy.

A. D. 1088.

He mortgages the Contantin to his brother Henry.

In the mean time, William was not idle: he redoubled his attention and regard to Lanfranc and the clergy: he found a general infection, arising from the motives I have already pointed out, had spread through the Norman nobility, and therefore resolved to throw himself upon his (1) honest English subjects. Among other privileges, he promised them that of hunting in his forests; and so well were they satisfied with his government, that they resolved to support it at the expence of all they had. A general meeting of the conspirators was now held, just before the breaking out of the rebellion. To them Odo communicates his dispatches from Robert; and, lest any among them should be yet undetermined, he represents Rufus as of an impetuous, aspiring temper; so arbitrary in his dispositions, as to be capable of seizing all their possessions, which they had so dearly earned; and so cruel in his nature, that heaven had written his character in his looks: concluding, that they had gained nothing by the father's death, if the son should sacrifice those whom the father had bound. This speech had all the effect the speaker could desire; hostilities instantly commenced; each took arms in his own county, as had been already agreed; and Odo, seizing all the revenues of the county of Kent, carried them to Rochester, which he had strongly fortified, after having, in a particular manner, wrecked his vengeance upon the lands and tenants of the archbishop of Canterbury. The like success attended the first attempts of the conspirators in other parts of the kingdom. The bishop of Constance, and his nephew (Robert de Moubray) seized the castle of Bristol, from whence they made excursions, and ruined the estates of all who were of William's party. They next took Bath, and laid all the lands in that neighbourhood under contribution. The earls of Hereford and Shrewsbury had been very successful in raising the Welsh; and they, joined with their own tenants, over-run all the

Rufus throws himself upon his English subjects.

The rebellion breaks out.

A. D. 1088.

Entry of
the bishop of

country between Wales and Worcester. The good bishop Wulfstan, at this time, held that city for Rufus. Though he was greatly concerned at the calamities of his country, and though he had been sensibly provoked by Lanfranc and his clergy; yet, upon this, and all other occasions, he acted the part of a worthy prelate and Englishman: he refused admittance to the rebels; and, being forced to abandon the town, he retired into the castle. There he made a vigorous defence against the repeated assaults of the enemy, and with such success, that he killed five hundred of them in one sally, which obliged the rest to raise the siege, and make a precipitate retreat. The county of Norfolk was, at the same time, in danger of being quite lost by William: for Roger Bigot, having seized the castle of Norwich, committed great outrages upon the lands in the neighbourhood. Gretnesnil over-run great part of Leicester and Northamptonshire, and the castle of Hertford was seized by Bernard of Newmarket. But what most distressed the affairs of Rufus, was the defection of William bishop of Durham. This prelate had been so much distinguished by his familiarity and confidence, that he was the prime minister, and considered by Odo as the greatest obstacle to his rise under the new government; but, upon this occasion, he joined with the Norman faction, and raised all his great following in the north in arms; an insurrection the most dangerous, as the rebels depended upon ready support from Scotland.

The conduct
of Rufus.

William discovered a surprizing presence of mind and intrepidity, amidst the storm of civil commotion. Without flying into severity at first, he endeavoured to reason the heads of the rebellion into their duty. Of these the earl of Arundel and Shrewsbury was one of the most considerable. Finding means to hold parley with this nobleman and others, he represented his readiness to do every thing that might be for the ease of his subjects and the good of the nation. He told the earl in particular, that he and the other counsellors (Malmesbury calls them

tutors) should be judges how far he ought to go; and that, if they thought it equitable, he was prepared even to resign royalty itself. Finding that this unexpected compliance made an impression upon their minds, he artfully gave his discourse another turn: he seemed to be surprized what motive could prompt them to be untractable under his government. "If you want money," continued he, "my treasures are open to your desires; if greater possessions, you need but to speak, and command them: in short, let me but know your demands, and they shall be gratified. In the mean time, I am most concerned upon your own accounts, because this treatment of me calls in question my father's authority in disposing his crown, which must consequently affect that in disposing the estates you now possess."

A. D. 1088.

This discourse was so sensible, and so well timed, that it made a suitable impression upon the earl; and from that time he was reconciled to Rufus, who had now leisure to apply more vigorous measures. He published manifestos, by which he invited the (1) English to support his government; promising them again, that he would restore them to all their native rights, and grant them such other security to their liberties, as should be judged by themselves most equitable. This declaration soon disposed the English almost unanimously to favour the new government; and, besides the earl of Shrewsbury, William had found means to bring to their duty Hugh earl of Chester, notwithstanding his former connection with Odo, Robert de Roelent, William de Warren, Robert Fitz-haimon, with many other Norman noblemen, as well those who had been settled in England in the days of Edward, as those who had come in with the Conqueror. William having thus fortified his party, resolved to attack the enemy in that quarter where he had most to fear. Accordingly he made an attempt to surprize Rochester, where he thought Odo was; but he both found the town too well provided for a surprize, and that the prelate had retired to

William brings off the earl of Shrewsbury from the rebels.

The English assist him.

(1) This term of ENGLISH has given rise for Dr. Brady to imagine, that by it is meant Normans. As he supports his argument with great shew of reading and reasoning, it is of importance to canvass it. "The very titles of the Conqueror and his successors, plainly shew that the Normans, as well as Saxons, were called English, Gulielmus rex Anglorum; and so his sons, William, Henry, king Stephen, &c. nothing more frequent. In the Conqueror's general commission and precept for the restitution of lands to bishoprics and abbeys, which had been taken away by his Normans; Willielmus, Dei gratia, rex Anglorum, Lanfranco archiepiscopo Cantuar. et Goisfrido episcopo Constantiarum, et R. comiti de Eu, et Richardo filio comitis Gilberti, et Hugoni de Moneforti, suisque aliis proceribus regni Angliæ salutem, &c. Can any man think, that William esteemed himself king only of the Saxon English, and not of his Normans, that came with and after him? If the Normans were his subjects, as well as the Saxons or English, then certainly they were comprehended in the word Anglorum, and were reputed English Normans; nay, English without addition, by king William, and the transmarine Normans, and so understood by others at that time; and the direction of the writ to archbishop Lanfranc, the earl of Eu, Richard son of earl Gilbert, Hugh Montfort, and his other great men of the kingdom of England, makes it more clear; for these were all Normans, and yet, in the commission, called his great men of the kingdom of England, or English." This observation of the doctor's has very little weight; for, though the Normans were comprehended under the word Angli, yet, in the authorities from which we write, viz. all our old authors, there is, upon this occasion, a clear distinction made between the Angli, the old English and the Normans, or those who joined with duke Robert. But, though this observation might proceed from the doctor's want of judgment, yet somewhat falls from his pen, in a few lines, afterwards, which favours of something worse; for he quotes Simeon of Durham, saying, Convocare fecit Anglos et ostendit eis traditionem Normanorum. This quotation alone, had it been rightly translated, must have convinced an English reader, that the historian here makes a difference between the Normans and English; but the doctor, stifling the most material part of the quotation, translates it thus: "The king (meaning Rufus) calling together the English, asked them to help him;" instead of, "The king, calling together the English, laid before them the treachery of the Normans," viz. of those who, in his own kingdom, had joined with his brother Robert. The reader may, from this sample, have a taste of the manner in which the doctor has laboured this point. Mr. Tyrrel has fully confuted him, in his preface to the second volume of his history; but indeed the controversy was not worth while, since any reader, of common sense, will be better convinced by having recourse to the original authors, than by all the laboured commentaries of those two gentlemen, that, though Rufus had, upon this occasion, some Normans on his side, yet the people upon whom he principally relied, were the Angli, that is, the Old English; no matter whether they were noblemen or commoners, so as they could handle a sword in the field.

A. D. 1088. { Pevensey, another of his castles. William thinking the war would be half finished, could he secure this arch-rebel, leaving Rochester, marched to Tunbridge, another fort belonging to Odo, and summoned it to surrender. The garrison refusing to obey the summons, the English suddenly assaulted it. As it was well fortified for those times, it for some time made a vigorous defence; but at last surrendered upon terms, and the place was demolished by William's orders, who could not spare men sufficient to keep it. He then marched to Pevensey, where Odo had shut himself up, in daily expectation of being relieved by Robert, according to concert. Our historians are generally of opinion, that if the original plan between Robert and the conspirators had been observed by the former, the affairs of William in England must have been, at this juncture, greatly distressed, if not quite ruined; but Robert having made proper dispositions, knew not how to use them. Either through indolence, or the persuasion of those whom Rufus had found means to gain about his person, he fooled away all the season, and left his party to be sacrificed to his rival. For Odo being disappointed from day to day, seeing no probability of relief, and at last being compelled by famine, was obliged to surrender Pevensey upon the following disadvantageous terms: That the garrison should leave the kingdom, and never return but by the king's command; and that Odo should remain prisoner, and deliver up the castle of Rochester to Rufus. These conditions they all swore to perform; but it is probable that some had found means to escape to Rochester, and to inform the garrison of their ill success.

For Odo, undertaking to deliver up the castle, was sent forward by Rufus, with a small number of trusty officers, to receive and keep it; while he and his army, who had been greatly fatigued by the late siege, should march up at leisure. The garrison of Rochester was at this time composed of the flower of the Norman party in England. Three sons of earl Roger, and Eustace earl of Bulloign, with many other of the principal French and English nobility, had shut themselves up in it, all from a persuasion that Robert would make a speedy descent from Normandy. When the prelate came before the walls, William's officers called out to those within to open the gates, in obedience to the command of the king who was absent, and the request of the bishop who was present. Nay, Odo himself made a shew of joining them in the summons; but the garrison, either having a secret correspondence with him, or guessing at the compulsion he was under by the tone of his voice, and the manner of his delivery, suddenly threw open their gates, and took all the summoners prisoners, carrying along with them Odo himself. Nothing could have happened more favourable for William. The place was too strong, and too well provided, for him to hope to carry it by assault; he, therefore, halted with his army, and filling all Eng-

land with accounts of the prelate's and the Norman perfidy, issued proclamations for every man, who would not be deemed a nothing, that is, a coward, to join him. To avoid this reproach, the English flocked from all quarters to his standard. The castle and town were invested on every side, and the latter being taken, the besieged were obliged to retire into the former. So great a number pent into so narrow a space, soon occasioned such a mortality, that they were obliged to propose terms of surrender; offering to take an oath of allegiance to William, and to serve him ever after as their lawful sovereign. William, though secretly pleased with this proposal, affected to treat it with great disdain. This was politic; for he thereby laid the greater obligation upon the nobility he had in his own army, by afterwards yielding to their intreaties for their relations who were shut up in the castle, and struck the greater terror into the other rebels throughout England. We are told, upon this occasion, of a notable saying of his, which favours little of that barbarian he has been represented to be, by the ignorant or partial. For his nobility pressing him strongly in favour of their relations, he told them, "That leni-
" nity to perjured plunderers and execrable
" traitors, was depriving the innocent of
" peace and quiet, and sowing the seeds of
" calamities to the good and the virtuous." In short, at first, he breathed nothing but the severest vengeance upon the besieged, threatening to destroy them all; at last, he made a shew of yielding to the intercession of his nobles and clergy. He gave the enemy leave to enjoy life and limbs, and to march out of the castle with their horses and arms; but no manner of hopes that they should ever be reinstated in their fortunes. William, by this, made his clemency answer the purposes of his government; for his enemies, after so provoking a resistance, enjoying their lives, had the less handle to complain of the loss of their estates, which William now confiscated to his own use. As to Odo, he, with the other nobility who had surrendered, went over into France, where Robert made him lieutenant of Normandy; but all his great estate and possessions were now seized by Rufus, who bountifully rewarded those who had stood by his fortunes upon this occasion.

While Robert's friends were thus ruined in England, he himself, by an unpardonable indolence, was trifling away his money and more precious time, without attempting to transport into England the strong army he had got together. This gave Rufus an opportunity of fitting out a fleet, which he did with extraordinary diligence; and the coasts were now so well guarded, that he had nothing to apprehend from the intended invasion. This, together with the taking of Rochester, and the defection of the earl of Shrewsbury from the rebels, soon quelled the insurrections in all parts of England, except in the north; and tranquillity was now, in some measure, restored, without being attended by those sanguinary proscriptions

He takes Tun-
bridge,

and Odo in
Pevensey.

He attempts
to have Ro-
chester deli-
vered by
means of Odo;

A. D. 1088.

but is forced
to besiege it.

William's
saying.

Rochester
taken.
The terms.

The rebels
broken.

A. D. 1089. proscriptions and punishments too common after popular commotions.

Rufus unable to perform his engagements.

It is no wonder, if Rufus, to extricate himself from his late difficulties, had been more liberal of his promises to those who supported him, than suited either with his convenience or inclinations now to perform. Hence it was that, when archbishop Lanfranc mildly put him in mind of some obligations he was under, William answered with some heat, "Who is in a condition to fulfil all his promises?" This was a natural reply, however iniquitous it may have been, to one in William's circumstances: but the conduct he afterwards observed to that prelate, if what we are told is true, never can be excused; for authors say, that he could never, after this, afford Lanfranc a kind look. This, however, is inconsistent with what is agreed upon on all hands, that William, during the life of this archbishop, behaved with moderation; so great was the command which that prelate had over his passions. But Lanfranc soon after dying, left the king under less restraint; and authors now agree, that William's conduct was greatly changed for the worse. I am sensible what degree of credit ought to be given to original historians; but, at the same time, I shall ever take care to form a judgment of the princes they describe, from facts, and not from bold general assertions, which, if not supported by facts, must appear the effects of prepossession and bigotry.

Rufus keeps the bishoprics and church-livings vacant.

Reflection thereupon.

It is true, that, after the death of Lanfranc, and several other of the English prelates, Rufus kept the see of Canterbury, as he did that of Lincoln and some abbeys, for some time vacant, and put the revenues into his own pocket. This ecclesiastical demerit, without any other, would have been sufficient to have destroyed the lustre of the greatest political virtues with the historians who wrote his life. Such seizures carried with them the sound of sacrilege; a crime that ought never to be defended. But somewhat, perhaps, may be said, for alleviating a little of this censure. The necessities of William's government, and the situation of his affairs, made it necessary for him to employ every legal method for filling his coffers. Though bishoprics had been erected into baronies, yet they cannot be said to have been fees, so properly as benefices with military services annexed. A fee was hereditary, a benefice was not. The first went to the next heir, or continued in the family, upon certain conditions; a benefice reverted to the lord of the soil, and the military tenants were, during the vacancy, obliged only to escuage; like all other escheats, to the crown, of tenures in capite. How far Rufus, therefore, might think himself justified, if, pressed by the necessities of government, he made use of his signorial prerogative on such occasions, I shall not determine. One Ranulph was then his prime minister; he was a Norman clergyman, and is charged, by the historians of the times, with many vices. It is possible that most of the unpopular measures of that time might be owing to this minister.

Though this is far from excusing William, or any prince who is misled by a minister; yet we are to remember, that the measure of obedience had, for a long time, been looked upon to be the will of the prince: it is therefore meritorious in William, that we read of none of the crying inhumanities practised in the last reign; and that the whole charge against him lies in his seizing, for the use of his government, the revenues of churches, which, perhaps, he did not know how to fill with men who, he was sure, would not employ them against himself. The power of an archbishop of Canterbury he found, by recent experience, to be equal almost to his own: it was therefore a matter of the utmost consequence to him, and of difficulty in that age, to fill it with a proper person in the unsettled state of his government; and while that see was vacant, he, perhaps, thought the revenues could not be more properly applied than to the use of the public.

Having now got some respite, he proved himself to be as good a politician as a warrior: he knew the late rebellion was rather asleep than crushed: he was sensible he never should be without both foreign and domestic foes, while the rebels had Normandy, at once, for their support and retreat. The remains of the late conspiracy were still lurking in England; and in the north, there is reason to believe, the rebels were still in arms: for we learn, that, about this time, the bishop of Durham had fortified himself in that city; and, according to some authors, it cost William an expedition in person to subdue him. It is at least certain, that this prelate held out longer than the other rebels, and that he was reduced about this time by William's troops. Being now at perfect liberty, William formed a resolution not warranted indeed by Christian or fraternal piety, but well agreeing with the maxims which princes, who have worldly grandeur in view, make the rules of their conduct; it was, of stripping his elder brother, Robert, of his territories. For some time he concealed this intention, till he could make advantage of Robert's necessities. Public profusion ever begets public penury; and when luxury, at the same time, creates necessities, which wealth alone can gratify, the ministers and officers of a prince thus needy, and a court thus degenerate, are, in their stations, under equal temptations with the common ranks of men, when pressed by the necessities of nature. The success of the Normans in England, under so munificent a prince as William I, gave them a taste of life, which, like the Romans after the conquest of Carthage, ruined their empire and virtues at once; not by a gradual, but a headlong, course. In this they differed, at this time, from that great people: for the Romans, with the growing appetite of luxury, possessed the growing means of gratifying it; but the Normans, after losing the means, retained the appetite. They were now reduced to the narrow limits of a dukedom; the division of William's empire introduced an alteration of affections; where their treasure was, there were their hearts

A. D. 1090.

He extinguishes the remains of the rebellion.

He determines to invade Normandy.

Degeneracy of the Normans;

to what owing.

A. D. 1090.

A. D. 1090.

also; and finding it impracticable to reconcile their duties to both princes in both countries, each followed that course which interest dictated, or affections prompted. The Normans settled in England, and now in full and legal possession of estates, equal to principalities on the continent, soon came to look upon themselves as Englishmen; their affection for their native soil giving way to immediate interest, and the prospect of future greatness. The Normans, on the other hand, who were still in France, found terrible alterations in their circumstances.

Rufus guards the sea.

Robert, by his indolence and dilatory conduct, had lost the fairest opportunity for being what his father had been before. It is true, Rufus, wisely foreseeing that the possession of England depends on possessing the sovereignty of the sea, had manned a stout fleet, with which he guarded his coasts. Yet this, in the then barbarous state of navigation, would have little availed against an invasion from Normandy, had it been attempted with vigour and spirit. But Robert chose to do things by halves, which is ever the bane of great designs. Instead of embarking all his forces, he was contented to send over a few transports to the relief of Pevensey-castle, which were intercepted by William's fleet, and all on board destroyed. The rebellion being soon after quelled, and all the mighty hopes of his Normans vanquished into air, he found himself in the utmost penury. His circumstances were not unknown to William; but the latter chose to undermine before he stormed. Being now enriched with (1) sacred money, he corrupted Robert's needy noblemen. His first attempt was upon Walter, governor of the important castle and fort of St. Wallerie. Money making this officer a traitor to his prince, he promised to deliver them into William's hands. William's next attempt was upon the governor of Albemarle, with whom he was equally successful; and then he debauched the governors of several castles upon the sea-coast. Being thus assured of firm footing in France, Rufus continued his military preparations with great diligence. Having soon raised a fleet and army, he landed at St. Wallerie, which, according to paction, was delivered into his hands. The governor of Albemarle, who was Stephen, son to Odo earl of Champagne, next declared, that he held his castle and fort for Rufus, and fortified it at that prince's expence. Gilbert de Gourney next delivered up to William his fortresses of Gourney, Ferte, and Gailly-fontaine; and then Robert de Ou, Walter Giffart, Ralph Mortimer or de Mortuo-mari, and several others of the nobility declared in his favour. This defection, of so many great men, soon brought over to William's party almost all Normandy, on the north of the Seine.

Robert's distress.

Robert, at this juncture, found himself in great distress; his necessities had obliged him to treat his younger brother Henry with much injustice. After stripping him of all

his personal effects, he threw him into prison, hoping that Henry would purchase his liberty by restoring the mortgage he had obtained, or at least a part of it; but that prince, equally crafty and determined, had provided against the worst. He fortified the towns belonging to his mortgage, Cherbourg, Avranches, Constance, and other places; and, by his engaging qualities, found means to draw over to his party many of the nobility, such as Hugh de Avranches, Richard de Redvers, and others of the Contantin. These noblemen, assisted by Henry's great reputation, soon raised a considerable body of forces, which served as a kind of a flying army, equally to oppose Robert's encroachments, and William's invasion; but without declaring for either. Robert finding now his injustice to Henry ineffectual, set him at liberty; while William, equally enraged at him, disseized him of all his lands in England, which had been given to Robert Fitz-haimon. But Henry, still remaining neuter, became considerable, continuing still to fortify his towns, and take the necessary precautions for all events, by which means he got daily accessions of power and followers.

Henry's conduct. He fortifies his party and possessions.

William and his English were now in a manner masters of Normandy; his gold had unlocked the gates of their cities, and corrupted the faith of her inhabitants; so that he marched from place to place without controul. Robert, thus distressed on all hands, was forced to beg assistance from Philip king of France, as a superior lord of Normandy. That prince advanced with an army to relieve him, and both together besieged one of the castles which had been betrayed to William; but the latter had again recourse to gold, the engine which he had hitherto found irresistible. A large sum, privately and properly disposed, prevailed with Philip to raise the siege, and to make a retreat inglorious to so great a prince.

William, master in Normandy, bribes the French king to retire.

Robert, thus bereaved of his chief support, found himself, singly, no longer in a condition to oppose the invader. Rufus wanted now only the possession of Roan to complete his conquest of Normandy, or at least that part of it belonging to Robert; using, therefore, his experienced policy, he found means, by his gold, in that city, to form a faction, which promised to deliver it into his hands. At the head of this conspiracy was one Canon, a rich citizen; and the conspirators thought themselves so sure of carrying their point, that they used but little caution in concealing their designs, and thereby it came to the ears of Robert. The negligence of the conspirators saved him. He laid the whole before his brother Henry, who had not now a moment to hesitate upon breaking his neutrality, since it was now past all doubt that his ruin must quickly follow that of his elder brother. A reconciliation was instantly clapped up, the particulars being referred to future discussion. Henry then marching with a strong body of troops into Roan, came but just time enough to save it

Conspiracy to betray Roan to William.

Robert makes peace with Henry, who defeats the conspirators.

(1) Sacra pecunia locupletatus. Malmesbury.

A. D. 1091. from being delivered up; for the conspirators making head against him, a great many of them were cut in pieces before he could enter the city. At last he prevailed over all opposition, and seized Canon, who was the chief conspirator. To make this traitor's example the more striking, he was carried to the top of a high tower, from whence, according to our historians, he was thrown down by the hand of Henry himself.

Peace between Robert and William.

Its terms.

Henry abandoned.

It is probable this young prince's resolute conduct disconcerted the schemes of William, who relied for success more upon his purse than his arms; for we find him, soon after, keeping his Christmas in England. It is upon this occasion I should be inclined to fix the first peace concluded between Robert and William; for we are told, that in the year 1091, about the beginning of February, William again invaded Normandy, that he might relieve the castle of Curcy, then besieged by Robert, and entirely finish the conquest of that dukedom. It was here that terms of accommodation were proposed by Robert, which were found so advantageous by William, that he gave them a ready ear. A negotiation of this kind could not be long a secret from the penetrating brother. He knew, by the necessities and indolence of the one meeting with the spirit and ambition of the other, that his interest must be sacrificed; he therefore secretly advised his friends to be upon their guard, and was soon certainly informed, that he was to have no share of advantage or consideration in the approaching treaty. In the mean time, his two elder brothers finished their negotiation. The terms were extremely disadvantageous to Robert, but such as he was obliged to accept of. The duke was to leave William in possession of the county of Eu, the towns of Fetchamp, and Karsburgh now Cherbourg, with all the towns which had revolted from Robert to the north of the Seine, together with the abbey of mount St. Michael. In consideration of this, the king was to assist the duke in reducing the county of Maine, and all his Norman rebels; to restore the duke's adherents to their possessions in England, and to allow himself such a demesne there, as should be settled between them in a particular convention. Finally, a mutual entail of succession was agreed on, of the king to the duke, and the duke to the king, in case either died without heirs of his own body. Things falling out as Henry foresaw, he made a requisition of what he conceived to be his own right; but no regard being had to it, he again put himself in a condition to have justice by arms. His towns in the Contantin remained firm in his interest; but, in other respects, matters were greatly altered with him for the worse: for Hugh de Avranches, earl of Chester, a main support of his cause, finding himself and his friends fully reinstated in their English estates and honours, resolved not to risque them again; therefore, notwithstanding the great opinion he had of Henry, and the friendship subsisting between them, he yielded up the places and forts he possessed, into William's hands.

Henry had now no other resource but his own personal conduct, and betook himself to St. Michael's mount, as his last retreat. Here he shut himself up with some soldiers, who continued true to his fortunes; and from thence made several successful sallies upon the adjacent country.

The preliminaries of peace being, by this time, settled between his two elder brothers, the treaty was sworn to in form, by twelve noblemen on each side, in behalf of their respective princes; and soon after the reconciliation was personally completed, by an interview they had at Roan. It was there they resolved to besiege St. Michael's mount, and to reduce their brother Henry, whose genius they feared, to a state of utter insignificance and humble dependance. Accordingly, the season of the year permitting, their combined army laid siege, in form, to the fort, which they blocked up, so as to receive no supplies from the continent. Henry's resistance was brave and obstinate. The combined army lost a great number of men; and all Lent was spent, without their making any progress. William's natural vivacity made this obstruction very tiresome to him. As he was one day riding abroad, single and unattended, either to observe the dispositions of the siege, or for recreation, he fell in, before he knew, with a party of Henry's soldiers. Being endowed with personal strength answerable to his high courage, he thought himself invincible by a handful; and therefore, disdainng a retreat, which was yet in his power, with a more than romantic spirit, he spurred his horse against the whole troop. Before he had time to reflect, he had cause to repent. A trooper, brave and vigorous as himself, had the good fortune mortally to wound his horse (which had that same day cost him fifteen merks in silver) at the first encounter. The king was dragged, for a long way, on the ground by the foot, but happily received no hurt; and the soldier had his sword ready lifted to dispatch him, when William called out, "Hold, fellow, I am the king of England." Respect for the blood of their prince struck an awe into the whole party, and lifting the king, with great marks of submission, from the ground, they remounted him on another horse. William, finding himself safe, looked round him with great earnestness; "Where is the man, says he, who dismounted me?" Each being afraid to speak, all began to whisper; till the gallant trooper boldly thrusting himself forward, "It was I, sir, said he; I took you not for a king, but for a common man." "Then," replied William with a smile, and his usual oath, by St. Luke's countenance, "you are mine from this day forth; under me you shall serve, and be rewarded as you merit."

As this incident gives us an idea of William's character, another which happened at the same siege, and is recounted by the same author, justly describes that of Robert. The besieged, notwithstanding the vigour of their defence, perceived that they were reduced

A. D. 1091.
He seizes
mount St. Michael,

which is besieged by his brothers.

Adventure of William during the siege.

A. D. 1091.

reduced to great difficulties: they found an enemy in thirst more formidable than all the weapons of their besiegers. Henry, who knew the gallant disposition of his eldest brother, and his susceptibility of generous compassion, sent a message to Robert, laying before him how impious it was to deprive him of nature's common blessing; and how unmanly to win, by engrossing an element, that which he should owe to courage. Robert was touched by this message, and ordering the guards to slacken the blockade, gave Henry an opportunity of laying in what store of water he pleased. This soon came to the knowledge of Rufus, who, unacquainted with such delicacies, upbraided his brother with his ill-timed compassion: "You a warrior," said he, "and allow your enemy plenty of water!" Robert sought to turn it off by a jest: "If, replied he, I had suffered our brother to die for want of water, where should we have got another?"

Generosity of Robert.

William, however, disgusted with the tediousness of the blockade, suspecting a correspondence between his brothers, or pressed by the state of his affairs elsewhere, soon after quitted the siege, which was continued by the duke of Normandy, and, in all probability, passed some months in settling and visiting his new acquisitions upon the continent. The besieged, in a short time, demanded a capitulation, which they obtained on honourable terms; for Henry and his soldiers had leave to retire to what place they thought fit, upon their delivering up the castle to Robert. Odericus Vitalis informs us, that Henry, for some time after, retired into Brittany, being deserted by all his great friends, who dreaded the power of his two elder brothers: that he next retired into the French Veuxine, from place to place, wandering about, and attended by no more than one knight, a chaplain and three esquires. I am apt to believe, that this forlorn condition to which he was reduced, made his brothers believe they had nothing farther to apprehend from him; and that Robert's fraternal affection, and William's pride, made this state of humiliation but of short continuance: for we learn from Malmesbury and other historians, that both he and Robert, in the autumn following, went over into England with their brother William.

Mount St. Michael surrenders.

Distresses of Henry.

The affairs of the government in England, during William's absence in Normandy, began to wear a very gloomy aspect. Edgar Atheling had by this time returned to France, where he was nobly entertained by Robert. Malcolm king of Scotland, in the mean time, either hoping to make advantage of William's absence, or provoked by the intolerance of his lieutenants in the north, made great preparations for invading England. A period of four or five and twenty years is not sufficient for wearing out of the minds of a people the remembrance of their former state and dignity. Rufus seems to have been sensible of this. He conceived that Edgar Atheling might forward, and, underhand, encourage Malcolm's enterprize, in hopes of repossessing himself of the throne of his

ancestors. This thought alarmed him: he made it a point with his brother Robert that he should banish him his dominions, which he accordingly did; and afterwards William disseized him of all the lands he possessed in England. This obliged Edgar, now destitute of a livelihood, to go over to Scotland. The representation he made there of the injustice done him, incensed Malcolm, now grown old in the arts of government, and elated by a long train of success both at home and abroad, so much, that he redoubled his preparations, and invaded Northumberland with a great army. Meeting with no resistance, he over-ran a large part of the country, and carried off some booty; and was preparing to advance still farther southward. The English historians express some surprize, why Malcolm did not avail himself, from so fortunate a beginning, of his enterprize; for he soon after returned home, carrying along with him the booty he made, which was not inconsiderable. The Saxon chronicle seems to fix the first of Malcolm's expedition to the month of May, and the fixing it about this time is countenanced by Florence of Worcester's express words; but the annalist informs us, that Malcolm, after plundering the country, was beaten by an army of brave Englishmen, commanded by William's lieutenants. Florence of Worcester mentions no defeat; but says, it was the will of providence he should advance no farther. Be this as it will, I am apt to believe, that this invasion had great influence upon William's conduct in Normandy; for he seems to have taken no other care but to secure his new acquisitions there. The many differences he had entertained with his two brothers, gave him great pain, lest, upon his return, they should attempt any thing to his prejudice; he therefore put on an air of great complaisance to Robert. The late treaty, by which that prince was to be invested in certain lands in England, gave Rufus a plausible handle for carrying him along with him to take seisin of his new estate, which could be done only in person. Robert readily consented to this; and it was no hard matter to prevail with Henry to attend him. Accordingly, in the autumn, all the three princes set out for England, and William declared his intention of invading Scotland by sea and land.

The Scots invade England.

and return;

It is more than probable that Malcolm, who was then in England, foreseeing this storm approaching, withdrew his army into Scotland. Thither William, having given orders for a large army to be equipped both by sea and land, resolved to pursue him; but the autumnal and equinoctial storms overtaking his fleet, it was wrecked upon the coasts of Scotland, and most or all of the sailors and soldiers on board perished. Nor did the army commanded by William in person meet with a much better fate. The Scot had, according to custom, ravaged the country so entirely, that forage was wanting to horses, and food to men. This produced such a mortality in both, that when Rufus had advanced as far as Lothian, he found his numbers

A. D. 1091.

They invade Scotland;

but with bad success.

A. D. 1091. numbers greatly reduced, and himself unable to finish the mighty schemes he had projected. These distresses might have been fatal, had it not been for the wisdom and authority of Robert de Moubray, earl of Northumberland. For Malcolm, having suffered the enemy, without any opposition, to enter his territories, advanced against them with a numerous army, well provided in all the necessaries which the frugal, abstemious manners of his subjects demanded. Moubray, who had experience of Malcolm's abilities as a soldier, dreaded the event of a battle. There were connections between Edgar Atheling, and many of the English and Normans in William's army. Making the best use of these, Moubray privately applied to Edgar, and tempted him with the hopes of being restored to his estate in England, and of making terms equally honourable and advantageous for his brother-in-law Malcolm. Having nothing, equal to this, to expect from the Scot, Edgar undertook the negotiation, and a peace was concluded. The terms were, That Malcolm should yield obedience to William, in the same manner as he had done to his father: That William should restore to Malcolm twelve manors which the latter had held under the Conqueror, and pay him annually twelve merks of gold. It must be acknowledged, that this peace was far from being glorious to Rufus; and the less so, as, contrary to his interest and inclinations, he was obliged, by it, again to admit Edgar to his favour, and restore him to his estates.

A peace concluded.

Its terms.

The account of this peace from Vitalis.

Robert's generosity.

Caution to the reader.

Though the manner in which I have related this transaction is, I think, the most probable; yet Odericus Vitalis acquaints us with some circumstances omitted by other historians. He says, that Malcolm having as yet no obligations to Rufus, and having never recognized his right to the crown of England, refused to treat with any but Robert, to whom, as being elder, he thought he owed his fealty for his English possessions: that Robert and he having an interview, the Scot carried him to a rising ground, from whence he shewed him all his forces encamped, and offered, if Robert would give him leave, to kill his brother Rufus, and perform to him the fealty he owed as a homager to the crown of England. Robert had too generous a soul to agree to this. He told Malcolm, that he had resigned his pretensions of primogeniture; that he himself soon expected to be a subject of England; and that his best course would be to have a meeting with William, who he did not doubt would treat him with a regard suitable to his rank, and do him all the justice he could desire. The same historian, upon this, introduces Malcolm to Rufus, and makes them friends, after long and impertinent confabulation. Though these circumstances, in the main, are by no means disagreeable to the character of Malcolm and his court; yet we ought to be cautious of admitting for truth all that is delivered in favour of Robert by monkish writers, who were generally prepossessed in his favour.

NUMB. XXXV.

William now returned, with the shattered remains of his army, to England, attended by his brother and Edgar Atheling. Upon his return, he had the agreeable news of the conquest of the county of Glamorgan and Morganwye, by Robert Fitz-hamon, a Norman, and his subject. The history of his conquest is a melancholy proof how fatally civil dissention operates to subjection; and how dangerous it is for a prince to attempt to assert his right, by calling in a foreign power superior to his own. One Jestyn, the son of Gurgant, possessed, as is said, by rebellion, the territories of Glamorgan and Morganwye. A war breaking out between him and Reis ap Tudor, who was prince of South Wales, Jestyn, finding himself too weak for his adversary, resolved to apply to the English for aid. Accordingly he dispatched one Enion ap Kadivor, his son-in-law, a nobleman of great interest in the country, to solicit aids. Enion applied to Robert Fitz-hamon, a warlike Norman, whose estate bordered upon Wales. This service, of itself, being of too important a nature, he imitated the conduct of the Conqueror: he took along with him twelve knights, who were to serve under him, and share in the profits of the expedition. Having stipulated with Enion what their pay should be, Fitz-hamon and his twelve knights, with as many men as they could raise, set out. The names of the twelve were as follows: 1. William of London, or de Londres. 2. Richard Granvil. 3. Pain Turbervil. 4. Oliver St. John. 5. Robert de St. Quintin. 6. Roger Bekeroul. 7. William East-erling (so called, because he was descended from Germany) whose posterity were called Stradlings. 8. Gilbert Humfranvil. 9. Richard Siward. 10. John Fleming. 11. Peter Soore. 12. Reginald Sully. It was not long before both parties came to a decisive battle on Black-hill, where Reis was killed by the Normans, and Jestyn remained master of the field. Fitz-hamon and his knights, soon after, demanded from Jestyn their stipulated wages, which occasioned some dispute between the principal and his auxiliaries. Enion, who had made the bargain, was appealed to, and he gave it in favour of the Normans. Fitz-hamon, glad of this handle, and allured by the fertility of the soil, made a new agreement with his knights, to which Enion was invited; and, all together, they resolved to attempt the conquest of the country for themselves. In this they soon succeeded, not so much through their own prowess, as through the civil divisions then prevailing all over Wales. The country contained, in length, according to Stow, from Rimid-bridge on the east-side, to Palle-kinan on the west-side, seven and twenty miles; the breadth, from the haven of Aberthaw on the south-side, to the confines of Brecknockshire about Morley's castle, is two and twenty miles. The barren part of it was granted to Enion, and the fertile part divided among the twelve knights (whom he called his peers) and himself, on this condition; That they should hold their land, in

A. D. 1091.

Part of Wales conquered by Fitz-hamon.

He agrees with twelve knights for the conquest.

Their names.

They come to a battle with the Welsh.

They differ with their employers, the Welsh;

and conquer their country;

which is divided among the adventuring knights.

A. D. 1093.

A. D. 1093.

Camden.

fee and vassalage, of him, as their chief lord; to assist each other in common; and that each of them should defend his station in his castle of Caerdiff, and attend him in his court for the administration of justice. It is said, that many of the posterity of those knights are still settled in their estates there.

Differences
between Ro-
bert and Wil-
liam revive.

The news of this conquest could not fail of being very agreeable to Rufus, as it gave him a good barrier against a restless enemy. But he had not returned long to England, before he began to be strongly importuned, both by his brother Robert and Edgar, for performance of the conditions he had promised them. Rufus, either disliking their importunity, or willing to evade his obligations, or unable to fulfil them, put them off for a few weeks. This was so distasteful to Robert's vivacity, that he entered into a concert with Edgar Atheling, and two days before Christmas both of them went together on board their ships, and passed over to Normandy.

William forti-
fies Carlisle.

Camden.

We do not find that William was at all alarmed at their departure. He began now to look into the civil state of his kingdom; a duty which, through the multiplicity of his affairs, he had hitherto neglected. His first care was to provide as good a barrier as he could against the Scots. Carlisle, an important frontier town, had lain in ruins ever since it had been destroyed by the Danes two hundred years before. William resolved to repair it, and came in person to it for that purpose. It was then held, perhaps for the Scots, by one Dolphin; him William expelled, and built within the town a new castle, which at first he garrisoned with Flemings; but those Flemings were soon after transported towards North Wales and the isle of Anglesey, to make room for other inhabitants better acquainted with agriculture. It was owing to this care of William that the country thereabouts began to be cultivated, and that place ever after proved a strong barrier against the encroaching Scots.

Damfront puts
itself into
Henry's
hands.

We learn that about this time the inhabitants of Damfront, a strong sea-port town in Normandy, began to grow weary of their governor, Robert de Bellesem, and invited Henry, brother to Rufus, to take possession of their town. The young prince, who at that time stood on very bad terms with his brother the king of England, readily embraced the proposal, and took possession of the place, which was of great use to his affairs.

Uneasiness of
the clergy.

Towards the beginning of the year 1093, the clergy grew very uneasy about the long vacancy of the see of Canterbury, and renewed their solicitations to have it filled up; but William, who had a hearty contempt for the whole order, despised their remonstrances, till things were like to take a very serious turn, the clergy having ever great influence with the common people. At last, one of the nobility proposed Anselm abbot of Eec, as an unexceptionable man for filling up that see. While this proposal was under deliberation, Rufus fell ill, says Polydore, of

a salutary disease, and was carried to Gloucester. There his illness increased to such a degree, that his life was despaired of. This giving the clergy an opportunity of being much about his person, they gained so far upon him, that he was prevailed upon to fill up the archbishopric of Canterbury with Anselm, who was at that time in England, visiting his friend the earl of Chester in his sickness. The bishopric of Lincoln was at this time filled with Robert Bloet, William's trusty chaplain. The clergy seem likewise to have gained some other points during the king's weakness. His disease, however, taking a favourable turn, William soon began to retract his repentance. Anselm was a man very disagreeable to his way of thinking. Some part of the archbishopric of Canterbury had been granted away for lay uses; and William found, that, having granted him the investiture of his archbishopric, he should have some difficulty to refuse a revocation of the grants he had made, which he knew would be extremely inconvenient to his affairs at that time. Rufus, therefore, gave the clergy and all about him to understand, that he thought they had taken advantage of his weakness during his disease. He countermanded some part of what they had obtained of him, particularly with regard to certain prisoners who had been set free, and then fell into the same course he had held before his illness. This has drawn upon him a flood of censure from the pens of monks and priests; but as they speak only in general terms, without giving us any particular instances of civil oppression, it is the more to be disregarded.

In the autumn of this year, William, reflecting upon, and perhaps disdaining the dishonourable peace he had been forced to conclude, the year before, with Malcolm, again provoked that prince to an open rupture. For Malcolm, soon after William's recovery, coming to Gloucester, there to put the last hand to a perpetual friendship between the two nations, William refused to see him, before the Scot had done him homage, and submitted to the judgment of his barons in full court. It was in vain for Malcolm to represent, that it was unjust to demand this, since the terms of his tenure were, that he should do homage only as former kings of Scotland used to do, and as he himself had done to the Conqueror, that is, upon the confines of both kingdoms. William stiffly insisted on compliance to his demand before Malcolm should be admitted to his presence. The latter, who came with the most sincere dispositions to promote a good understanding with William, finding he could not have access to his person but upon dishonourable terms, in a rage left England. He was no sooner arrived in Scotland, than breathing vengeance for the affront done him, he raised a great force, with which, late in the year as it was, he invaded England with great fury. Robert de Mowbray was then governor of Northumberland; and raised what forces he could to oppose the invasion; but could not prevent Malcolm's

Malcolm in-
vades Eng-
land,

William's
haughtiness to
the king of
Scotland.

His injustice.

A. D. 1093.
and besieges
Alnwick,
where he is
killed, with
his son.

Bachan.
Boetius,
Camden in
Northum.
The account
which the
Scots give of
Malcolm's
death.

Death of
queen Marga-
ret.

State of Scot-
land at this
time,

Malcolm's laying siege to the town of Alnwick, which had been seized by the English. During the siege Moubay laid a scheme to surprize the Scotch army, which succeeded so well, that Malcolm and his son, prince Edward, both fell in the field. Their army, disheartened with the loss of their two princes, perished either by the swords of the English, or were drowned in the neighbouring river. The name of the person who is said to have killed Malcolm, was, according to the Saxon chronicles, Morel de Bæbbaburh. But the Scotch historians have given a very different account of this action. They say, that Malcolm having laid siege to Alnwick, carried it on so briskly, that the town was obliged to capitulate, and to offer to deliver up its keys to Malcolm. Accordingly, that prince being ready to receive them, they were presented to him by a Norman soldier upon the point of a lance; but the soldier, instead of delivering the keys, run Malcolm with his lance through the eye, which piercing his brain, killed him upon the spot. Prince Edward, seeing his father fall, called out to his followers to revenge his death; but was himself mortally wounded, and died in the attempt. In the mean time, the governor making a sally, the Scots were put to a total rout, and the royal bodies left in possession of the English. Being discovered, they were thrown into a cart by two country fellows, who carried them to Tinnmouth, where they were buried in the monastery; but were afterwards transported into Scotland. The excellent Margaret, queen to Malcolm, did not long survive this terrible blow; her grief sunk so deep into her, that she silently retired to a church, where she had the last offices of religion administered to her, and then pining for a few days, expired.

This defeat of the Scots promised a lasting tranquility to William's government in the north; but the politics of the Scots took a very different turn from what they had in the late reign. Two factions had subsisted under Malcolm; and nothing but his own resolution, and the wisdom of the good queen Margaret, could have prevented them from coming to a civil war. The one was composed of the English and their followers, who had been received and entertained by Malcolm, some of them holding large possessions in Scotland: with this party many of the Scots themselves sided, through the great influence which always attends the favour of a court. The other party was composed of the discontented Scots, who could not bear to see an almost total alteration in their old constitution, though for the better. The new arts of humanity they treated as servile; they loudly complained of the old inhabitants being dispossessed of their estates by foreign intruders, and driven from the favour of their prince by foreign councils; they exclaimed against the luxury which, like a deluge, had broke in upon their frugal manners, and threatened an utter extinction of that simplicity of life for which their ancestors were so eminent: in short, their pre-

tences for opposition were plausible, nay, in some measure, justifiable. Malcolm was sensible of this, and dreading the growing spirit, sought to temper it. His first course was to separate luxury from politeness; and for that purpose he instituted many excellent sumptuary laws, himself and his virtuous queen ever setting the first example of conformity. He then remitted some barbarous prerogatives his predecessors had ever claimed, and made his government one even tenure of justice and lenity. But, upon his death, all restraint being removed, the party in the opposition proved by far the stronger: for they called, out of the Orkney island, Donald Bane, the brother of Malcolm, who had come very little near the court in the last reign, and appears to have been considered as the head of the opposition; but the discontented now raised him to the crown, from a principle which mingled strongly with the constitution of Scotland, I mean, the preference of the collateral to the descending line. This prince began his reign by a popular, though unpolitic, measure; for he expelled the English settled in Scotland under his brother, and obliged them to apply for protection to Rufus, by the mediation of Edgar Atheling.

Rufus was too wise, not to perceive the great advantage which must arise to his government by this revolution. Donald had been imprudent enough to enter into a convention with the king of Norway, a prince, like his predecessors, averse to England, and ever meditating to distress her. The terms of this convention were, That the Norwegian should furnish the Scot with a body of troops for the support of his government; which was actually done; while Donald engaged to deliver him up the isles of Orkney and Shetland, to indemnify his expences. Rufus could not be easy at such an alliance: he knew of what importance it was to break it, and to get the government of Scotland over to his interest. Edgar Atheling, being uncle, and therefore guardian to Edgar, the eldest surviving son of Malcolm, had found means to carry the young prince into England, with the remaining part of Malcolm's family. Their residence there raised several cabals in William's court. Edgar was accused, before Rufus himself, of bringing his nephew and nieces into England with a view upon the succession. Such a charge, speciously urged, must have made a deep impression upon a sanguinary mind, such as that of Rufus has been represented; but he treated it with a noble contempt, and ordered the Englishman who impeached Edgar, having no evidence to support his charge, to be appealed to single combat, by a friend of Atheling, himself being now infirm through age, and unfit for action. The accuser fell in the dispute, and Rufus continued to treat the posterity of Malcolm with great regard and tenderness. The point, however, which he had to manage, was very delicate. Edgar was yet too young for government; and to have made Atheling regent, during his minority, would have

A. D. 1093.

Malcolm's
sumptuary
laws.

Donald Bane
succeeds him.

He expels the
English out of
Scotland.

Donald's en-
gagements
with Norway,

of great im-
portance to
England.
William's dif-
ficulties.

Edgar accused
at William's
court;

cleared by
combat.

A. D. 1094. have been extremely disagreeable to the Scots in general, as well as unsafe for Rufus.

The Scots impatient under Donald's government.

The Scots, by this time, began to discover the principles of Donald's government. Though they had expelled the English for invading their properties in the late reign, yet they found both their liberties and properties, under this, to be at the mercy of a more barbarous people, the Norwegians; and that it was designed, by Donald, to render their country no better than a province to Norway. For that prince, finding the kindness of Rufus to the family of Malcolm had revived the interest of the English party in Scotland, began to grow jealous that the old nobility designed to restore the succession to the right line. This jealousy broke out at first in some passionate reproaches, till, avowing his design of retaining the army of Norwegians for the support of his government, he utterly lost the hearts and affections of the people. Duncan, a natural son of Malcolm, then served in the English armies, under Rufus, with great reputation. His illegitimacy was no bar to his succession with a prince descended from a bastard. Duncan, therefore, applies to Rufus for assistance to mount the throne of his father. The state of Scotland at that time, and the introduction of the Norwegians, soon prevailed with William to gratify Duncan in his request.

He is expelled by Duncan.

A body of troops was granted him; and, upon his marching into Scotland, a general defection happened from Donald, so that he was again obliged to retreat to the northern islands. By this revolution, Rufus broke the alliance between the Scots and Norwegians; but Duncan, being inexperienced in all arts but that of war, soon lost his life through the hatred which his nobility bore him. We shall now return to the affairs of England.

Rhees, king of South Wales, killed.

In the year 1093, the line of kings over South Wales ceased in the person of Rhees, who was killed near Brecknock-castle. William, this year, kept his Christmas at Gloucester, and thought himself now secure, on all hands, both against foreign and domestic commotions; but he was surprized by an embassy from his brother Robert. Its purport was, to require William instantly to fulfil the terms of the treaty of Roan; otherwise, Robert would look upon himself as being absolved from all engagements on his part: and the ambassador concluded, by more than insinuating, that Rufus had been guilty of manifest perjury. The partiality of the monks to Robert, has kept us from knowing the true state of the difference between the two brothers. We are only told in general, that every thing was fair on Robert's side, and every thing unjust upon that of Rufus. Perhaps both were to blame; but, if William had been the unjust monster he is represented, the monks, ever faithful in recording the infamy of those they hated, would not have failed in transmitting some glaring particular, that would have more convinced mankind than loose declamation can. But, however the affair between the brothers

Quarrel between Robert and William.

may have stood, it is certain that William was exasperated to the last degree by Robert's reproaches, and formed a resolution of attacking him in the heart of his duchy. Though it was yet winter, yet he raised a great number of forces, which he marched to Hastings, about the end of January, where he lay wind-bound for a month. At last, about Mid-lent, he transported his army into Normandy. The peace, which had been concluded between him and Robert, was, as the reader may remember, sworn to by twelve barons on each part. As they were men of great power, their endeavours to prevent an open rupture between the brothers were so successful, that an interview between Robert and William was proposed and accepted. One interview proving ineffectual, another was brought about, but still to no purpose; and thus both parties remained the more exasperated through intercourse, Robert's barons loudly laying all the blame upon William's injustice.

A. D. 1095. William invades Normandy.

Two interviews between the brothers;

but unsuccessful.

The two brothers now proceeded to open hostilities. William had, on his side, great wealth; and Robert was supported by the king of France, whose interest it was ever to keep both of them at variance, without suffering either to become too formidable. The castle of Buers, being besieged by the king of England, soon surrendered, and its garrison was made prisoners of war. This seems to have been the only hostility committed this campaign on the part of William: for that prince, trusting to the experienced power of gold, began again to improve the degeneracy of the Normans to his own purposes. He opened his purse; and, by laying out vast sums in corrupting Robert's officers and governors, got into his hands many places and forts of importance, all which he garrisoned with his own soldiers. This threw all Normandy into a dreadful confusion. But an interest, acquired and supported by money, demands perpetual supplies. William began to find his treasures, great as they had been, were almost exhausted. Like his father, he had, for some time, made it a maxim, to avoid hostilities, while his affairs could be managed by treaty or corruption. I am apt to believe, that his diffidence of the English, with whom he had not been over-scrupulous in keeping his word, contributed not a little towards this conduct; money, therefore, was of more use to him than men. But the English had been severely taxed for the sums he had already laid out; their patience was no longer to be tampered with, and yet there was an absolute necessity for an immediate supply of money. Ranulph, who was prime-minister and high-treasurer of England, undertook this affair. Orders were issued out for levying twenty thousand men, and a general muster was appointed at Hastings. The troops were soon raised; and, as the soldiers were to go upon a foreign expedition, the several barons or knights, under whom they had been raised, furnished each man with ten shillings, towards defraying the expences of the campaign. Thus there were, in the hands

They come to hostilities.

Rufus corrupts the Normans.

His stratagem to get ready money.

A. D. 1094. hands of the soldiers, about ten thousand pounds in ready money, answering to near two hundred thousand pounds now. All of them having repaired to their rendezvous, the minister, in a general muster, acquainted them, that the king, his master, had more occasion for their money than for their services; and that their going might be dispensed with, upon each man paying into the hands of the government the money he had received for his subsistence. The army, whose livelihood, and that of their families, depended chiefly on agriculture, were glad of the alternative, and paid their money into the treasury.

The army pays its subsistence-money into the Exchequer.

Robert's progress in Normandy.

About this time, matters were going but very indifferently for William in Normandy. Robert, and his auxiliary French, laid siege to the town of Argenton, and took it, the garrison, which consisted of eight hundred men, surrendering themselves prisoners. Soon after, the castle of Holme, which was held for William by William Peverel its governor, met with the like fate, and the garrison surrendered at discretion. These successes discouraged William: he shut himself up in the city of Eu, waiting for supplies of money from England. His situation, at this time, appears to have been very distressed. The confederate armies were every where masters in Normandy; and Robert had formed a plan of putting an end to the war, by besieging his brother, and taking him prisoner in Eu. It was in this untowardly state of William's affairs, that he received the seasonable supply of money from England. The use he made of it was, to detach the king of France from his brother's interest; which he did so effectually, that he withdrew his army from that of Robert at Langueville, to which they had advanced, in their way to the siege of Eu. This disconcerted all Robert's schemes; he was now unable to make head against his brother, and forced to retreat. A variance having happened, about this time, between Robert and Henry, William thought of bringing the latter over to his interest. Accordingly he sent to Damfront, where Henry then resided, to invite him to an interview; but, as he would have been obliged to have passed through some part of the Norman territories belonging to Robert, the journey was found impracticable. William, upon this, sent Hugh earl of Chester, with a squadron, to bring him by sea. But we do not find that they met upon this occasion; for they set sail for England, and landed at Southampton.

William buys off the king of France from his alliance with Robert.

Difference between Robert and Henry,

who goes to England.

This might have been owing to the stress of weather, or to the situation of William's affairs; for, after he had made such dispositions as must infallibly have ruined Robert, he was obliged to pass over to England, where a general insurrection was threatened. The inhabitants of North Wales had taken up arms, and reduced a castle in the isle of Anglesey, belonging to William. This success encouraged them so much, that an alliance was entered into by Griffith ap Conan, the prince of North Wales, and Cadogan, a nobleman of great interest in South Wales; by

The Welsh rebel,

which both of them joined their forces, and resolved to fall upon the English possessions. Accordingly they carried fire and sword into the county of Cardigan, where a great many of the Normans were settled, and had been guilty of the most provoking insults and injuries against the Welsh; who amply revenged themselves on this occasion, by putting numbers of them to death. However, finding no subsistence there, they were obliged to return to their own country. The Normans took the first opportunity, in their absence, to solicit a new supply of troops, which was accordingly sent them from the southern parts, and a plan was laid down for making a sudden irruption into North Wales. This matter, however, was not so secretly managed as not to come to the ears of the vigilant Cadogan; upon which, this nobleman placed a body of troops in the forest of Yspys, through which he knew the enemy must pass. It was not long before they appeared, fatigued with their journey, and doubtful of the country. The Welsh, then giving them leave to advance to a disadvantageous spot, set upon them with horrible outcries; and, though the English and Normans defended themselves with great bravery, most of them were cut in pieces, and the rest obliged to make a precipitate retreat. Cadogan, not contented with this, pursued his blow, and again attacked the English possessions, besieging and taking all the castles thereabouts, excepting that of Pembroke and Dyvet. He then returned, in great triumph, to Powys, the place of his residence. This success of Cadogan encouraged the Welsh in general to take up arms, and to attack the several possessions of the English upon their frontiers. Accordingly, all Cheshire, Shropshire, and other bordering counties were filled with ravages and slaughter, under Griffith ap Conan, and the sons of Blethyn ap Conwyn.

A. D. 1095.

and defeat the Normans and English.

William was alarmed at their progress, and, notwithstanding his fair prospect in Normandy, came over in the latter-end of the year 1094, or the beginning of 1095. The first thing he did, was to raise an army, with which he proposed to enter Wales. In his march thither, he rebuilt the castle of Montgomery, which the Welsh had demolished, and then pursued his march into Wales itself. But the enemy wisely made use of the advantage of their situation: they kept close in their fastnesses (in which it was impossible for William to force them) and very often harassed and cut off his troops by sudden onsets; so that he was obliged, after great loss to no purpose, to make an inglorious retreat.

William comes to England.

Marches into Wales.

But is obliged to retire.

William, during this troublesome situation in England, began to reflect upon the state of his concerns in Normandy; and, after making up all matters, and reconciling all differences with his brother Henry, he sent that prince over to act as his lieutenant in Normandy. But, about this time, a conspiracy, against the life and dignity of William, broke out, which required all his personal and political abilities to crush.

He is perfectly reconciled to Henry.

A. D. 1095.

Conspiracy of
Moubray, and
other Norman
English, a-
gainst Wil-
liam.

The Normans settled in England began, by this time, to consider the quarrels in which William was engaged on the continent as tending to exhaust England of her money and best troops. They now began to consider themselves no longer as Normans, but as Englishmen; and, during William's absence, they entered into many cabals about a total revolution of government. Private animosities mingled, as there is reason to believe, with their public considerations. Robert de Moubray thought his merit, in defeating the Scots, had been but ill rewarded. As he had great power and interest in the North, his discontent soon infected William earl of Eu, Gilbert de Tunbridge, Roger de Lacy, and Hugh earl of Chester, who was a man timid by nature, ever meditating new matters, but without resolution to effect them. The late attempts and invasions of the Scots were of great use to the conspirators; it gave Moubray a pretence of building many forts, of laying up large magazines, of raising troops, and making other military dispositions, in appearance to oppose the Scots, but in reality to favour his own designs. William, suspecting this excess of public spirit arose from private views, sent several messages to Moubray, requiring him to moderate his expences at a time when the crown could so little bear them. Moubray, however, with some shew of reason, represented, that the precautions he took were for the security of his own estate, which had cost him so many labours to acquire, and which he had hitherto held with so much success and loyalty; that the castles he fortified belonged to his own earldom; that they were manned by his own followers; and that if the crown was at any expence, it was no greater than was absolutely necessary for so important a service. William easily perceived the tendency of this evasive reply, and lost no time in forcing the conspirators to an explanation; but resolved to do it in the most legal and constitutional manner, so that all the sound part of his subjects might perceive and applaud his justice. For he kept his Easter court in Winchester, to which all the great barons were obliged to repair upon summons. Among the rest who refused to attend was the earl of Northumberland. Rufus, not chusing at first to proceed to extremities, required his attendance on the Whitsuntide following, at a court or parliament which he was to hold at Windsor; certifying him at the same time, that if he did not comply, he would proceed against him with all the severity of law. When Whitsuntide came, Robert was still absent from court; but sent an apology, on pretence that the king had denied him a safe conduct, and hostages for his return. This was a frivolous pretext; it was treating with his sovereign on the footing of independency, and the stale demand which all bold rebels, either before or since, have used, to justify rebellion. Had Rufus granted such conditions, he would, in effect, have bound himself up from enquiring judicially into

The earl of
Northumber-
land re-
fuses to attend
the king's
court.

Robert's conduct, since, had he been found guilty, his hostages and safeguard protected him from punishment.

A. D. 1095.

By this time the conspirators had agreed upon the plan of the revolution, and had determined to raise Stephen earl of Albemarle, the grandson of the Conqueror, to the throne of England. It does not appear that, at the first breaking out of the conspiracy, William was acquainted with this part of their plan; but, considering Moubray's refusal as an act of rebellion, he immediately ordered out commissions for a general array, and raising a large army, marched with all expedition towards the north. Some authors, Matthew Paris in particular, inform us, that he sent before him his brother Henry, provided with a large sum of money, and with orders to destroy the estates of Moubray; but of this, I think, there is little appearance in other historians, who seem to agree, that Henry, at this time, was in Normandy; and therefore I am inclined to believe there is an error in the (1) press, occasioned by the negligence of transcribers. Moubray was not unprovided to receive the king; for he had taken care to fortify Newcastle upon Tyne, Bamborough, and Tinmouth, all of them naturally very strong, and well provided for a defence, together with many other smaller forts. We do not find that Moubray made any attempts to oppose Rufus in the field; his forces were not only unequal for that; but the designs of the conspirators appear before this time to have taken air, and many of them to have been secretly reconciled to William, who met with no resistance till he came to Newcastle, which he besieged. But finding it too well provided for a defence, after losing two months before it, he suddenly assaulted a smaller fortress in the neighbourhood, and took it. This was of great use to his affairs, because within that castle he made a great many of Moubray's best officers prisoners, who had been placed there, under his brother, to defend it. Though this is called a distinct fortress, by our historians, from Newcastle; yet it seems to have been of the utmost importance towards its defence. I believe it to have been Tinmouth, Newcastle being obliged, soon after to surrender. Rufus then marched for Bamborough-castle, in which he had information Moubray had shut himself up; but in this march he very narrowly escaped being cut off with all his army. For Moubray had taken his measures so well, as to place a strong body of troops in a defile through which the king must pass, and where he could have little or no resistance; but Gilbert de Tunbridge, one of the principal conspirators, who had been entrusted by Moubray with the secret of this ambuscade, touched by the remembrance of former favours, found means to apprise William of his danger, and thereby saved both the king and his army. Rufus, now full of rage, advanced against Bamborough, to which he laid siege. This was a very strong place; and, by Hoveden, who lived near that time,

The conspi-
rators intend
to make the
earl of Albe-
marle king.

Strength of
the rebels.

Brompton,
Simeon of
Durham.

William taken
Newcastle.

He is in great
danger.

Saved by Gil-
bert de Tun-
bridge.

He besieges
Bamborough.

(1) Misit fratrem suum Henricum in Northanhumbriam (perhaps for Normanniam). Matt. Paris.

A. D. 1095. is thus described : " Babbe, or Bamborough, " says he, is a very strong city; not exceed-
 " ing large, but containing two or three
 " acres of ground. It has one hollow en-
 " trance into it, which is admirably raised
 " by steps. On the top of the hill stands a
 " fair church, and on the western point of
 " it is a well, curiously adorned, and of
 " sweet and clear water." Rufus, after re-
 peated assaults, found he could not become
 master of this place; he therefore turned
 the siege into a kind of a blockade, and run
 up a tower opposite to it, which he called
 Malvoisin, or Ill-neighbour. Having put a
 large garrison into this tower, he himself
 set out for the southern parts, where his af-
 fairs now demanded his presence. Upon his
 departure, Moubray leaving his trusty stew-
 ard Morell to command Bamborough-castle,
 went towards Tinmouth-castle, one of the
 strongest forts in that age, and thus described
 by an ancient author mentioned by Camden :
 " It is seated, says he, on a very high rock,
 " inaccessible towards the ocean on the east
 " and north, and elsewhere so well mount-
 " ed, that a slender garrison will make it
 " good." Moubray, while he was here,
 happened to tamper with some of the Nor-
 man soldiers left by William in the garrison
 of Newcastle. The trusty Normans amused
 him with hopes, that if he would appear,
 with about thirty followers, before New-
 castle, they would give him admittance into
 the place, and then join with him in ma-
 stering it. Robert fell in the snare, while
 the Normans acquainted the garrison of
 Malvoisin to way-lay him in his march
 from Bamborough, from whence he was to
 draw those he selected as his attendants in
 his enterprize. No sooner, therefore, was
 Moubray set out, than the garrison of Mal-
 voisin got between him and the castle of
 Bamborough, and pursued him. Moubray
 perceiving this, made what haste he could
 to reach Newcastle; but in vain. He was
 obliged to take refuge in the monastery of
 St. Oswin, near Tinmouth; but, according
 to the right reverend editor of Camden,
 within the very castle. If this be the fact,
 his pursuers must have entered along with
 him at the same time into the castle, which
 is far from being improbable. But what-
 ever may be in this, he made a brave resist-
 ance, till most of his followers being cut to
 pieces, and himself wounded in the leg, he was
 forced to fly into the church itself, till that time,
 ever deemed a sanctuary; but the enemy hav-
 ing no regard to that, drew him from thence,
 and put him under a close confinement (1).

and builds
fort. Malvoisin.

Moubray
taken.

Bamborough
taken.

Rufus, hearing of Moubray's fate, order-
 ed him to be carried before the castle of
 Bamborough, which still made a vigorous
 defence under Morell. No sooner did the
 earl appear before the fort, than it was de-
 clared to Morell and his countess, that un-
 less they would instantly deliver up the castle,
 his eyes should be put out before their faces.
 This daunted them so much, that they
 agreed to a surrender, which gave the finish-
 ing blow to all the hopes of the conspirators.

(1) From this narrative it appears, either that Tinmouth-castle had fallen again into Moubray's hands, or that the garri-
 son gave him voluntary admittance into it.

Morell was brought prisoner before Rufus A. D. 1095.
 himself, and in full court impeached many The rebellion
 both among the clergy and laity, of being crushed.
 confederates in the late rebellion, thinking
 himself absolved from all his engagements
 by their failing to perform what they had
 concerted. Rufus lost no time in seizing the
 accused; some were shut up in prison, and Punishments
 others, for political reasons were dismissed; on the conspi-
 but few put to death. Moubray himself rators.
 was ordered to be carried prisoner to the
 castle of Windsor, where he remained all
 his life under confinement. William earl of Upon the earl
 Eu was the year following impeached, in of Eu,
 a great council held at Salisbury, by Godfrey
 Raynard, of high-treason, and being privy
 to the late conspiracy. The accused claimed
 to be cleared by duel, which was granted
 him; but happening to be overcome by the
 impeacher, he was held as sufficiently con-
 victed, and, by William's orders, his eyes
 were put out, and himself rendered incapa-
 ble of future generation. William de Al- and William
 dery was soon after tried for the same treason, de Aldery.
 and found guilty. This nobleman was re-
 lated both to the king and to the earl of Eu.
 He is highly praised, by Malmesbury, for the
 gracefulness of his person, and his magnani-
 mity in suffering death, which he did, after
 being severely whipped, but protesting his in-
 nocence to the last. This seems to be the only
 instance of injustice which happened in all
 the punishments attending this conspiracy.
 Nor indeed are we to wonder, that, in so
 complicated an affair, where so many in-
 terests clashed, one innocent person should
 suffer among the guilty. Odo earl of Cham-
 paign, and Philip, son to Hugh earl of
 Shrewsbury, being found to be deeply dipped
 in the same measures, were committed to
 prison, and deprived of their English estates;
 while a few, whose names have not come to
 our hands, were put to death at London; and
 the earl of Chester dismissed, after being fined
 and reprimanded.

Upon the return of Rufus from his expedi-
 tion to the North, he found that the Welsh,
 encouraged by their late successes, had been
 guilty of several inroads upon the English.
 They had taken the castle of Montgomery,
 and put to the sword many of the soldiers
 belonging to the earl of Shrewsbury there
 garrisoned. Though it was now the end of
 September, yet William, irritated, not daunt-
 ed, by his late ill success in their country,
 and by their recent violences, resolved again
 to attempt their reduction. Another army
 took the field, and he put himself at its
 head. Advancing towards Wales, he sepa- William's ex-
 rated his troops, lest, marching all in a body, pedition into
 provisions might be wanting. The general Wales,
 rendezvous was appointed at Snowden, a
 high mountain in Caernarvonshire. But the
 Welsh finding, by late experience, the wis-
 dom of standing upon the defensive, had
 again intrenched themselves in their inacces-
 sible passes, and bad defiance to all the
 power of England. In vain did Rufus at-
 tempt to bring them to venture a general en-
 gagement; they were prudent enough to con-

A. D. 1095.
successless.

History of the
great differ-
ence between
William and
Anselm arch-
bishop of Can-
terbury.

Anselm's
avarice.

Schism at
Rome.

tinue in their first resolution; and the English, after great loss of men and horses in attempting to take the passes, were once more obliged to return ingloriously home.

We now come to an incident fruitful of many reflections, upon the immoderate power of the church in this reign, and the inability of the civil magistrate to curb the ambition of the Romish see. As it related more to the state than the church, I shall consider it in the light of a civil transaction; the rather as the dispute was properly between two princes, William king of England, and Urban pope of Rome. Our historians, who were most or all of them monks and churchmen, have indeed disguised the truth of the controversy, by representing Anselm archbishop of Canterbury in the mildest and most favourable light; but enough has perspired from themselves to convince us, that upon this occasion William acted like a king and a man, and Anselm like a priest and a traitor. William, as we have seen before, had, during an illness, been tricked into making this prelate archbishop of Canterbury. As this was the highest rank to which any subject could, at that time, be raised in England, the public necessities required a large demand of money from Anselm; but William, with great indignation, found, that he offered no more than five hundred pounds. He represented, that so small a benevolence from the first subject of the kingdom would be so bad a precedent, that he should find it extremely difficult, if not impossible, for him to raise as much money as would supply the indispensable necessities of government. Anselm, who knew that the benevolence he offered was extrafeodal, and that therefore William neither could nor durst insist upon more than he in good-will was pleased to pay, refused to advance any more. Upon which, Rufus, in a passion, bid him be gone, and carry his money along with him. Anselm took him at his word, and could never after be brought voluntarily to furnish any money to the government. A schism at this time happened in the church of Rome, two prelates equally pretending to fill that see. Odo bishop of Ostia was owned as pope of Italy and France, under the name of pope Urban II; while his competitor, Gilbert archbishop of Ravenna, under the name of Clement III, was abetted by several other powers, and, among the rest, by the king of England. William's differences, in points of ecclesiastical oeconomy, had risen to a considerable height with Anselm; but still without being attended by any threatening circumstances. But the affair of the pope was a matter not to be slighted, as, in the manner Anselm behaved, it affected the royal prerogative; for, after several disgusts which the archbishop had given the king, he demanded of him, after his return from Normandy, leave to go into Italy, that he might receive his pall from the hands of pope Urban. William, who had never acknowledged this pope, treated the bishop's proposal with great indignation. He asked him, how he, who was the sworn subject and liege-man of his crown, durst

presume to acknowledge any other pope than was owned by his sovereign? Adding, that his predecessors never had taken so much upon them; and that to acknowledge a pope without his licence, was the same thing as tearing from his head the crown of England. This was a speech well worthy an English monarch; it discovers how sensible William was, that the power then usurped by the popedom, actually made royalty no better than a shadow; and that he was resolved to make one noble effort towards emancipating his crown from the most dangerous of all tyranny, that which strikes at once at spirituals and temporals. Anselm, with prevaricating averments, told his sovereign, that he thought his sentiments, while he was abbot of Bec, were not unknown; and that he had then acknowledged Urban as sovereign pontiff. But William, who had no concern with his sentiments when abbot of Bec, thought he had a right to his obedience now that he was archbishop of Canterbury; and told him, with great good sense, that fidelity to his crown was inconsistent with his recognizing a pope not owned by his sovereign. The usurpations of the Roman pontiff, in those days, upon the temporal concerns of princes, were too notorious for Anselm not to perceive the drift of William's discourse, which seemed to point at the absolute independency of his crown and people upon the see of Rome. The priest was struck, and acknowledging he was not then ripe upon the subject, besought the king to defer the consideration of it till a convention of the states, both spiritual and temporal, should determine whether the duty he owed to the pope, and that to his prince, were compatible or not. Adding, that if it was found they were not, he would chuse to repass the seas, and resign his archiepiscopal character, rather than withdraw his obedience from Urban, whom he looked upon as the true head of the church.

The affair now came to a crisis; and William summoned all the nobility of England to meet, about the beginning of March following, at the castle of Rockingham in Northamptonshire. The meeting was held on a Sunday, about one o'clock in the afternoon, in the chapel of that castle. Strong cabals were formed by both parties; but, as I have already observed, the bishops of England were now temporal peers, and as such owed their fealty to their king. On the other hand, so great was the power of the church of Rome at that time, in matters of government, that the king's power as sovereign, and theirs as barons, were looked upon as only subordinate to the pope; and both together, as forming an intermediate state between him and the people. When this is the case, the people have ever been apt to look upon the intermediate state with an evil eye, and to treat it as the instrument of all their oppressions, being without discernment to judge from whence their sources rise. The popes of Rome appear ever to have been sensible that this was the disposition of the vulgar in all nations; and, by their

A. D. 1095.
William re-
quires him to
disown pope
Urban,

which he re-
fuses to do.

A meeting of
the states at
Rockingham.

Reflection on
the see of
Rome.

A. D. 1095.

A. D. 1095.

Anselm's ob-
stinacy.

His motives.

their variance with those kings who had the spirit to oppose their encroachments, she ever found the vulgar ready to shelter themselves under their name and authority. Thus the question came to be, at the parliament of Rockingham, between the king of England and a tool of the see of Rome, favoured by an ill-judging vulgar. For Anselm, before the assembly sat, having procured a meeting of all the clergy, and such laics as were most likely to favour his cause, demanded how far they would stand by him in the obedience he owed to the head of the church. The meeting, whose interest it was to support the royal authority, then flourishing through the late defeat of the conspiracy, unanimously advised him to throw himself upon the king's mercy, and to refer the whole to his pleasure; assuring him at the same time, that they would, in that case, support him to their utmost, and give him their best advice. Anselm was not able to prevail with them to declare in his favour, and the meeting adjourned to the great council, which was put off till next day. Anselm again addressed them, as he had done the night before; and, upon receiving the like answer, he declared, (1) with saint-like carriage, in a hypocritical speech, that he was resolved to render unto Cæsar what was Cæsar's, and to God what was God's; and, if he could, to perform his duty to the vicar of Christ, and to his sovereign: as if the claims of either could have admitted of the least reconciliation. The assembly perceiving this obstinacy, promised to represent his sentiments to the king; but Anselm, unwilling to trust them, prevented them, and declared them in person to Rufus in the most glossing terms. William was exasperated to the highest degree, and represented to the assembly, "that Anselm's conduct tended to deprive him of his crown, as it tended to deprive him of the old prerogatives due to its dignity. He then required of them to support the honour and independency of England, since they had promised to concur with him in punishing the archbishop, unless he would, in the first place, renounce his obedience to pope Urban, and comply with the king's will, and ask pardon for whatever he had done to oppose it." Both William, Anselm, and the nobility were perhaps sensible all this time in what point the controversy must at last terminate; but the king, thinking that the interest of the peers

naturally led them to support his prerogative, and having assurances that they would, imagined that they would come to such vigorous resolutions, as should intimidate Anselm from demurring, as an archbishop, to the jurisdiction of that court over him. Anselm, on the other hand, supported by the favour of the vulgar, and relying on the great reputation which the see of Rome then bore in the world, imagined that the bishops would be deterred from proceeding to severities, and, by passing sentence in his favour, save him from putting the issue of his cause on his right of appeal to the see of Rome, which, were it over-ruled, might have proved of dangerous consequence both to the pope and himself. The prelates, in the mean time, finding what a difficult game they were likely to have, did all they could to soften Anselm's spirit, and to bend him to the king's pleasure; but to no purpose, though they charged him with the breach of his oath of fidelity to the king. For Anselm, like a dissembling traitor as he was, demanded till next day to consider of an answer, and said, that his reply should be according to what God should put into his heart. Next day being come, Anselm finding the nobility still insisting on a submission, and dreading lest they should proceed to sentence, should he longer delay to enter his last plea, gave them this remarkable answer: "Whoever will maintain, that because I will not renounce my obedience to the chief bishop of the Roman church, therefore I break my oath of fidelity which I owe to my temporal prince, let him come forth, and, in the name of God, he shall find me ready to answer him as I ought." The nobility found that this was the prologue to a deeper scene, and therefore were a good deal disconcerted. They returned to the king, and, upon consultation together, they found very plainly, that Anselm's intention was to stand upon his privilege as archbishop of Canterbury; and to plead, that he could be judged or condemned by none but the pope; and that to him alone he was answerable (2).

Declines the
judicature of
his peers.

This detestable maxim had, through the weakness of our kings, the compliance of their nobility, and the craft of the pope, taken too deep root, and was considered as a principle of government. William, however, had spirit enough to represent its unreasonable consequences, and how destructive they were of all civil power. His reasons

(1) Mr. Tyrrel, from Eadmerus, represents Anselm's behaviour and speech in the following terms: — Upon this, Anselm, lifting up his eyes to heaven, made them another speech to this effect: "That, since they had all refused to give advice to him who was their chief, unless he would act according to the humour of one single person, he would, from thenceforth, take counsel of him who was the supreme pastor, and head of them all: for Christ said to Peter, the chief of the apostles, 'Upon this rock will I build my church, &c. Likewise, to all the apostles in common, He who heareth you, heareth me; and he who despiseth you, despiseth me, &c. These things, as they were chiefly spoken to St. Peter, and in him to all the other apostles, so we also hold them to be spoken principally to the vicar of St. Peter, and through him to all other bishops who were to succeed the apostles; and not to any emperor, king, duke, or earl; but, in our subjection, to secular princes, the same Christ hath taught and instructed us, saying, Render unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, and unto God the things that are God's. This I approve of, and receive, and will never depart from. Wherefore, know all of you in common, That, in those things which belong to God, I will yield obedience to the vicar of St. Peter; and, in those things which concern the dignity of my earthly lord and king, I will, according to the best of my capacity, give faithful counsel and assistance."

(2) In the mean time, there arose a great murmur among all there present, complaining of the injury that was done to so great a man; though none durst speak openly for fear of the king, one knight excepted, who coming out from the crowd, and kneeling down before the archbishop, said, "My lord and father, your suppliant sons desire you, by me, that you would not be troubled at those things you have heard; but be mindful of blessed Job, who overcame the devil even upon the dunghill, and revenged Adam, whom he had overcome in paradise." Which words the bishop received with a pleasing look; for he thereby understood that the people were on his side.

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had weight with some, and he again required them, according to their promise, to judge and condemn him. William bishop of Durham, who was the chief manager of their contrivances, either unable or unwilling to make any positive reply to the king's reasons, demanded leave, in the name of the rest, to consider till to-morrow of what he had given them in charge. Being returned next day, they told Rufus, that they had maturely deliberated on the case; but that they found an unsurmountable difficulty to condemn the primate not only of England, but of Scotland and Ireland. That though they were sensible he was in fault, yet they could by no means pass sentence on his crime. William, at once embarrassed by, and disdaining this timid distinction, asked the prelates, as they acknowledged the archbishop to be guilty, why they could not renounce all friendship with, and obedience to, him, as archbishop? This they readily complied with, and, in obedience to the king's command, performed it directly. Anselm was startled at this step of the bishops, as it evidently pointed to his destruction. William had wisely considered, that the bishops, by renouncing their obedience to him, had, in effect, reduced him to the footing of a private man; and, as such, it would be easy for him to bring the prelates one step farther, and to condemn him; since the person, to whom they did not owe obedience, could not be said to be their metropolitan.

Abandoned
by the bi-
shops.

Anselm easily foresaw this to be the tendency of what they had done, and took great care, by an artful reply, both to soften them, and to preserve his credit with the public: he told them, that, however they renounced their friendship and obedience to him, yet he would continue to live with them in all paternal and brotherly affection; and that, though the king had disowned him as a spiritual father, yet he would still continue to tender him all ghostly counsel and fatherly care; and concluded with declaring, that he was resolved to retain the power, title, and office of archbishop of Canterbury, whatever sufferings he might undergo on that account. So artful a reply had different effects, according to different interests and opinions. When it came to William's ears, he foresaw its tendency, and required his lay nobility to follow the example of the prelates, and to renounce their obedience to Anselm as archbishop of Canterbury.

The craft of
Anselm.

Mistaken con-
duct of the
lay nobility.

But the lay nobility, at this time, had very different sentiments from the prelates; they were by no means displeased at Anselm's obstinacy in refusing to open his purse to the king's excessive demands. The difficulties which William met with in this affair, instructed them in their own importance, and it gave them a secret satisfaction that they had now an opportunity to exert it. They were, therefore, weak enough to set a precedent which lasted to after-times, that they might gratify an instantaneous and momentary interest: for they told the king, they could not, with any consistency, withdraw their obedience from a man to whom they

never owed any, as they were never sworn liegemen to Anselm. That, if the king meant the duty they owed him as their spiritual father ought to be withdrawn, they could not consent to that, since, whatever differences he had with the court, he was still archbishop, and in matters of religion the chief within the kingdom, nor as Christians could they disown him to be so. The relation of this controversy is a remarkable instance how far interest will influence men, contrary to their professed duties and inclinations in other respects. The prelates, enjoying a temporal as well as spiritual power, knew of what importance their compliance was to their possessing the first, under a prince resolute to support the civil rights, disdainful of pontifical encroachments, and laughing at all those pretences of holiness which had then thrown all Christendom into a temporal as well as spiritual bondage: they knew that, to assert the high claims of the church, under such a prince, must affect their own importance in the state; and wisely considered, that he was much more able to annoy, than the pope was to protect, them. For this reason they came into his terms; and, had they been supported by the temporal nobility, the most daring and pernicious encroachment of the see of Rome would, at that time, have received an irrecoverable blow in England. But the temporal nobility took the thing in another light; they wanted a counterpoise to the regal power; not considering how unnatural it was to throw in a weight, which, by daily acquiring more and more importance, must soon overset the balance of civil government, so that, even though they should add themselves to the regal scale, they would be unable to preponderate the interest they now laboured to establish. Thus, from an ill-timed jealousy of William, they lost the best opportunity they ever could have had, of securing the nation and themselves against a yoke, under which they soon after groaned.

The motives
on which the
bishops went,

different from
that of the
lay nobility.

William, finding the lay nobility resolute in their answer, had great reason to suspect that Anselm, underhand, had promises from them to support him; he therefore expressed no resentment at their behaviour. The bishops, however, seeing how well the archbishop was supported, and that the king would not venture to disoblige the temporal nobility, began to fear, lest William closing with the latter, they should find themselves abandoned on all hands. They were not mistaken. The king sent for the noblemen, and offered to act by their counsel. This brought the bishops to close with the nobility at the same time, and all endeavoured to make up matters. Anselm, demanding the king's leave and safe conduct to leave England, was prevailed on to stay; and a truce between the king and him, for some weeks, was agreed upon, by the mediation of both states of the nobility.

Difficulties of
William.

In the mean time, William found his schemes entirely disconcerted: he had sent over two clerks of his chapel, William and Gerard, to enquire into the state of the double election to the Romish see, with orders, that

A. D. 1095. that they should apply to that pope, who to them should appear to have the right, for a pall to the archbishop of Canterbury, but without mentioning his name, because William, from the dispositions of the clergy, hoping that, by the time this pall was obtained, Anselm would be deprived of his bishopric, thought he could then confer the pall on whom he pleased. The two delegates, finding Urban had the right, prevailed with him to send along with them into England, Walter bishop of Alba, together with the pall. This prelate, having his instructions upon his arrival in England, took no notice of Anselm; but went directly to court, and acted with so much address, that William was convinced he had instructions to be entirely in his interest; and the people in general began to think, that William's money had prevailed at the court of Rome. All this time, Anselm, who was probably in the secret of the pope's intentions, made no stir, and seemed to be quite resigned to the pleasure of the king. This conduct, on all hands, wrought so much upon William, that he actually declared for Urban, and ordered his authority, as sovereign pontiff, to be owned in his dominions. Having gone thus far, he thought it was time now for the legate to advance towards his views, and therefore proposed, that Anselm should instantly be deprived of his archbishopric. But the politic Italian, having brought William to the point he wanted, told him now, that it was impracticable to pass any such sentence upon an archbishop, unless he were guilty of somewhat more flagrant than any thing yet laid to his charge. William was surprized, ashamed and vexed; but perceiving himself thus the dupe of those he hated and despised, and that he could neither effect what he wanted, nor retract what he had done, found himself under the mortifying necessity of speaking a language, and acting a part, foreign to his heart. The time for the truce agreed upon, now being almost expired, the king summoned the archbishop to meet him at his court at Windsor, upon the feast of Pentecost. Between the summons and the time of the meeting, the bishops laboured all they could to bring this prelate to give the king, at least, some excuse for a reconciliation between them. They came at last to propose, that Anselm should make the king a present of as much money as it would have cost him, had he been obliged to have demanded his pall in person at Rome (1). But the obsti-

nate prelate refused even this; and the king saw himself reduced to admit him to the exercise of all his functions, and even to an outward shew of favour. Nay, though the pall had been sent to the king himself, or at least obtained by his request, Anselm refused to accept it from the king's hand; but took it from the high altar of Canterbury, on which it had been laid by the legate. I shall here finish the history of this transaction, which, as I have observed before, is purely civil. It may give the reader a notion of the great power and refined policy of the church of Rome at this time, and shews how difficult a part even the greatest kings had to act in any difference with that see.

A great scene opened upon the continent in the year 1096, which, affecting the history of England, and having great consequences with regard to this nation, must not be omitted here. A hermit (one Peter, a man of no judgment, a heated brain, and bold enthusiasm) having performed a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, was so much affected at the sufferings of the Christians there, that, upon his return, he went about, preaching up the merit of delivering them, and applied to pope Urban himself. This pope soon conceived how useful such an undertaking might be, towards establishing and propagating the authority of his chair; and promised Peter the hermit, in general terms, that he would assist him in his pious proposal, whenever opportunity should offer. A council being held this year at Claremont, in which the pope assisted in person, he took that opportunity of making a long speech, representing the great power of the Saracens, and how destructive it was to Christianity; with the great merit that would attend a general attempt, among all Christians, to humble them, and, above all, to rescue out of their hands the sepulchre of Jesus Christ. A speech, like this, suited to the romantic humours of those times, could not fail of making deep impressions; and so industriously was the doctrine propagated over all Europe, that an association of illustrious adventurers was soon formed, who all of them engaged in the pious enterprize.

Robert duke of Normandy, about this time, found his affairs greatly embarrassed. Though he was upon good terms with his brother, yet his former indolence and luxury had reduced him to such mean circumstances, that he depended on his nobility for a precarious subsistence. This produced a

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Anselm's farther obstinacy. He is restored to all his power.

Reasons why Robert engaged in the crusado.

(1) The speech of the prelate, on this occasion, so well discovers his character, that I cannot forbear setting it down, in Mr. Tyrrel's words, from Eadmerus. — Now the day drawing near, in which this forementioned truce was to expire, the king sent messengers to summon the archbishop to come to his court at Windsor, at the next feast of Pentecost, which he obeyed; but, after his coming, there flocked to him almost all the bishops of England, who were set on to try whether they could bring him to give some money for obtaining the king's favour; but they finding him in this point as inflexible as ever, they desisted from that proposal, and only desired him, since he would give nothing to make his peace, he would briefly tell them what he was resolved to do. To which he replied, He had already told them, that he would never put such an affront upon his lord the king, as to shew all the world that his friendship was to be bought with money; yet, if he would love him, gratis, as his spiritual father, and permit him to live quietly under the obedience of pope Urban, he would then faithfully serve him as his king and lord; but, if he refused this, he desired his safe conduct to the sea-side, and then he would do what he understood was his duty. But when they asked him, whether he had any thing more to say, and he had told them, no: then they further insisted, that the pope had sent the pall by his legate to the king, and therefore he should do well to consider what return to make him for so great a benefit, which he could not have otherwise obtained without many dangers, much trouble, and great expence in a journey to Rome, all which he now saved. This the archbishop also put off. Then they pressed him, that he would, at least, give the king as much as the journey to Rome would have cost him, lest he should be accounted ungrateful; but, when he bid them desist, for he would give nothing at all upon that consideration, they ceased all further discourse about it, and left him to follow his own resolutions.

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total disregard of all government, and rendered Robert so weary of his state, that he resolved to change it for any other. William had, either by gold or arms, got possession of upwards of twenty forts lying within the duchy of Normandy, and had debauched from their allegiance to the duke many of his principal subjects, such as the earls of Albemarle and Mellant, with Gerard de Gournay, Ralph de Conchis, Walter Giffard, Philip de Brause, Richard de Curcy, with many others. Robert resolved to engage in the expedition to the Holy Land, which was the most ready and honourable way he could think of to rid himself of his present difficulties. But it required a large sum to fit him out according to his quality, and to make a figure equal with the other noble adventurers, who were Hugh, Philip the king of France's brother, Godfrey duke of Lorrain, Raimond count of Thoulouse, Robert earl of Flanders, Stephen earl of Chartres, Baldwin and Eustathius, brothers to duke Godfrey, Stephen earl of Albemarle, Boamund of Puglia, a Norman, and Stephen earl of Blois, with many other illustrious persons, too tedious to name. His brother William was the most likely hand to supply him, and indeed the only one to whom he could apply. His demand was an immediate advance of ten thousand marks of silver, for which he offered to mortgage his duchy of Normandy for three years. Rufus looked upon the mortgage, upon such terms, as next to property itself, and engaged to raise the money. But England had been so exhausted of late, and the time of raising it was so short, that he met with great difficulty in doing it. However, as the English possibly thought that the uniting the kingdom and the duchy under one head might prevent William's expensive expeditions into France, even the gold and silver ornaments of their churches were broken in pieces to raise this sum; which being paid, Rufus took possession of Normandy, while Robert pursued his expedition.

He mortgages Normandy to William.

William's wars with the king of France,

Rufus having passed over to France in person, thought himself now a match for that king, and made a demand of the French Veuxine, with Pontoyse, Chaumont, and Mante. This demand not being complied with, the year 1096 passed in mutual acts of hostility in France on both sides, till the state of William's affairs in England disposed him to a reconciliation, which being effected late in the year, he kept his Christmas in Normandy, and arrived next spring in England; where the first thing he did was to call a court, or parliament, at Windsor, to deliberate on the measures to be pursued against the Welsh.

That people having, by their late successes, in some measure recovered their independency, had chosen Cadogan for their principal leader; and had, in several incursions greatly distressed the Norman nobility, who had been placed as wardens upon their borders. William resolving to chastise them, with the advice of his nobility, raised a great army; and, by the assistance of some Welsh de-

and with the Welsh.

serters whom he had gained over to his interest, advanced into the heart of their country, in hopes of making himself full amends for all his former miscarriages and disgraces there. But the Welsh had recourse to their old policy; for finding themselves unequal to the king in the field, they carried every thing, on which he could subsist, into inaccessible passes: and though the deserters guided the king quite through the heart of their country, where he put to the sword all the Welshmen he met with; yet he lost, through hunger, many more of his men than he could destroy of the enemy. At last, disappointed, weakened, and vexed, he was contented with building some fortresses on the borders of that country, and to retire ingloriously home about the end of July.

The affairs of Scotland at this time took a turn, which William wisely improved to his own advantage: for the Scots finding that Duncan, who had been raised to their throne by the arms of England, was under engagements to William, and that he behaved with a very high hand, again called in Donald, and put Duncan to death. This prince, as I have already observed, was by no means agreeable to William, on account of his connections with Norway, and was opposed by a strong faction at home, who favoured Edgar, the eldest son of Malcolm, the late king. That prince was now of an age for government, and had secret invitations from his party to assert his right; with assurances, that the whole nation would declare for him as soon as he should appear in person in the kingdom. Neither Edgar nor his uncle Edgar Atheling, chose to venture themselves entirely unguarded; but being determined to make an effort, they applied to Rufus for a small body to countenance their designs. Rufus, who was acquainted with the dispositions of young Edgar, knew that gratitude, for the kindness he had shewn him, would bind the Scot to his interest for ever after, granted him more troops than he demanded; and, to oblige him the more sensibly, put them under the command of Edgar Atheling. This service appears not to have been very difficult, since it succeeded under such a general. Edgar was restored to the throne of his ancestors; the usurper died in chains; and William's family found, in the restored prince, a faithful and a useful ally ever after. This revolution I am inclined to fix to the year 1097.

State of Scotland at this time.

At this time, archbishop Anselm, taking the king's behaviour, in disposing of church property, amiss, sought leave to go to Rome, which was refused him. William, at the same time, certified him, that, if he presumed to leave the kingdom, and go to Rome, without his leave, he would seize all the revenues of his archbishopric. Anselm, however, obstinately insisting on going, William thought it prudent rather not to oppose his going, than give him absolute leave; and therefore gave him the alternative of either swearing he would never again appeal to the pope (which would have been a very favourable precedent to the state) or instantly

History of Anselm and William's differences continued.

A.D. 1097. instantly to depart the kingdom. The turbulent prelate chose the latter, though by no means agreeable to William's views. At last, the archbishop went to Dover, where all his baggage was searched by the king's order; and from thence he went over to the continent.

True state of the fact.

But though the favourers of this prelate have softened their relation, both by blackening the king, and disguising facts; yet the true ground of the quarrel between William and Anselm, upon this occasion, did not regard spiritual but temporal concerns. The archbishop, as being possessed of a great fee, was obliged to furnish the king with a certain number of men whenever the latter took the field. This William demanded, not as a matter of benevolence, but of right. At the time of the late Welsh expedition, the prelate had been so backward in his supplies, not only as to the number, but as to the provisions and warlike accoutrements of his men, that William could not help reproaching him with it when he came to court, and threatened to have him tried by his peers for his deficiency. The prelate, whose real design was to render himself entirely independent of the civil power, could not brook being called to an account in his prince's court, and recriminated upon William the little concern he shewed for ecclesiastical discipline, especially in his delaying so long to convocate a synod. William, on the other hand, pretended, perhaps with some reason, that his affairs had not suffered him to take the necessary measures for that purpose; and that, as it was an exercise of the royal prerogative, Anselm could not excuse himself from answering in court, by pleading any such omission. Notwithstanding all those provocations, it appears that Rufus was very backward in coming to extremities, till he was forced upon them by the stiffness of the prelate.

Negotiation between the pope and William.

Towards the end of November, in the year 1097, Rufus passed over to Normandy, where he received letters from the pope, requiring him to replace Anselm in the see of Canterbury, and to restore to him all the lands and privileges his predecessors had ever enjoyed. It appears that this prelate had made bitter complaints to the pope from Lyons; in particular, that Rufus had given the lands of his archbishopric to his knights, and that he was treated with greater severity than any of his predecessors had been, and that the burdens imposed upon him were intolerable. The defence which Rufus had to make, and no doubt did make, to those charges, has not come to our hands, through the partiality of the monks who have transmitted the history of those times. But it is plain, that, admitting Rufus had deprived the prelate of some part of his lands, he did no more than was justifiable by the feudal law, when the feoffee fails in the performance of those terms which are the conditions of his tenure. As to his being burdened with more services than any of his predecessors had been, that was a shameful piece of sophistry, since he had

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but one predecessor, who was Lanfranc, who ever had enjoyed the lands of the archbishopric in the nature of a fee, and therefore had never been subjected to any military services at all. At the same time that the pope wrote to William, Anselm wrote likewise, and both dispatches went by the same courier. William, who was heartily exasperated against his archbishop, and not a little at the pope, for entertaining and encouraging him, made great difficulty in receiving the packet from his holiness; but absolutely refused to receive that from Anselm. The courier himself happening to be a domestic of the archbishop, and therefore a subject of England, was ordered instantly to depart his dominions, which if he did not do, William swore by the face of God, he would command both his eyes to be put out.

This spirited behaviour, so worthy of a king of England, incensed both the pope and the archbishop to such a degree, that a resolution was taken at Rome of excommunicating William. He knew the consequences of this resolution too well to trifle with it; and though he had disdained to return any answer by the archbishop's messenger, yet he this year sent William Warrelwast to Rome, to manage his affairs at that court. This ambassador was received with great haughtiness by the pontiff; for after Warrelwast had laid before him the justice of his master's proceedings, the pope asked him, Whether Anselm had been guilty of any thing else, in his episcopal capacity, than appealing to the holy see, and coming to Rome without the king's leave? Warrelwast, having no instructions to enter upon any of the charges brought against him as an English baron (which indeed would have been very improper before a foreign judicatory) answered, that he had nothing else to charge him with there. "Wonderful! replied his holiness; and have you travelled so many leagues to tell me this? Begone, begone instantly; charge your master, in the name of St. Peter, and under pain of excommunication, to restore archbishop Anselm to all his rights, and to inform me of his resolution before the meeting of the next council, or be assured he will then receive the doom he merits." The ambassador, however, being a man of sense and address, easily perceived there were other methods to gain the favour of his holiness. He insinuated he had some private instructions from his master; and by delaying his departure from day to day, he formed so powerful a party among the cardinals, that the farther consideration of Anselm's complaint was put off from Easter to Michaelmas.

William threatened with excommunication.

which his ambassador wards off.

While William continued in Normandy, England was afflicted with great scarcity and inclement seasons. A bridge had, before that time, been built over the Thames; but being of a slight structure, was carried away by the floods. A resolution was taken to rebuild it in the same place, where it now stands, in so durable a manner, as to be proof against the like accidents in time to come. This cost an immense sum, and was

Reasons of burdening the English with taxes.

A. D. 1098.
Westminster-
hall built.

Stow.

Invasion of
Wales under
the earls of
Shrewsbury
and Chester.

laid on the subjects as a tax. About this time, likewise, Westminster-hall was first built, and remained, till the days of Richard II, a noble monument of William's magnificence, it being the finest Gothic room in the world. The high idea which this prince had of grandeur, may be conceived from what fell from him, when, upon his return from Normandy, he kept his feast of Whitsuntide in this hall. For some of his courtiers admiring the vastness of its design, and the beauty of the building, could not help expressing their surprize; on which, William, looking round him, told them, That what they now saw was no better than a bed-chamber, in comparison of the pile he meant to erect. And a historian tells us, that a diligent searcher might yet find out the foundation of the hall which he had purposed to build, stretching from the river Thames even unto the common high-way; but these vast designs in architecture, while they adorned the kingdom, impoverished the subject. The tower of London is another instance of this prince's magnificence, he having surrounded it with new walls, at a vast expence to the nation.

Rufus spent the year 1098 entirely in Normandy, and in reducing to his obedience the city of Mans, and the province of Maine. During this time, some of the Welsh, discontented with the new model of their government, invited into their country Hugh earl of Shrewsbury, and Hugh earl of Chester. These noblemen, with many others, thinking a fair opportunity now offered of being revenged for all the losses their king and country had suffered, through the obstinacy of that people, raised a great army, with which they marched into North Wales. It is possible their success here might have been as indifferent as that of William was before, had they not entertained a correspondence with some of the principal Welsh in the army of Griffith ap Conon and Cadogan ap Blethyn, who opposed them. The Welsh, therefore, finding themselves unable to resist the invaders, and their leaders not daring to trust their own men, were obliged to retire, and suffer the enemy to advance as far as the isle of Anglesey, where they built the castle of Aberlhiennawc. The two Welsh princes, however, fearing that all the island might fall into the hands of the earls, went over into Anglesey, and sent to Ireland for succours, leaving behind them Edwin, who was father-in-law and chief counsellor to Griffith, at the head of a body of forces, in Wales. But this nobleman being in concert with the invaders, instead of marching his army to join the two princes, betrayed it to the earls. Griffith and Cadogan, struck with this treachery, fled over to Ireland; while the earls exercised the most inhuman barbarities upon the inhabitants of the isle, not only plundering them of their effects, but dismembering all who fell into their hands, some of their hands

and feet, and some of other members. It would appear, however, that there was at this time some correspondence between the Irish or the Welsh and Magnus, son to Olave king of Norway. For this prince having, partly by compact, and partly by arms, acquired the islands of Orkney and Man, appeared off the coast of Anglesey with a squadron of ships, and attempted to make a descent. Being opposed by the earls, a dispute ensued, in which Magnus, with his own hand, shot the earl of Shrewsbury through the body with an arrow. Notwithstanding his death, the surviving earl beat the Norwegians back to their ships, and they were obliged to set sail, without effecting any thing to the purpose. The earl of Chester, however, finding the inhabitants to be of a stiff, untamable nature, and sensible that he could not keep the island, carried back his forces to the main land, leaving the traitor Edwin to keep the castle of Aberlhiennawc and to act as his deputy in his absence.

William having finished his affairs in Normandy, returned, a little before Whitsuntide in the year 1099, to England. Here, while he was taking the diversion of hunting in the New Forest, a messenger came to him in great haste, and told him, that the city of Mans was beleaguered by the earl Hely de la Fleche. Notwithstanding William's earnest application to business for fifteen months before, and his being now engaged in his favourite diversion, upon the messenger's telling him, that the castle could not stand out unless it was immediately relieved, he ordered the courier to return directly, and assure the besieged, he would be with them in eight days. Then, with his usual vivacity, he demanded of his followers, how the castle of Mans stood from the spot he was then upon? Being shewn, he turned his horse's head, and rode directly to the sea-coast. His attendants more than guessed at his intention, and seemed to approve his resolution of dispatch; but intreated him to wait till suitable provisions were made for his journey and enterprize. But William gave them no other answer than, That they who loved him would follow him. Dartmouth was the next sea-port town; being arrived thither, they found no other accommodation for their passage over, than a crazy vessel, the sea rough, and the weather tempestuous. The master of this vessel being ordered to set sail, he represented he could not, without almost unavoidable destruction. "Set sail," replied William; "didst thou ever hear of a king that was drowned?" None daring to dispute his peremptory command, he arrived next morning at Barfleur in France. He then dispatched summonses through all Normandy, for his officers to repair to his standard at Mans; but the enemy, surprized at this prodigious dispatch, raised the siege, after a few skirmishes, and made a precipitate retreat, in which the earl of Fleche was taken prisoner (1). Being brought into

A. D. 1099.

The earl of
Shrewsbury
killed.

Instances of
William's re-
solution.

William's pe-
remptory ex-
pedition.

Earl Hely
taken pri-
soner.

(1) Ponte transito obsessores anotita ejus fama defiliunt. Author turbarum quidam Helias capitur; cui ad se adducto rex ludibundus, habeo te, magister inquit. At ille cujus alta nobilitas nesciret etiam in tanto periculo sapere, humilia loqui; fortuito inquit me capisti, si possum evadere novi quid facerem. Tunc Willielmus præ furore fere extra sepositus, et obtuens

A. D. 1099. William's presence, the latter could not help reproaching him for his conduct, not without a mixture of insult. But the earl fiercely replied, "That he had but little cause for triumph, for an advantage owing not to valour, but to fortune. Were I but at liberty once more, continued he, I know what I should do." William was glad of this opportunity to make amends for his insult on so brave a man; "And what would you do, sir, said he, were you at liberty? Haste! be gone! fly! you are at liberty to do what you will; and, by the face of St. Luke, continued he, if ever it shall be your chance to conquer me, I shall demand nothing for this favour." "His actions," says Malmesbury, equalled his words; and he dismissed his foe, with admiration of his valour, rather than enmity to his person. William, continues the same excellent historian, was not a man of letters, and therefore we cannot suppose, that, in this action, he followed a like instance of magnanimity recorded of Julius Cæsar, by Lucan. No, it was the effect of his own generous, uninstructed sentiments; they were such as were born with him; but, were there any ground for the Pythagorean transformation, we might be tempted to believe, that the soul of Cæsar informed the body of William."

Comparison between William and Cæsar.

Those words of this great writer are well worthy, unobserved as they have hitherto been, of our reflection. William, like Cæsar, found a Pompey in the person of his brother Robert; like him, he paved his way to empire, partly by arms, and partly by an excess of liberality, which put him upon violating the most sacred repositories of religious wealth, for compassing and supporting his measures. Like Cæsar, he rewarded his veterans with the lands of his subdued foes; and, like him, William never left till tomorrow, what was possible to be done to-day. There existed in both, the same noble contempt for all the fopperies of religion; the same disregard for superstitious omens; the same genius for works of architecture, equally useful as magnificent; the same weakness to their friends; the same indulgence to their enemies; the same passion for pleasure, when it did not break in upon business: and William's passage between Dartmouth and Barfleur, equalled Cæsar's attempts to pass from the Anio to Brundisium.

Ranulph first minister.

His character.

Rufus returned to England about the end of September. The great bishopric of Durham had been vacant for some time; but was now bestowed upon Ranulph, who had long acted as first minister in England. This person, from a mean original, advanced himself, by the boldness of his measures and the fluency of his tongue, to the most considerable post in England, that of being high-steward of the kingdom, or an officer of the

same nature. He is accused, by our historians (Malmesbury especially) of doubling the impositions which his master laid upon the subjects, of pillaging the rich, oppressing the poor, and of invading other men's property. Little can be said for William's virtue in employing and supporting such a man; but it appears he was a very useful minister for his purposes, and shews how good a judge William was of mankind, since it appears, that this prelate always found means to supply his necessities, and that too without exasperating the people into rebellion. But, it seems, the oppression so much exclaimed against, as I have already hinted, fell chiefly upon the clergy; for we learn, that the king, after Anselm's departure out of the kingdom, had at one time, besides the see of Canterbury, the bishoprics of Winchester and Sarum, with eleven abbeys, and all their revenues, in his own hands.

We must not here forget, that this year is distinguished by the taking of Jerusalem by Christian arms. Robert duke of Normandy, being deemed the most illustrious adventurer, as well as greatest warrior, in the whole expedition, was elected to be king of Jerusalem by the voices of the confederated princes. But the high reputation he had gained, made him hope that it would be no difficult matter for him, now that the mortgage of his duchy was expired or expiring, to get possession of the crown of England; he therefore declined to accept that of Jerusalem. Upon which, Godfrey of Bulloign (a prince of inferior rank, but superior virtues) was elected, and, while he lived, governed with great piety and wisdom. I am apt to believe, that Robert's declining this honour was attended with very fatal effects to his interest ever after; such was the reverence of those times for unprofitable royalty.

In the year 1100, William entered on a scheme worthy his high mind. The taking of Jerusalem, and the just applause the adventurers had acquired, had greatly encouraged the romantic humour of that age. The pope, whose interest it ever was to nourish this spirit, took care to represent, that things were but half done, while the Saracens possessed so many fair provinces and kingdoms, once under Christian sway; and that this was the time for putting the utmost ends of the earth into Christian possession. Interest was not unmixed with their religion; the adventurers were to conquer for themselves; and the several instances of dominions conquered, and successions established, in that and the last age, made every one hope for success, and therefore aspire to be an adventurer. Among other princes possessed of those notions, was William earl of Poictou, who offered to mortgage his duchy of Aquitaine, and his other possessions,

A. D. 1100.

Romantic spirit of that age.

tuens Heliam, tu, inquit, nebulo, tu quid faceres? Discede, abi, fuge, concedo tibi ut facias quicquid poteris, et per vultum de Luca nihil si me viceris nihil pro hac venia tecum paciscar. Nec inferius factum verbo fuit, sed continuo dimisit evadere, miratus potius quam infectatus fugientem. Quis talia de illiterato homine crederet? Et fortassis erit aliquis qui Lucanum legens falso opinatur Williclmum hæc exempla de Julio Cæsare mutuatum esse. Sed non erat ei tantum studii, vel otii, ut literas unquam audiret. Immo calor mentis ingenitus, et conscia virtus eum talia exprimere cogebant. Et profecto si Christianitas nostra patèretur, sicut olim anima Euforbii transisse dicta est in Pythagoram Samium, ita possit dici, quod anima Julii Cæsaris transivit in Williclmum regem. Malmesbury.

A. D. 1100. for a sum which might fit him out to become an adventurer. The immoderate expences of the late crusado had exhausted the revenues and riches of all the princes on the continent. William, who despised and derided such extravagances, had kept his kingdom free from that humour; and, for some years past, had been amassing great sums, with the view of such another purchase as that which he had made from Robert. None could have happened so convenient for him as that of Aquitaine, which lay between the rivers Loir and Garonne, and contained the countries of Poictou, Saintonge, Omgoumois, Perigort, with other territories. When he took the mortgage from Robert, he looked upon it, through the danger of the expedition and the distance of time, that he was purchasing a property; but, perceiving his brother was still safe, and likely to return, he immediately accepted the offer of the earl of Poictou, and agreed to pay down the sum demanded, provided he was put in the immediate possession of the estates. The bargain being struck, a great army was raised, and a mighty fleet fitted out in England, in which the king in person was to carry over the treasure; and then, to avoid all further difficulties or trouble, to be put in actual possession of the mortgaged territories.

William makes a bargain for the duchy of Aquitaine.

Those mighty preparations, joined to the aspiring spirit of Rufus, alarmed all Europe, then mad with religious rage, and weakened by unprofitable expence. A prince, in the flower of his age, of great experience in war, of unbounded ambition in peace, master of England, of more than a third of France (as he must have been, had he possessed Aquitaine) and that too containing her fairest and best provinces, must have soon given laws to Europe; nor was it possible to see where his ambition would stop. Whether those considerations hastened his death, I shall not affirm; but, when every thing was ready for the embarkation, he met with it in the following dark and doubtful manner: While he was passing some days in hunting in the New Forest, a monk, either through fidelity, remorse, or for interest, gave him some dark intimations of his end; but wrapped it up in such a visionary manner, that William took it for the effect of a heated brain. Unwilling, however, to

William has intimations of his death.

discourage an officiousness which carried along with it a regard for his safety, he ordered Fitz-hamon to pay the monk one hundred shillings: "The monk, said he, dreams like a monk, and wants somewhat in return for his dream; let him have a hundred shillings; but bid him look that he dreams more to the purpose hereafter." This noble disregard of what appeared like superstition, as happened to Cæsar in the like case, and under the like circumstances, perhaps cost Rufus his life. One Walter Tyrrel, a French knight, among many others, whom William's liberalities had invited over into England, and retained about his person, was one of the king's hunting party. After breakfast, all went out to hunt a stag, near Choringham, in the New Forest; prince Henry, the king's brother, being of the party. The company happening to disperse, as the nature of the game required, the king found himself alone with Tyrrel at the end of the chace. According to common relation, a stag happening to pass by, the king shot, and slightly wounded him. The sun darting his beams full in his face, William held up his hands, that he might be able to see whether the stag dropped, or what course he took. At this time, another deer happened to pass by, at which Tyrrel aiming an arrow, missed the deer, but struck the king full in the breast, who fell down without speaking one word. Such, I say, is the common relation of this great prince's death. That he was killed at that time, and upon that spot, is universally agreed; and that it was by Tyrrel, generally: but whether by chance or design, authors are divided. The circumstances must rest upon the credit of Tyrrel, none else, from the nature of the accident, being able to account for them. But we are to observe, that Tyrrel escaped, and that he lived afterwards in France, unquestioned and unpunished (1).

He is killed.

Having thus closed the catastrophe of this great prince, I think myself obliged to give the reader his character, as I find it represented by historians living nearest his time, but by no means favourable to his person. Eadmerus, a writer of great gravity, and unquestionable authority, was a professed partizan, if not a domestic of archbishop An-

His character.

(1) Mr. Tyrrel, upon this occasion, is mightily concerned for the honour of his namesake and ancestor, and seems to have been at a good deal of pains to enquire into the circumstances of William's death. As there is somewhat new in what he says, it may be proper to insert it here.—And here I cannot but take notice, that, though William of Malmesbury, Florence of Worcester, and Simeon of Durham, authors of the best credit, who flourished and wrote their histories within less than forty years after this accident: I say, though they do all agree, not only in this, but the person who had the misfortune thus to kill this prince; yet there are also authors, of that very age, and those of good credit too, who are not only doubtful of it, but some of them do positively deny that this Walter had any hand in it. For Eadmerus, speaking of it by the bye, only says, That, whether the arrow was shot at him, or (as most affirm) slew him by his stumbling and falling down upon it, it were needless to enquire, it being sufficient to understand, that, which way soever it happened, it was by the just judgment of God. But, though Dr. Brady, in his history, makes it uncertain whether Tyrrel then shot at a deer, or else at the king; yet I am satisfied he cannot make out his suspicion from the authority of any other author (for those that lived in that very time make a great doubt of it); as may farther appear from Sugerius, abbot of St. Dennis near Paris, who lived at that time, and, in his life of king Lewis the Grosse, speaking of the manner of William Rufus's death, says thus: "It was laid upon a most noble person, called Walter Tyrrel, as if he should have shot him through with an arrow, whom we (says he) have often heard, when he had no occasion either to fear or hope, to affirm with an oath, That he came not that day into that side of the forest where the king hunted, or ever saw him there." The same passage is taken, almost word for word, by the continuator of Bede's history, out of the author above-mentioned, who, without so much as citing him, speaks in his own person as if he had seen it himself; which shews what a bungling plagiarist this writer was, who seems to have been a monk that lived in that very time, since he concludes his history with the beginning of the reign of king Henry I. I desire the reader's pardon for this digression; for, though it be of no great moment to posterity how the king came by his death; yet, since it is a piece of history not commonly known, and also concerns the memory of a person who is looked upon as the common ancestor of all that numerous family, both in England and Ireland, of the same name, I hope I may not appear impertinent if I have dwelt somewhat the longer upon it.

A. D. 1100.

The story of William's trying fifty gentlemen by ordeal examined.

A. D. 1100.

A. D. 1100.

selm's: and however impartial this author may have been, with regard to the general state of the controversy between the papal and the regal power; yet it was almost impossible for him, in his then situation, to avoid some personal prejudices against Rufus. Besides, we are to consider, that this author, in his account of this reign, confines himself chiefly to ecclesiastical affairs, and especially the controversy between the king and the archbishop; and that, during the greatest part of his reign, he was not in England. The two strongest instances he gives of William's vices are, first, his trying fifty wealthy English gentlemen, who were accused of killing or stealing his deer. He obliged them to undergo the ordeal, by which they were all acquitted; upon which he exclaimed, in some heat, "That the crime should afterwards be tried by the law of his court, and not by the ordeal." The ignorance of our historians, who did not consider that the trial of the ordeal is called, by all our old laws, the judgment of God, has made William, on this occasion, guilty of a shocking (1) expression; whereas the words of the original will bear no more than what I have represented, and are worthy of a sensible prince, who knew the juggles and impostures of designing priests. The next instance is the story of the Jew (2), which the reader will find in the notes, and is a piece of humour, not to be treated of in a serious manner. The trying the English gentlemen, indeed, was an act of severity, but not against law; and, were it barbarous or unjust to inflict capital punishments upon the killers and stealers of game, the censure must fall much more severely upon modern times.

Much more justice is it to this prince's memory, to mention, that when two rich monks came, attended by a third, to purchase a rich abbey, each outbidding the other, the king observing the third monk stand at a distance, as a servant to the others, asked him, "What he would give for the investiture of the abbey in question?" "Nothing, sir, replied he; I have made a vow of poverty; I have nothing; and, if I had, my conscience would not permit me to make such a bargain." "Now, by St. Luke's face, replied William, thou deservest it, and thou shalt have it for nothing." Of like import is another story. One Hugh, a brave soldier, and well known to William for his noble behaviour, as well as high birth, had left a secular life, and pro-

fessed himself a monk in the abbey of Canterbury. A deputation of the monks, upon the death of their abbot, was ordered to wait upon the king, to purchase, at a large expence, liberty to elect another; and Hugh was one of the deputies. The king having heard their proposal, observed, among the rest, his old companion in arms. The remembrance of the gallant figure he had seen him make in the field, compared with his fallen estate into a cloistered monk, touched William so much, that he could not avoid bursting into tears. As he disdained all monks and their manners, so both he and his father had experienced the virtues of Hugh, and he was convinced that he still retained the same goodness of heart he had when he entered upon a religious life. "I give you leave, says he, to chuse an abbot, provided your choice falls upon my cousin Hugh. You shall have no other abbot; and unless you agree in chusing him, I will, in a day or two, burn your monastery about your ears." The monks being dismissed, they chose Hugh, as the king had directed; and he proved, as he had foreseen, a man of eminent virtue in his station.

These are the testimonies of enemies in favour of Rufus; they are so notorious, that they could not be stifled; and, considering from what quarter they come, ought to weigh more in vindicating, than a thousand loose, ill-digested, and worse supported allegations from the same hands, in blackening his memory. It is true, he had in him all the spirit of reformation, openly and manfully declaring himself in favour of that very doctrine upon which the reformation was afterwards built. He absolutely disdained all intercession of saints, and its efficacy with the Godhead; even that of St. Peter he pronounced to be the work of designing priests to fill their coffers. This, of course, led him to have so hearty a contempt for relics, and other fooleries, so much the mode of that age, that, upon any emergency of government, he would order the rich shrines of gold and silver, in which such relics were confined, to be broken down, and applied to the uses of the state. This begot him so much envy with the monkish historians of that and the following age, that whatever good they speak of him, is extorted; whatever is indifferent, they pervert; and whatever is ill, they exaggerate. A cotemporary Norman author (3), having been obliged to mention his greatness of spirit, his contempt

Further reflections upon William's character.

His principles in religion.

Gemitienfis's injustice to William's memory.

of

(1) The expression of William was, "Meo judicio a modo respondebitur, non Dei;" which, if it means any thing, means as I have translated it; but our authors, not considering that the ordeal has ever been called *judicium Dei*, have given it this turn, which they have all copied from one another: "How happens this? Is God a just judge for suffering it? Now a murder take him who believes it." Sir Henry Spelman knew too well, therefore says, that this saying, in the original, may be taken in a double sense. Vid. in Will. II. apud Wilkins, p. 298.

(2) I shall set down this story as I find it related; but the reader, besides the frivolous import of it, is to observe, that it did not happen in England. A young Jew was converted to the Christian faith (as he said) by the vision of a saint that had appeared to him: his father, being much troubled at it, presented the king with sixty merks, entreating him to make his son return to his former Judaism; whereupon the king sent for him, commanding him, without more ado, to return to the religion of his nation. But the young man answered, with much resolution, "he wondered his majesty should use such words; for, being a Christian himself, he should rather persuade him to continue in that belief." With which answer the king was so confounded, that he commanded the young man to get out of his sight. His father, finding the king could do no good upon his son, required his money again: "Nay, said the king, I have taken pains enough for it all; but yet, that thou may'st see how kindly I will use thee, thou shalt have one half, and the other half thou can'st not in conscience deny me for my pains."

(3) Hæc inquam et alia his similia de illo veraciter possumus referre, nisi facta ejus quia plurimo servorum Dei, et S. ecclesiam non minimum persecutus est, unde fero et infructuosam, ut pluribus sapientibus videtur egit penitentiam dignum

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of danger, and his contempt for his Norman subjects, seems to check himself for the truths which dropped from his pen; and his reasons are worthy of remark, as they speak the sense of all his brother historians and churchmen. "I would, says he, with great truth, enlarge upon many other brave actions of William, did not I think that the laws of history require me to touch but slightly upon such actions of a man, who did not a little persecute many of God's servants, and the holy church herself; for which, continues he, he repented, but too late, and, as many wise men thought, to no purpose." From this sample we may judge of the impartiality with which such pens wrote the history of this prince. But let us now turn to a brighter side, and hear Malmesbury, the most sensible, as he was the honestest, of all historians, who lived five hundred years either before or after him; still carrying it, however, in our eye, that it is a priest who speaks.

Malmesbury's
character of
William.

"(1) William Rufus, says that historian, was born in Normandy long before his father invaded England. He was most carefully educated by his parents; and, by the pregnancy of his genius, he attained the highest pitch of power. He was, without all doubt, a prince not to be matched in his age, had it not been that he was overshadowed by the greatness of his father's reputation, and was hurried off the stage of life before he had corrected the errors of unbridled power and overboiling youth. When he ceased to be a boy, his youth was spent in military exercises, in riding, shooting, in rivalling the old in judgment, and the young in activity. He thought it a stain upon his courage, if, on any warlike occasion, any one had a sword in his hand sooner than him; and if he was not the first, either to challenge the foe, or, if himself challenged, to fight him." The same author, and all others, cannot deny him a magnanimity becoming the greatest of kings. His court was open to men of merit of all professions and degrees; he rewarded their virtues, he encouraged their deserts, he employed their abilities. Malmesbury (2), after an excellent distinction between liberality

and profusion, adds, "That William's excesses this way, were in a great measure owing to his necessity at the commencement of his reign, to get the army, at any rate, on his side, by great largesses, and greater promises. His performance of those were punctual, till what was at first habitual became at last natural. Thus things with him were estimated not by their value, but by their price." Of this he gives us an apt instance: "One morning, says he, as he was putting on a pair of new boots, he asked his gentleman of the bed-chamber in waiting, what they cost? He was answered, three shillings. You scoundrel, said the king, did you ever hear of a king wearing such pitiful boots as those? Go, bring a pair of a merk of silver. The bed-chamber-man went, and brought a pair much worse; but told his master they cost what he had ordered. Ay, replied William, these are boots fit for a king to wear! and so put them on." By those means his domestics had great opportunity of making their fortunes. But this tasteless extravagance, with regard to trifles about his own person, seems to have been affected, and in any degree was pardonable. That it did not extend to matters of higher importance, appears from the noble edifices he erected, and from his being so well served, both by his soldiers and ministers, in England and Normandy. If he had not the like success against Scotland and Wales, we may account for it, partly by those two nations being then governed by able kings and generals, and partly by the flood of luxury, which, in his days, broke in upon the English; and even by a want of the laborious virtues required to succeed in the invasion of such barren, uninviting countries, where one army could feast upon the provisions, on which the other must starve.

An instance of
William's ex-
travagance.

(3) The same author gives us a description of his person, That he was of a middling stature, his belly prominent, his form square, his complexion red, his hair yellow, his forehead quadrangular; one of his eyes marked with specks, which rendered it unlike the other; and of great bodily strength. His manner of speaking was ungraceful and stammering, especially when he was in a passion. His body was treated with as little reverence

judicemus propter ordinem historiarum solummodo breviter attingere, et ad actus Henrici divae memoriae fratris et successoris sui, qui viros religiosos et ecclesiam Dei protegendo et auxilium ferendo admodum veneratus est, prolixius explicandos vellemus accedere. Gemitiensis, p. 673.

(1) *Willielmus igitur filius Willielmi natus est Normanniae, pluribus annis antequam pater Angliam adiret; ingenti cura parentum altus, cum et illi naturaliter inesset ingentia parturiens animus, ad culmen supremae dignitatis evasit. Incomparabilis procul dubio nostro tempore princeps; si non eum magnitudo patris obrueret, nec ejus juventutem fata praecipitarent, exercitio adolescentiam egit, equitare, jaculari, certare cum primaevis obsequio cum aequaevis officio jacturam virtutis putare, si forte in militari tumultu, alter eo prior arma corripere, et nisi primus ex adverso provocaret, vel provocantem dejiceret. Malmesbury, p. 68.*

(2) *Nam quia cum primis initiis regni metu turbarum milites congregasset, nihil illis denegandum putavit, majora in futurum pollicitus. Itaque quia paternos thesauros impigre evacuarat et modica ei tunc pensiones numerabantur jam substantia defecerat, sed animus largiendi non deerat, quod usu donandi pene in naturam verterat. Homo, qui nesciret cujusvis rei affringere pretium, vel aestimare commercium, sed cui pro libito venditor distraheret mercimonium, et miles paucodam mane calciaretur, novas calligas interrogavit cubicularium quanti constitissent, cum ille respondisset tres solidos, indignus ille et multo viliores afferens, quanti precepisset emptas, ementitus est. Atqui inquit rex istae regiae conveniunt majestati. Malmesbury, p. 69.*

(3) *Si quis vero desiderat scire corporis ejus qualitatem, noverit eum fuisse corpore quadrato, colore rufo, crine subflavo, fronte fenestrato, oculo vario, quibusdam intermicantibus guttis distincto, praecipuo robore, quanquam non magnae staturae, et ventre paulo projectiore. Eloquentiae nullius, sed titubantia linguae notabilis, maxime cum ira succresceret. Malmesbury, p. 70.*

A. D. 1100. as was that of his father, and perhaps for the like cause; for, being found dead, some colliers, who were passing by, put it into one of their carts, and drove it, as if it had been a common nuisance, to the bishop's palace at Winchester, where it was buried the next day, in the church under the tower, with little ceremony, and less lamentation.

William's
chastity.

I shall now observe, that however his enemies have raked into his ashes, they have never been able to fix upon him the charge of incontinency. It has been indeed thrown out against his memory in general terms; but denied by others; and, as there is reason to believe, justly, since we have no name of any of his mistresses, or children (1). A rare instance in a prince, who died in the forty-fourth year of his age, and thirteenth of his reign, and had generally enjoyed a great share of health and spirits. It would be unpardonable, should I have omitted the character of the English under this king, as I

find it in two authors who lived nearest those times. The men wore their hair long, delicately curled, and nicely combed out; their coats strait upon the body, but flashed down the sides, and their sleeves wide; their shoes ran to a long point, and turned up at the ends; their air loose, their steps minced, their bodies effeminate, their manners affected, coveting the chastity of others, and prodigal of their own. "Thus, concludes Malmesbury, a certain man of sense observed, the court of England was at that time not a seat of majesty, but a mart of lewdness; while the graver people wished that Henry, who, from his youth, had ever been a pattern of chastity and decency, might mount the throne." Having thus considered this prince on all sides, I here finish his reign; and submit it to my reader, whether I have done wrong, in differing, in many respects, from our other historians, with regard to his character (2).

A. D. 1100.
Character of
the English
under him,
from Odericus
Vitalis and
Malmesbury.

(1) Sir Richard Baker, I think, and some of our modern writers from him, have mentioned a natural son of William's; but they are supported by no good authorities.

(2) We have no accounts of any laws or constitutions passed under this prince; but, from the story of the English gentlemen being tried by ordeal, we may conclude, that he still preserved the appearance of governing by law. I shall, however, in compliance with the custom of former English historians, give my readers the chief occurrences of his reign, as collected from our old authors.

In his second year, there happened a dreadful earthquake throughout the whole kingdom; which was followed by a great scarcity of fruit, and so late a harvest, that corn was not full ripe at the end of November. Sir J. Hayw. Hist. Will. II.

On the 5th of October, in the year 1091, there fell a violent storm in several parts of England, especially at Winchelsea in Gloucestershire, where the steeple of the church was thrown down by thunder and lightning, and the crucifix, with the image of the virgin Mary, was broken to pieces. The hurricane was followed by a noisome stink. Holingshed.

Sir John Hayward adds, that there was also a thick smoke, which darkened the sky.

On the 17th of the same month, there happened a storm of wind, which was then S. W. the same that blew in the late tempest, so dreadful to the whole nation; and yet, this we are about to mention, seems to have been more fatal in the city of London, where it threw down above five hundred houses, and blew off the roof of Bow-church in Cheapside, by the fall of which two men were killed. The top of the steeple at Salisbury, and many houses, were blown down. Holingshed.

Sir J. H. says, it threw down six hundred and six houses in London, and that some beams of Bow-church, twenty-eight feet long, were driven so deep into the ground by it, that not above four feet remained in sight. The tower of London was also much broken. He further adds, the next year, Osmund, bishop of Salisbury, finished the cathedral church of Old Sarum, and the steeple was fired by lightning the fifth day after the consecration of the church; which, perhaps, gave occasion to Holingshed's saying, That the damage was done to Salisbury church at the same time that the roof of Bow church was blown off.

The year 1094 was very remarkable for the number and fashion of gliding stars, which seemed to dash together in manner of a conflict. Sir J. H.

Holingshed, who is very particular in his account of the seasons, weather, plagues and famine, goes farther, and asserts, that there was this year so great mortality of men and beasts in England and Normandy, that the ground lay untilled in many places, which caused a severe dearth. Grisly and hideous fights were seen in England, as hosts of men fighting in the air, stars falling from heaven, and other such wonders. The ignorance and superstition of those ages have, we suppose, heightened the terror of the unusual accidents in the phenomena of nature.

3. HENRY I. surnamed BEAUCLERC.

A. D. 1100.

Dispute between Henry and William of Breteuil, about the succession.

Henry's great advantages.

The nobility deliberate upon his claim.

WILLIAM of Breteuil, a Norman nobleman, the eldest son of William Fitz-osbern, happened to attend Rufus at hunting on the day he fell. No sooner was the king's death known, than this nobleman, who had already sworn an eventual fealty to Robert as heir apparent, by treaty, to the crown of England, posted towards Winchester, where the royal treasures lay. But Henry, younger brother to the late king, had got before him, and already made a demand to be put in possession of whatever belonged to William. Breteuil, suspecting his intention, reproached him with treachery, and put him in mind that, as both of them had sworn (1) faith to Robert, who had the right of primogeniture, they ought both of them to preserve that faith as strictly as if that prince were personally present. Henry, looking on words and oaths but as trifles, when empire was in competition, put his hand to his sword, intimating, that he would quit his claim only with his life. By this time many of the chief nobility arrived, just when matters were coming to an extremity. Henry had, on his side, the voices of many among them. The long absence of his brother Robert, whose death or life was uncertain at that time; the state of the kingdom; the nature of the government, with many other circumstances, required at least that a temporary sovereignty, in whose name the acts of state might pass, should be erected. This could be vested in none so naturally as in him, who had proximity of blood to plead. But Henry had other advantages, without which this would have been but weak. He had the merit of having been excessively ill treated by his two brothers, both of them very obnoxious to the people of England: Robert, from many indications he had given of his aversion to the nation; and William, through the extreme hatred which the inferior clergy (ever powerful with the vulgar) had borne to his person: but, above all, Henry was born in England. This was a relation which was to him of great (nay, decisive) weight upon this occasion. The dispute, between Breteuil and him, was taken up by the nobility, who, not caring instantly to give a peremptory judgment, went to deliberate upon what was most proper to be done. The same disadvantages existed, with regard to Henry's succession, that I marked out in that of Rufus; and the nobility, who enjoyed estates in Normandy and England,

were exposed to the same inconvenience in electing Henry, as they had been in electing Rufus. But Henry, besides the advantages I have just mentioned, had formed a strong party of the most creditable noblemen, whom he had promised to indemnify for whatever they should suffer from Robert. Those noblemen were but five in number; but very extensive in their interest, reputation, friends, and following. The chief among them was Henry earl of Warwick, to whom our historians agree in giving the best of characters. The others were, Robert Fitz-hamon, Richard de Redvers, Roger Bigot, and Robert earl of Mellent, brother to the earl of Warwick. But it is more than probable, that the interest, even of those noblemen, would have been ineffectual for Henry's purposes, had it not been that he possessed the affections of the common people, who, during the consultation of the other peers, grew outrageous in his favour. Henry was too wise not to improve this spirit; he swore, That he never would put up his sword, should any man, or body of men, seize the inheritance of his father and family; and was so well seconded by the people, that the nobility put him in immediate possession of the castle of Winchester, and all the riches it contained. His getting possession of this vast treasure was almost equal to him with that of the crown itself. He considered the sources of his father's and brother's unpopularity, and, by well-timed declarations, confirmed the old English and the Normans, who had by this time become English, in his interest. For he professed the strongest abhorrence at the arbitrary steps of the late reign, and at the little faith which both his father and brother had observed towards the English. He protested his readiness to give them, at his coronation, which he earnestly pressed should be performed without delay, the fullest and most binding confirmation of all the ancient rights and privileges they, or their predecessors, had enjoyed under the Saxon government. But this must still be understood with an exception to the great feudal system introduced by the Conqueror, and as extending to the observation of the old common law, as we shall presently see.

The dispute, whether the commons or peers, or both, had then the power of making a king, is, upon this occasion, trifling and impertinent. The plain case appears to be, that Henry, without any other consider-

(1) Mr. Tyrrel has, I think with very little reason, questioned the truth of this whole incident. His reasons are, "That if Henry had ever done homage to his brother Robert, it must have been for some lands and territories he held of him in Normandy; and that Henry never did him homage for the kingdom of England, because Robert never was at any time declared either heir or successor of it by his father." But, besides the authority of Odericus Vitalis, who relates the incident, we are to consider, first, That even the homage which Henry might have sworn to Robert for his Norman possessions, was not, as Mr. Tyrrel calls it, a false and impertinent ground for Breteuil's reproaches; if, as there is reason to believe, that homage was renewed after Henry had been dispossessed, and at the time of his being repossessed of his lands. Secondly, Though Robert was never declared successor by his father to the kingdom of England, yet it is certain that he was declared eventually so by the peace of Roan; and we may, with great justice, conclude, that Henry had taken an oath to him as heir apparent, than which nothing was then more common. For instance; In this very reign, all freemen of England and Normandy, of what order and dignity soever, and of whatsoever lord they held or were feudatories to, were forced to do homage and swear fealty to his son William, then but twelve years old.



E. Tuterell delin.

P. Vanderbank Sculp.

KING HENRY THE I.st

A. D. 1100. *ation than that of popular favour, availed himself of the juncture. In two days after his brother's death, he procured a meeting, to be held at London, of the principal nobility who could be present, where the interest of his party, within and without doors, got him the majority of voices; and, on the day following (Sunday the 5th of August) he was solemnly crowned king of England, by Maurice bishop of London. The narrow notions of those writers, who have blamed the people upon this occasion, ought to be treated with pity, rather than censure. They acted as a reasonable people ought to act; they seized the only opportunity they, in all probability, ever could have, of re-asserting their rights; they chose the man whose interest led him to support them, rather than him whose experienced levity and disregard of their country rendered him at once hated and contemptible. Knyghton, an old author, informs us of a very extraordinary fact upon this occasion: he says, that the barons had such an aversion for Robert, because of the hatred he had ever expressed for them, that they declared him illegitimate, and passed an act of exclusion of him from the succession. The reader may see the original words in the notes (1).*

He is crowned king.

Reflection upon his election,

and upon its expedition.

Whatever may be in this fact, it is certain, Henry earl of Warwick dealt so effectually with the great men assembled in London, that Henry mounted the throne with great applause. The reader will, no doubt, be struck at this swift revolution: a great king slain in the prime of life; his death unenquired into, both as to the manner and actors; his treasures disposed of;

his states called; his lawful successor set aside; a more remote heir nominated, chosen, appointed, and crowned, in a regular assembly; and all within three days after his death. In whatever light all this is considered, we must own it to be the most extraordinary dispatch ever was heard of, if the catastrophe was not previously contrived and expected. None of our historians, I think, insinuate, that Henry was in the least privy to his brother's death.

The principles upon which he was elected, teach us through what interest the election was carried, and will be best learned from the account which the author of the Saxon chronicle (an unquestionable authority at this time) gives us as his coronation oath: "That he promised, at the high altar at Westminster, before God and all the people, to abolish all unjust measures, which had prevailed in the reign of his brother; and to establish the very best laws, which the people had at any time enjoyed under any of the kings, his predecessors." Those were not promises, and words of course, merely to serve a turn. He had a powerful pretender to his crown; a disaffected nobility, most of whom, from the shortness of the time, were absent from the election; and the observance of what he had promised, was all he had to rely upon for the support of his title. No sooner, therefore, was the ceremony of his coronation over, than he repeated, by proclamation, what he had promised by oath; and, to put his subjects out of all doubt as to his intentions, he explained it more at large in a (2) charter, which he ordered to be made out under his great seal,

Henry's coronation oath.

(1) Sic igitur isto modo Willielmo mortuo, Robertus frater ejus in Normannia contra inimicos sibi infestos in guerra sua occupatus est in eodem tempore. Ille Robertus semper contrarius est adeo in naturalis extiterat Barombus regni Angliæ, quod plenario consensu et consilio totius communitatis regni imposuerunt ei illegitimitatem, quod non fuerat procreatus de legitimo thoro Willielmi Conquestoris, unde unanimi assensu suo ipsum refutaverunt, et pro rege omnino recusaverunt, et Henricum fratrem in regem creaverunt. Knyghton.

(2) I shall here set down the original of this important charter, as I find it in Wilkins; with the supplements taken from Paris, the Red-book of the Exchequer, the Rochester copy, and others, enclosed thus ().

Henricus, Dei gratia, rex Anglorum, omnibus baronibus et fidelibus suis, Francis et Anglis, salutem.

Sciatis me Dei misericordia et communi consilio [et assensu] baronum regni Angliæ ejusdem regni regem coronatum esse, et quia regnum oppressum erat injustis exactionibus, ego respectu Dei et amore quem erga vos [omnes] habeo, sanctam Dei ecclesiam imprimis, liberam facio, ita quod nec vendam, nec ad firmam ponam, nec mortuo archiepiscopo sive episcopo, vel abbate aliquid accipiam de dominio ecclesiæ, vel hominibus ejus, donec successor in eam ingrediatur; et omnes malas consuetudines quibus regnum Angliæ opprimebatur, inde aufero, quas malas consuetudines ex parte suppono. Si quis baronum meorum comitum, sive aliorum qui de me tenent, mortuus fuerit, hæres suus non redimet terram suam sicut faciebat revelatione revelabit terras suas de dominis suis. Et si quis baronum vel hominum meorum filiam suam nubitu tradere voluerit, sive sororem, sive nepotem, sive cognatam, mecum inde loquatur. Sed neque ego aliquid de sua pro hac licentia accipiam, neque ei defendam, quin eam det, excepto si eam jungere vellet inimico meo. Et si mortuo barone, vel alio homine, meo filia hæres remanserit, illam dabo consilio baronum meorum cum terra sua, et si marito mortuo uxor, [ejus] remanserit, et sine liberis fuerit dotem et maritacionem suam habebit, et eam non dabo marito nisi secundum velle suum. Si vero uxor cum liberis remanserit dotem quidam et maritacionem suam habebit dum [uxor] corpus suum legitime servabit, et eam non dabo nisi secundum velle suum, et terræ et liberorum custos erit sive uxor, sive aliis propinquorum qui justus esse debebit, et precipio ut barones mei similiter se contineant ergo filios, vel filias, vel uxores hominum suorum. Monetarium commune quod capiebatur per civitates et per comitatus quod non fuit tempore Edwardi regis, hoc ne a modo fiat omnino defendo. Si quis captus fuerit, sive monetarius, sive alius cum falsa moneta; justitia recta inde fiat. Omnia placita et hereditatibus, vel pro iis rebus quæ justius aliis contingebant. Et si quis aliquid pro hæreditate sua pepigerat, illud condono, et omnes relevationes quæ pro rectis hæreditatibus pactæ erant; et si quis baronum vel hominum meorum infirmabitur sicut ipse dabit, vel dare disponit pecuniam suam, ita datum esse concedo, quod si ipse preventus vel armis vel infirmitate, pecuniam suam non dederit, nec dare disposuerit, uxor sua, sive liberi, aut parentes, aut legitimi homines ejus eam pro anima, ejus dividant, sicuti eis melius visum fuerit. Si quis baronum vel hominum meorum foris fecerit, non dabit vadium in misericordia [totius] pecuniæ suæ sicut faciebat tempore patris mei et fratris mei; sed secundum morem forisfacti, ita emendabit, sicut emendasset retro a tempore patris mei, [et fratris mei] in tempore aliorum antecessorum meorum. Quod si perfidias vel sceleris convictus fuerit, sicut justum fuerit, sic emendet.

De confirmatione legum Edwardi regis.

Murdra etiam retro ab illo die, quo in regem coronatus fui, omnia condono. Et ea quæ a modo facte fuerint juste emendantur, secundum legem regis Edwardi forrestas communi consensu baronum meorum in manu mea retinui, sicut pater meus cas habuit. Militibus qui per Loricis terras suas deserviunt, terras dominicarum carucarum [suarum] quietas ab omnibus gildis, et ab omni opere [proprio] dono meo concedo [ut sicut benignitas mea propensior est in iis, ita mihi fideles sint] ut sicut tam magno gravamine allevati sunt, ita equis et armis se bene instruant, ut apte et parati sint ad servitium meum, et ad defensionem regni mei, legem regis Edwardi vobis reddo, cum illis emendationibus quibus eam pater meus emendavit

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feal, and which, for its importance, as being the ground-work of many other deeds wrested by the people from their kings, deserves a place here.

1. Henry's charter to all his faithful subjects.

Henry, by the grace of God, king of the English, to all his barons and faithful subjects, both French and English, greeting.

Privileges of the church.

All evil usages banished.

Lawful reliefs.

Wards.

" Know ye, that, by the mercy of God, and by the common counsel (with the (1) assent) of the barons of the kingdom of England, I am crowned king of the said kingdom; and because the kingdom has been oppressed with unjust exactions, I, from the love of God, and the regard I bear you (all), in the first place, free the holy church, so as that I will neither sell nor farm it out; nor, upon the death of an archbishop, or a bishop, or an abbot, will I accept of any of the churches property, nor aught from any of its tenants, until a successor enters upon the same. And I banish all the evil usages with which the kingdom of England has been (unjustly) oppressed, part of which evil usages I here set down. If any of my barons, earls, or of my tenants, holding of me, shall die, his heir shall not redeem his land, as was the custom in the days of my brother; but shall relieve the same by a just and lawful relief. In like manner shall the tenants of my barons relieve their lands from their lords by a lawful (certain) just relief. And if any of my barons, or other my subjects, have a mind to give a (their) daughter in marriage, or sister, or niece, let him treat with me; but I will neither accept any part of his fortune for such licence, nor will I prohibit his disposing of her, unless it be to my enemy. And if any of my barons, or subjects, should, at his death, leave a daughter his heir, I will dispose of her with advice of my barons, together with her lands. And if, upon the death of the husband, a wife shall survive without children, she shall have her (own) dowry and marriage-portion; neither will I give her to a husband, but with her own consent. But if the wife be left with children, she shall then have her dower and marriage-portion; nor will I give her to a husband, but with her own consent; provided the wife shall keep her body in chastity: and either the wife, or some other relation, who is to deal justly, shall be guardian of the children and the estate. And I command my

" barons, that they act conformably hereunto, towards the sons, daughters, and wives of their tenants. The common mintage (2) money, which was taken throughout cities and counties, and was not in use under king Edward, I absolutely forbid to be taken for the future. If any minter, or other person, be taken with false money, let right justice be done upon him. (3) All fines and debts due to my brother, I forgive; excepting my just farms, and those bargains which concerned the inheritance of others, or for those effects which justly concerned other persons. And I forgive all bargains which any man has made with regard to his right of inheritance. And if any (of my barons or tenants) shall lie sick, so as that he shall give or dispose of his money, I will, that such disposition stand good; but if he, prevented by war or sickness, shall not give or dispose of his effects, let his wife, children or parents, or his lawful tenants, divide it among themselves, as shall seem best to them. If any of my barons, or tenants, shall forfeit, he shall not give a pledge for favour of the (whole) fine, as he did in the time of my father and brother; but, according to the measure of the forfeit, so shall he be fined, in such manner as fines were laid on, under those, my predecessors, who reigned before my father and brother: but if he shall be convicted of treason, or wickedness, let him make satisfaction, as shall seem just."

2. Concerning the confirmation of king Edward's laws.

" I pardon all murders committed before my coronation; and those which shall be hereafter committed, shall be satisfied for, according to the law of king Edward. I have, by common consent of my barons, retained in my hand the forests, in like manner as my father had them. I also grant, of my own free gift, to my knights (i. e. tenants by knight-service) who defend their lands by their habergeons, that their demesne lands shall be free from all unjust guilds or taxes, and all works (that their fidelity may be in proportion to my kindness;) that, since they are eased of so great a burden, they may the better provide themselves with horses and arms, and so be made fitter and more ready for my services, and for the defence of my kingdom. I restore to you the laws of king Edward, together with those amendments which my father

consilio baronum suorum. Si quis aliquid de meo vel de rebus alicujus, post obitum Willielmi regis fratris mei cepit, totum cito reddat absque emendatione, et si qui inde aliquid retinuerit, ille super quem inventum fuerit, graviter mihi emendabit. Testibus archiepiscopis, episcopis, baronibus, comitibus, vicecomitibus, est optimatibus totius regni Angliæ apud Westm. quando coronatus fui.

(1) This important word is wanting in one copy of this charter in the Red-book of the Exchequer, and interlined in another. It is likewise wanting in both copies exhibited by Matthew Paris.

(2) Orig. Monetagium, moneage. This was a duty paid to the duke of Normandy, once in three years, by all householders, excepting the clergy, knights, and military tenants, and their lawful children; and was paid in consideration of the duke's suffering the current money of Normandy to be changed.

(3) Orig. Placita, which here signifies penalties or mulcts. Thus the Black-book of the Exchequer says, Placita autem dicimus penas pecuniarias, in quas incidunt delinquentes. Lib. ii. tit. 13. Hence came the saying, Comes habet tertium denarium placitorum; that is, "The earl, or the superior of the lands, shall have the third part of the money arising from fines."

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King Edward's laws restored.

"made, by the advice of his barons. If any one has taken any thing from me, or from any other person, he shall forthwith restore the same without making satisfaction; and he, upon whom any such thing is found, shall make sure satisfaction to me. Given in presence of the archbishops, bishops, barons, earls, sheriffs, and nobles of all the kingdom of England, on the day of my coronation."

This charter was transcribed into as many copies as there were counties in England, and lodged in the most eminent abbeys in each county. But so industrious were the trustees of those authentic duplicates to conceal this valuable monument of liberty, that scarcely one of them was to be found in the reign of king John. Henry, immediately after passing this charter, gave the people another sensible proof how much he had their happiness at heart. For, by the advice of his council and nobility, he committed Ranulph bishop of Durham, the instrument of all the oppressions in the late reign, prisoner to the tower, with an intention to give him up to the justice of his country. The charge against him was, his advising the late king, whose ear he had abused, to oppress his subjects with many unjust impositions. But the cunning prelate found means to escape from thence into France, where he endeavoured to embroil that government which he could no longer direct.

Henry commits Ranulph bishop of Durham to the tower.

Archbishop Anselm, at this time, lived in a kind of exile, at Lyons in France. His character and sufferings had given him great popularity in England; and though Henry perhaps detested the cause for which he suffered as much as ever his brother William had done; yet he could not, on this critical occasion, dispense with recalling him, and that too in the most honourable manner. Henry wrote him a letter, with a kind of an apology for his having suffered himself to be consecrated in his absence; with a genteel invitation that he would come and resume his functions in England. The prelate joyfully embraced this opportunity, and, upon his landing in Kent, was received with extraordinary demonstrations of joy and respect.

Archbishop Anselm recalled.

Henry was a prince of an amorous complexion, and had hitherto indulged himself in excesses of pleasure that way. Being sensible how much this might weaken his constitution, and give encouragement to his brother's party, through his want of succession, he now resolved to reform his life. Matilda, daughter to Malcolm king of Scotland by Edgar Atheling's sister, had, ever since her father's death, resided in England. It appears, that, even during her father's time, she had been brought up in a monastery, under her aunt Christian, and was generally looked upon as a professed nun. Upon her Henry threw his eyes. She was not only accomplished with all that could make a woman desirable, but an unexceptionable match in point of interest; her uncle Ed-

Henry courts Matilda, the daughter of the Scotch king.

gar having no children; and the old English party looking upon her as the only remains of the Cerdic race, from whom they were to expect the continuance of that venerable line. Nothing, therefore, could happen more favourable to his views than the uniting the Norman and the English blood royal. But this situation was as yet delicate, and the objection of her having been a nun, required great management to get over. The young lady met her lover's wishes with equal affection; she denied that she ever had professed herself a nun: she owned, indeed, that, when she was young, her aunt's overweening delicacy had obliged her sometimes to put on a piece of black cloth, which might be called a veil upon her head, that she might be the better protected from the attempts of the Normans; but that she always abhorred taking the veil in earnest; and that no sooner was her aunt at any time gone, than she threw it aside, and treated it with the utmost dislike. She added, that her father one day happening to see her with a veil, tore it from her head in great passion, saying, that he designed her for marriage, and not for a nunnery. All those and other circumstances were laid before Anselm, whose authority was decisive in this case; but the prelate would do nothing of himself. A synod was summoned to meet at Lambeth. The archdeacons of Canterbury and Salisbury were sent with a true state of the young lady's case, as given in by herself, to the monastery of Wilton, where she had resided, there to enquire into the truth of her allegations, and then to make their report to the synod. This report proved very favourable for the lady, the nuns having all confirmed what she said. The archbishop laid the whole matter before the clergy, who, after solemn deliberation, declared their opinion to be, that the lady was free of all religious engagements to obstruct her entering into a state of matrimony. Anselm acquiescing in this opinion, the marriage was performed with great ceremony about the middle of November, 1100, to the great satisfaction and applause of the people.

The difficulties attending the match.

Laid before Anselm.

who summoned a synod.

which declares Matilda free to marry.

About two months before this, Robert, the elder brother of Henry, returned from Jerusalem. In his journey to France, he had married Sibilla, daughter to the earl of Conversano, an Italian prince. The fortune he got with this lady was soon dissipated on very worthless objects; but the time of the mortgage of his duchy being now expired, he appears to have taken quiet possession of it. His return revived at once the hopes and fears of the Normans who were in his party, who had possessions in France. He saw himself, contrary to what he expected, jostled out of his succession to the crown of England, and complained loudly of the compromise so solemnly made between him and William, by which the survivor was to succeed to the other's dominions. Robert de Bellefme earl of Shrewsbury, having succeeded to the great estates of his family, both in England and Normandy, was at this time one of the most considerable subjects

Duke Robert returns from Jerusalem.

Henry

A. D. 1101.

Character of
the earl of
Shrewsbury.
The party in
Robert's in-
terest,

who declares
his intention
to invade
England.

Misunder-
standing be-
tween Henry
and Anselm.

A general dis-
content breaks
out.
State of the
parties.

The old Eng-
lish on Henry's
side.

Henry had. His genius was enterprising, his behaviour arrogant, and his principles entirely in favour of Robert. He was joined by his two brothers, Roger and Arnulf, Robert Mallet, Ivo de Grentemaifnil, Robert de Pontefract the son of Robert Lacy, William de Warren earl of Surrey, and Walter Giffart. Those noblemen, with many others, entered into an association to invite over Robert, whose temper they expected would be more manageable than they had yet experienced that of Henry to be. Robert, encouraged by this, about Whitsuntide, in the year 1101, declared his intention of invading England, and asserting his right to the crown. Ranulph, the exiled bishop of Durham, was his principal adviser and director in this step; and it required all Henry's abilities, on this occasion, to make head against his interest, which was every day visibly gaining ground in the kingdom. What might contribute greatly to this, was a fresh misunderstanding which, by this time, had broken out between Henry and Anselm archbishop of Canterbury, who did not find Henry so pliable in the matter of the investiture as he expected. This obstinacy of the prince, whose possession of the crown depended so entirely on the affections of the people, probably made the nobility apprehensive of the lengths to which his spirit might run, when his title was better established, and his power more confirmed. In short, a total discontent, at this time, broke out in the kingdom. One party was for declaring in favour of Robert; another was for having Henry farther bound down by some constitutional acts, for securing their liberties and possessions; and a very few still maintained their engagements inviolable to Henry. The two former parties, finding their interests and sentiments irreconcilable, entirely separated. Some of the nobility, who espoused the cause of Robert, openly declared themselves in his favour, and retired to their castles, which they fortified, till he should land. A few of them were ungenerous enough to remain about Henry's person, and to conceal their sentiments, that they might have the fairer opportunity of betraying him. They covered their conduct with various excuses; some pretending they were over-awed into an approbation of Henry's election; others, that they were absent when it happened, and therefore they did not owe him their allegiance; others, that they imagined Robert had been dead, or had given up all his pretensions to the crown of England; while not a few declared themselves dissatisfied, because they thought the reigning king had not rewarded their merits as they deserved.

The party which was for farther limitations of Henry's government seems mostly to have consisted of old English. These, it is true, were not distinguished by any great posts, either in church or state; nor perhaps did they possess any of the great baronies in capite. Notwithstanding this, they made up that middle rank of people which compose the bulk of a nation, and

were, on that account, as, or rather more, considerable, under Henry, than they had been under William. They had experienced the iron rod of the first, and the heavy exactions of the latter. They saw Edgar Atheling now old, infirm, inactive, stepping into the grave without issue; and they considered the Saxon and Norman rights as being united in Henry's government. An absolute change of government, therefore, was not what they aimed at. Henry's title to them was preferable to Robert's, provided it was put under just limitations; and that they had some farther security, than bare promises for the performance.

The chief of the few Normans who still stood by Henry, were Robert Fitz-hamon, Richard de Redvers, and Roger Bigod. These, either from an affection to Henry's person, or a scruple of conscience in not breaking the allegiance they had sworn, or perhaps from motives of mere interest, declared their resolutions of standing by the present government. It was by their wise advice that Henry was persuaded to ask the archbishop of Canterbury to become a mediator between him and his people. That prelate had found how unable the pope was to protect or restore him, when the breach between him and William came to a crisis; and concluded that the case would not be altered, if he should ever provoke Henry in the same manner. The charter granted by Henry was so much in favour of the church, and so great a relaxation of the feudal law, that the clergy could never expect so advantageous a concession from Robert, a prince needy in his circumstances, and who must have owed his success to foreign arms. These, with many other considerations, disposed Anselm to make up matters between the crown and its English subjects. After various meetings, and many limitations proposed on the part of the people, Henry declared himself ready to grant them all the security they desired; and, to remove all objections with regard to the performance, Anselm became surety for the king, plighting his faith that he would govern the kingdom, as long as he lived, by just and equitable laws.

Those assurances seem not only to have quieted the minds of the English, but to have fixed them in Henry's interest. In the mean time, Robert was continuing his preparations for invading England; and his party had managed matters with so much address, that great part of the fleet, which Henry had fitted out to oppose his passage, declared in his favour. The English, however, the bishops, and the common soldiers, continued firmly attached to Henry. Of those he raised a great army; but his experience of the Norman treachery made him very distrustful. Anselm had gone too far now to retract, and therefore laboured heartily in Henry's service. He opened his coffers, he raised his tenants, he exhorted his friends, he gave Henry daily assurances of his unalterable attachment to his government; and, in short, acted so indefatigably, that several considerable

A. D. 1101.
Upon what
principles.

Henry's party
among the
Normans.

He gets the
archbishop of
Canterbury on
his side.

who makes up
matters be-
tween him
and the peo-
ple.

Henry's fleet
revolt to Ro-
bert.

Anselm's
great services.

A. D. 1101.

considerable noblemen were brought off from Robert's party. Henry, on the other hand, was incessantly giving Anselm assurances of his readiness to support all the rights of the church, and to act upon very different maxims from those of his brother. By those means, a sincere union between the king and the archbishop ensued on this occasion; and it must be fairly owned, that the archbishop then kept the crown upon Henry's head. For, about Midsummer, 1101, Henry, through the revolt of his fleet, despairing to prevent Robert's landing, marched, at the head of a brave, numerous army, to Pevensey in Suffex. The historians of the times have represented the king, on this occasion, as under great distractions of mind, and as dreading the loss both of his life and dignity. Anselm's zeal and authority, however, secured both. Not contented with what he had already done, he was daily present in meetings both of officers and soldiers, where he harangued them in person so pathetically, that they all expressed themselves ready, never, but with their lives, to abandon the royal cause; at the same time he declared his intention of excommunicating Robert, should he land in England.

Anselm keeps the crown upon Henry's head.

Robert invades England.

Robert, about August, set sail from Ulster-port with a gallant fleet, and at the head of a powerful army. His friends had given him assurances of a general revolt in England, as soon as he should land. This made him full of confidence; and accordingly, when he landed at Portsmouth, he thought he was going not to conquer, but to possess, a crown. Upon his coming ashore indeed, he was joined by a numerous body of the Norman nobility, with their followers, who had taken the field on the news of his being ready to set sail; but the appearance in his favour was far from being so general as he expected. Henry, hearing of his landing, drew down his forces towards Winchester, to meet him; and both armies encamped on a plain not far from that town.

Henry meets him with an English army.

Appearance of a general battle; and reasons for avoiding it on Robert's side.

Every thing now appeared ready for a general and decisive action; yet both parties had powerful reasons to avoid it. The connections of blood, interest, friendship, and alliances, made it very undesirable to the officers and soldiers, on both sides, to fight against their parents, brothers, friends, relations, and countrymen. Robert had been disappointed in his expectations; he had experienced his brother's great abilities in war; he knew that, if he should be defeated, he had no resource, and, with his prospect to the crown of England, that he should lose his possession of the duchy of Normandy. Henry, on the other hand, was sensible of the great stake he risked, of the uncertain chance of war, and the precarious selfish interest on which he relied for support. Both commanders, therefore, did their utmost towards introducing a negotiation. Many messages passed daily between the two camps, and many proposals were made and rejected on both sides. At last, but by what means we know not, an interview was agreed upon to be held by both brothers, without any

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attendants, in sight of both armies. This meeting had the desired effect; for, after a little consultation together, they made up a peace upon the following terms:

A. D. 1101.
The two brothers meet.
A peace concluded, and upon what conditions.

I. That the king should surrender to the duke whatsoever he had taken or held in Normandy by force.

II. That all persons should have their honours and lands restored to them, who had lost them upon the duke's account; and also Eustace, earl of Bulloign, should have those his father had enjoyed in this kingdom; as also those of the king's party, who had their estates in Normandy seized, were to be restored to them.

III. That the king should also pay to duke Robert the sum of three thousand merks of silver, yearly; and that the surviving brother should be heir to the other, both of England and Normandy, if the deceased left no lawful heirs of his own body.

Twelve of the nobility, on both sides, were sworn to the performance of those articles; but it appears that the Normans were very much dissatisfied with the conditions. They had flattered themselves with the thoughts of conquering England; it was no wonder, therefore, that, during their stay here, they made themselves some amends for their disappointment, by taking every opportunity of pillaging the country; Henry winking at their excesses, and Robert, through his late conduct, unable to prevent them. The king, who knew his brother's pliable disposition, was unwilling to suffer him to return to his troops, while they were under this discontent, lest he might be prevailed upon to start from his late agreement: he therefore, under shew of friendship, carried the Norman to his court, where he caressed him with all demonstrations of esteem and affection for two months, and then he returned with his discontented army to Normandy.

The Normans disappointed, and plunder the country.

Henry carries Robert to his court.

The manner in which the late accommodation was effected, gave Henry many great advantages. As it was a personal transaction between his brother and him, he was under the fewer obligations to any one for bringing it about. There was no indemnity expressed in favour of those who had declared for Robert, and at the same time held estates under Henry in England. The first thing the king therefore did, when his danger was removed, was to enter into a kind of enquiry against those who had either openly or secretly favoured his brother's invasion. It must be owned, that his indignation and revenge, upon this occasion, got the better of his prudence. He resolved, however, to proceed in a form of law; and sent summonses to Robert de Belleme, Robert Mallet, Ivo de Grentmeisnel, Robert de Pontefract the son of Ilbert Lacy, and many others of inferior rank, to appear at his court, and take their trials for treason. Such of those noblemen as appeared, were severally condemned; some were punished, by being amerced large sums of money; others were banished, and deprived of their estates. This proceeding, however politic it may have

Reflections on the late peace.

Henry prosecutes those English who had espoused his brother's party.

A. D. 1101. been, was far from being just; but it reflects more dishonour upon Robert than Henry. For, however loosely the words of the late treaty might have been conceived, the Norman was in honour obliged to have procured a full indemnity for his friends. On the other hand, Henry's conduct was evasive: since his reconciliation with his brother, though it did not express, yet certainly did imply such an indemnity.

The earl of Shrewsbury refuses to submit to Henry's judgment.

The earl of Shrewsbury, either taking warning by the fate of his confederates, or too haughty to submit to government, refused to appear in court. The charge against him was both strong and complicated, and it consisted of no less than forty different articles or crimes. It may be proper here to acquaint the reader, that when we speak of the king's court at this time, we mean the peers of which it consisted, and whose peerage was founded in their baronage. There was a material difference between the peers of the king's court, or baronial peers, and commoner peers. The former were peers, as they stood in relation to one another, as peers in the same court, or under the same lord. All commoner peers were so to another, but might be of different courts, and were peers only as they stood in relation to the community. The earl of Shrewsbury, therefore, being required to submit to the judgment of his peers in the king's court, would not venture to stand his trial. He was in possession of the important castles of Shrewsbury, Arundel, and Tick-hill, which lies about five miles from Doncaster. Having been, for some time before, on very bad terms with his sovereign, he had taken care to fortify those castles in the strongest manner, and to store them with all provisions of war. At the same time he had recourse to his friends in Normandy, where he had a great estate; and he sent his brother Arnulf to solicit aids from the Welsh themselves, upon whose borders the greatest part of his own fortune lay.

Difference between baronial and commoner peers.

The earl fortifies his castles.

He invades Staffordshire.

Henry's arts to entrap the earl.

Henry appears not to have been active to crush this rebellion in its infancy; perhaps he waited till all his subjects should see the necessity, and applaud the justice, of humbling this overgrown lord. The first hostility that happened, was by the earl and his brother, marching at the head of a strong party of Normans and Welsh into Staffordshire, from whence they drove all the cattle, that fell into their hands, to Wales. These, and many other outrages committed in that country, made it now high time for Henry to come to extremities. The charges he had brought against the earl of Shrewsbury were held, by his peers, as confessed, and he, for non-appearance, was proclaimed a traitor. But it must be owned, that the methods taken by Henry to form the impeachment, were both mean and ungenerous: for he had set certain spies about the earl's person, who took advantage of every unguarded expression or action, and had circumstantially set them down, to be ready to give them in evidence, had he appeared upon his trial. The violences he had committed in Staffordshire,

and the appearance of a bloody civil war, opened the eyes of the peers and the English. For Henry, by this time, issued out commissions for a general array of all the militia in England. His first attempt was upon the castle of Arundel in Suffex; but he found it so strongly fortified, that he was obliged to change the siege into a blockade; and, after the manner of the times, he built round the castle several forts, in which he put small garrisons, to cut off all its communication from without, and to prevent its receiving any supplies, either of men or ammunition. The earl of Shrewsbury, at this time, trusting to the strength of Arundel castle, was at Bridgenorth in Shropshire, which was garrisoned by the Welsh. Henry advanced in person, thinking to have surprized the earl in this castle; but the latter, after encouraging the Welsh, and engaging them to hold out to the last extremity, set out for Shrewsbury, where he entered upon a negotiation with Cadogan and Gervath, the two chief princes then in Wales, who furnished him with a body of forces. He then gave the command of Shrewsbury castle to Roger de Nevil and Ulger de Venables; and, strengthening the garrison with an addition of eighty soldiers, he himself took the field, at the head of the Welsh and Normans. Henry, by this time, was, with great vigour, but little success, pressing the siege of Bridgenorth; but was himself now harassed by the earl's army, who straitened him so close, that he had recourse to money for bribing the garrison. This method was successful; and the Welsh surrendered the place, after a three week's defence. In the mean time the earl was strongly solicited by the garrison of Arundel to come to their relief. They had petitioned the king for leave to apply for the earl's answer by a prefixed day; and promised, that if, by that time, they were not relieved, they would surrender the place. The earl did all he could to throw them in supplies; but Henry's officers had taken their measures so well, that all his endeavours were frustrated. This brought the garrison to capitulate, and accordingly the castle was delivered up to Henry's forces. About this time, likewise, the bishop of Lincoln, by the king's orders, besieged the castle of Tick-hill, and, as appears, took it, after some resistance. All those misfortunes had a very bad effect upon the earl's affairs. His chief alliance had been upon the Welsh. William Pantulf, a nobleman of Shropshire, had great interest with that people. He had been dispossessed of part of his estate by Henry, and was very instrumental in bringing the Welsh over to the earl's party. But the success of Henry's arms began now to dishearten him, and he entered into a secret treaty with the king about his submission. Henry, who knew Pantulf's importance, granted him his own terms, and consented to make him governor of Stafford castle. Pantulf, upon this, declared for the king, and received his new command, with the addition of two hundred soldiers to the garrison. This enabled him to harass the earl's army by frequent sallies;

A. D. 1101.

Henry raises the militia of England, and besieges Arundel castle, and blocks it up.

He marches to Bridgenorth.

The earl takes the field.

The Welsh surrender Bridgenorth.

Arundel castle surrenders to the king. Tick-hill castle taken.

The earl's friends submit.

A. D. 1102. fallies; and, at the same time, he dealt so effectually with the heads of the Welsh, that most or all of them abandoned the earl, and made their peace with Henry.

All those misfortunes and defections entirely disconcerted the schemes of the earl and his party. He had flattered himself with a general revolt of the Norman nobility; but Henry's vigorous proceeding had kept them all in awe, excepting those who were immediately connected with the earl. Finding himself, therefore, unable any longer to make head against his sovereign, he put on a resolution of passing over to Normandy, where his affairs were yet entire. Henry wisely encouraged him in this design, and even furnished him with a passport for his safety. The castle of Shrewsbury was now the only place in England that held out against Henry. As he was at the head of a great army, he summoned it to surrender in three days time, and threatened, in case of a refusal, to give the garrison no quarter. A capitulation was immediately set on foot, in which Pantulf was mediator; and the citizens, at the persuasion of Ralph abbot of Seys, consented to send the king the keys of the town and castle: but this negotiation was carried on, and concluded, without the knowledge of the mercenary soldiers, who had been placed there in garrison by the earl. When the place, therefore, came to be delivered up, they stood to their arms; and the king, in admiration of their fidelity, gave them leave to retire with all the honours of war, their arms and horses. Thus this dangerous insurrection was quelled in a month, from its first breaking out.

The peace of the kingdom being now in some measure restored, the earl of Shrewsbury and his adherents were formally dispossessed of all their English estates. This brought in a vast revenue, and strengthened the hands of the government. Henry, before this time, had never considered himself as a real king: he now resolved to be so, that is, to be independent of all powers abroad, and of every class of his subjects at home. Convenience had long prevailed with him to wear a mask of obedience and submission to the power of Anselm. That prelate's late behaviour, in the affair of the invasion, had heartily exasperated the Norman faction against him in England. Henry, sensible of this, made their resentment serve his purposes; but he proceeded in such a manner, as might carry the greatest shew of deference, though not of subjection, to the see of Rome. The archbishop was summoned to appear at the king's court, to which he repaired. The question was then directly put to him, to know his opinion concerning the matter of investitures; in short, he was commanded instantly to do homage to the king, and to consecrate those prelates whom the court had nominated, to the vacant sees and abbeys, or else to depart the kingdom. Anselm was struck with those peremptory requisitions: he appealed to the pope's letters, which put him under an inhibition not to comply with the king's or-

ders. He then acquainted Henry, that he himself had been the member of a synod at Rome, in which it was resolved to excommunicate all those who should abet the claim of lay-investitures. He told him, that thereby, should he admit of that claim, he should be self-condemned and self-excommunicated; concluding with a hint, that such treatment was far from being a suitable return for his late services. "What is all this to me?" *A. D. 1103.* replies the king, with great quickness; *Anselm refuses to comply with lay-investitures.* "I am resolved not to depart from the prerogatives of my crown, and to suffer no person to reside within my dominions, who shall deny me the allegiance due to a sovereign." But Anselm knew his own power too well to be intimidated by threatenings, and replied, That he was resolved not to depart the kingdom, but to go down to Canterbury to perform his episcopal functions, and there to wait for the event. Henry, not expecting to meet with so resolute a behaviour, began now to think he had gone too far. It is true, he was supported in his claim by a great majority of the nobility, both spiritual and temporal, and some of them even went so far as to advise him to throw off all regard for the see of Rome. But the king was not sure of the people, and the inferior orders of the clergy. This consideration led him to soften Anselm. A message, after all endeavours for an accommodation were fruitless, was sent down to the archbishop, by way of invitation, from the king; and Anselm was given to understand, that if he would repair to court, matters should be mitigated in his favour. Anselm accordingly repaired to Windsor, where the court then was; and the matter was canvassed in a general assembly of the states, both spiritual and temporal. An expedient, at last, was proposed, and accepted, by both parties, That a new deputation should be sent to Rome (the deputies to be of higher quality than those hitherto employed at that court) and should lay before his holiness the alternative of either departing from his declaration with regard to investitures, or the necessity of the archbishop's departing the kingdom, which might be attended by a total defection of the English nation from the Roman see. A deputation was accordingly named, and consisted of Gerard late bishop of Hereford (now made archbishop of York) Herbert bishop of Thetford, and Robert bishop of Chester. Anselm, being afraid of the influence those prelates might have with the pope, nominated two agents of his own at the same time (Baldwin of the abbey of Bec, and Alexander of the abbey of Canterbury) with instructions to take care of his interest at the court of Rome, and to represent the high hand with which matters were carried on in that of England; with the danger that threatened the papal authority, if now depressed.

The success of this embassy belongs to another year and place. In the year 1103, *The duke of Normandy comes to England,* Robert duke of Normandy, having been strongly pressed by William de Warren, and others who had suffered for his sake, came over

The earl flies to Normandy.

Shrewsbury castle surrenders to Henry.

The earl and his followers dispossessed of their estates in England.

Henry breaks with Anselm archbishop of Canterbury.

The king's quick reply.

Anselm's answer.

He is softened,

and comes to court.

A new deputation sent to Rome.

A. D. 1104.
to solicit the
restitution of
his party to
their estates;

but is forced
to give up his
own pension.

The earl of
Shrewsbury's
great power
in Normandy.

He attacks the
dominions of
the two bro-
thers.

He is joined
by the earl of
Mortaign.

Causes of his
discontent.

over to England in person, to solicit their restitution, at his brother's court. Henry, who had expected an application of this kind, answered by recriminating upon Robert, and charged him with the breach of the late treaty, by giving refuge and encouragement to the English rebels, and particularly to the earl of Shrewsbury, whom he had lately admitted into his dominions, and given into his hands the castle of Argenteile, the bishopric of Seez, and the forest of Golker. Robert was disconcerted by this reply, and found himself in danger of forfeiting all the advantages he had got by his treaty with his brother. Instead of proceeding, therefore, in his application, he was forced to have recourse to the queen's mediation, and even to remit the payment of his yearly pension. It is true, Henry at the same time restored William de Warren to his great estate in England; and that nobleman, seeing the fickleness and inconsistency of Robert's conduct, remained ever after a faithful and useful subject to Henry.

At this time the turbulent earl of Shrewsbury, to be revenged on Henry for his banishment and forfeiture, was meditating to raise fresh disturbances in Normandy. He was there in possession of no fewer than thirty-four strong castles, in which he had put all the wealth he had amassed, and which were provided with good garrisons. Robert and Henry, at this time, though not at open variance, were upon very indifferent terms with one another. The earl of Shrewsbury immediately attacked the possessions of both. Robert, at this juncture, seems to have been in England, not dreaming of any such attack from a person whom he had lately so sensibly obliged; passing therefore hastily over to Normandy, he got together an army; but was so excessively indolent, that both his money and time were trifled away, without his checking the rebellion, which soon received a very powerful support from another quarter. For William earl of Mortaign, son to count Robert half-brother to the Conqueror, had been long secretly in the interest of the earl of Shrewsbury, and an abettor of his rebellion. The suppression of that earl had disappointed his views, but had not quelled his ambition. He possessed two great estates, that of Mortaign in Normandy, and the earldom of Cornwall in England. His great importance during the time of the threatened invasion under duke Robert, and the rebellion of the earl of Shrewsbury, had prevailed with Henry to wink at many expressions and extravagances he committed, in hopes of keeping him in temper, and of preventing him from declaring openly in favour of his enemies. The earl looked upon this conduct as proceeding not from policy, but from fear; his insolence swelled, and his demands grew higher. Odo bishop of Bayeux was by this time dead, and his earldom of Kent had escheated to the crown. The earl of Mortaign, who was his nephew, claimed to be put in possession of this earldom, and had for some time pressed his claim in a pretty

peremptory manner. Henry, during the public commotions, that he might keep the earl still undetermined, acted in such a manner, as neither to admit nor reject his pretensions. In the year 1104, Henry having quieted all civil commotions, thought it now high time to bring this insolent nobleman to a sense of his duty; for, upon the earl's pressing to be put in possession of the earldom of Kent, the king not only absolutely rejected his suit, but brought against him, before his peers, a charge of many oppressions and illegalities he had been guilty of, besides several misdemeanors against the state. Those articles being proved to the satisfaction of the court, judgment went in favour of the king. The liberty of the person was at that time very sacred by the laws of England; and the earl, not daring to submit to the judgment of his peers, fled to Normandy.

That country at this juncture was in the utmost distress, through the turbulence of its nobility, and the inactivity of its duke. For Robert was so bad an oeconomist, that most of his territories were now remortgaged, and the little which remained, consisting only of the city of Roan, and a very small portion of land, was daily subject to the insults of the rebels. This distress was heightened by the arrival of the earl of Mortaign, who entered into a close alliance with the earl of Shrewsbury. At the same time, Robert's passion for indolence grew with the calamities of his country, till at last, without the consent or privity of his brother, he made a peace with the rebels. It is true, Henry's conduct, on this occasion, is by no means to be vindicated. His own personal estate in Normandy was well fortified with many strong towns, which secured it from the insults of the rebels; but the estates of many of his nobility, particularly that of the earl of Chester, now a minor, and under his protection, was every day cruelly spoiled. As Henry had long entertained a secret view of making himself sole master of Normandy, he was more jealous of his brother's power than of that of the rebels, and therefore had neglected to support him. This neglect, meeting with Robert's natural indolence, had prevailed with the latter to conclude the late disagreeable peace with the rebels; and he seems at this time to have thrown up all concerns of government, and to have disregarded the protection of his country. This exasperated his subjects to the highest degree, and made them resolve to throw themselves into the arms of Henry for the protection of their liberties and properties.

Serlo bishop of Seez, and Robert abbot of the same place, were the first who publicly declared their intentions, by excommunicating Robert, and flying over to England, where they were received by Henry with great caresses, and seeming compassion for their circumstances. This was the very point to which Henry's secret wishes aspired; but he had, as yet, no justifiable pretence for dispossessing Robert; and the power of the rebels

A. D. 1104.

He is im-
peached be-
fore his peers.

Distractions of
Normandy at
this time.

Robert's great
indolence.

Henry's po-
licy.

Robert makes
a peace with
the rebels.

The Normans
revolt from
Robert.

A. D. 1105. rebels daily encreasing, made him dread lest his brother Robert and they should unite their forces, and declare against him, if he committed any acts of hostility against Robert.

It was, however, very visible that the crisis was now drawing near, when the Norman noblemen, who had estates in England and Normandy likewise, must unite, for protection, under one head. Henry's policy, in not supporting his brother, hastened their putting this resolution in practice; for now, after the example of the prelate and the abbot, Henry received a general application from the Norman nobility, that he would pity the miseries of the state and church, and take them under his protection. He resolved to make the best use of this application; and, about autumn in the same year, he passed over to Normandy with a noble fleet and an army. The season was too far advanced, for him to make any progress by his arms; and all he could do at this time, was to support the noblemen of his party, and to over-awe his brother from entering into any farther concert with the rebels. Accordingly Henry no sooner arrived in Normandy, than his court was crowded by a great appearance of Norman nobility, who all represented their own distresses, and implored his protection. Among others was Robert earl of Mellent, and the young earl of Chester. But Henry, notwithstanding this, found his designs were not yet ripe; he therefore set out, in a kind of progress, to Damfront, and other places belonging to his own estate in Normandy, which he visited, and put in the best condition against the spring following. He then sent a message to his brother, desiring an interview, which was readily granted. The meeting was spent in mutual reproaches; on Robert's part, for his having been so ill supported by Henry; and on Henry's part, for his brother's making a shameful peace with rebels and fugitives, and for having neglected to make the proper use of his money and forces. Both parties, however, came soon to a seeming good understanding, and Robert departed highly pleased with his brother's assurances, while Henry returned to pass the winter in England.

The rebels, all this time of Henry's visit, had kept themselves within their fortresses; but no sooner did the king return to England, than they broke forth with double fury, and filled the whole country with murder and desolation; while the common people, to avoid being put to the sword, retired to the French territories. Robert had no power to prevent those excesses, and the discontented noblemen laid hold of this opportunity to renew their applications to Henry. The earl of Shrewsbury, by this time, had risen to a great pitch of insolence; his two brothers, Roger and Arnulf, had suffered the loss of all their possessions in England on his account; yet the unnatural earl acted so ungratefully, that they were now

reduced to contempt and poverty in his service, and cut out from all their father's estate. This discontented them so much, that Roger retired to Carof-castle, which was his wife's inheritance; while Arnulf seized the castle of Amanisca, which he put into Robert's hands, and prevailed with several of the Norman nobility to follow his example. The earl of Shrewsbury immediately marched to recover what he had lost, and surprized some of Henry's Norman troops, who lay at the abbey of Amanisca, giving them a total defeat, and treating those who fell into his hands with great barbarity. Robert, at this time, lay at Hiesmes; he could not be unconcerned at those excesses, and advanced to chastise the rebels; but the earl met him on his march, and charged him upon a causeway so vigorously, that he obliged him to fly with great loss. After this the earl seized several castles in the neighbourhood, belonging to Robert as well as Henry, and declared himself equally an enemy to both.

The spring being now come, no time was to be lost for Henry's bringing his great scheme, of taking Normandy into his own hands, into perfection. Under pretence, therefore, of delivering that country from the ravages of the rebels, he raised a great army, and, in the last week of Lent, he landed at Barfleur in Normandy. He had already taken care to get Philip king of France over to his party, together with Geoffrey earl of Anjou, upon the plausible pretence of chastising the disturbers and ravagers of the church's property. Having succeeded in this negotiation, he hired a body of troops from the earl of Maine; but still without declaring his real intentions. This might have been dangerous, but was at last effected, without any hazard, by Henry's refined policy working with the warm resentments and enthusiastic zeal of the bishop of Seez. For having come to Carenton, to celebrate the feast of Easter, he found the church almost filled with the chests and effects of the country people, who had fled from the fury of the rebels. The bishop took advantage of this circumstance, and, in a very moving harangue, laid before the king the miseries to which the Normans were reduced, not more through the cruelty and avarice of the rebels, than through the inactivity and weakness of their own duke, who ought to protect and defend them. He next represented, that the ties of blood and nature, as well as the rights of mankind, called upon him to undertake the defence of a people, who were born the subjects of his family, and had placed his father upon the throne of England, now filled by himself. He then recounted all the failings and vices of his brother; and concluded with a fresh exhortation for Henry to draw his sword, and to take under his protection the duchy of Normandy; which Robert had forfeited by his male-administration (1).

This

(1) But before they made any farther progress, say our authors, in this affair, the bishop laid hold of this opportunity to put in practice a small point of ecclesiastical discipline. The Norman nobility, as I have told you, then wore very long hair,

A. D. 1105.

Henry's cautious proceedings.

His reasons for the same.

He takes mercenary troops into pay, and besieges Bayeux,

which he takes,

with great part of Normandy.

He takes Caen.

This speech was seconded by the entreaties of the earl of Mellent, and many other Norman noblemen, subjects to the duke as well as to Henry. But the latter was contented, on this occasion, to declare, that he had then no other views than to procure the quiet of the church and state. He had many reasons for this caution. Robert had formerly a strong party among the English, and their affections might revive in his favour, upon the least appearance of injustice in his brother. Add to this, that his great merits in the crusade had exceedingly raised his reputation with the princes on the continent: nor did Henry know how far his new allies would support him, should he declare all at once against his brother. These were some of the reasons for his cautious proceeding; but a letter which he received at this time from pope Paschal, exhorting him to undertake the defence of Normandy, gave him great encouragement. He resolved, therefore, to do the thing; but without explaining his views. He took into his pay an additional body of mercenaries from the count of Maine, and, before he made any public declaration of what he intended, he all of a sudden laid siege to Bayeux. This place was commanded by Gunter Dawney, who had lately taken prisoner Robert Fitzhamon, a nobleman who had been held in great consideration with the two Williams and with Henry. It is very probable that Henry's pretence for his besieging this place was to reclaim this nobleman; but if it was, Dawney the governor soon deprived him of that pretence: for we find that, a few days after the siege was formed, he had an interview with Henry, and re-delivered Fitzhamon into his hands. But this would not satisfy Henry; and, upon Dawney's refusing to surrender the town, he renewed his assaults with such fury, that both the town and its cathedral were burnt to the ground, and the governor and his garrison were obliged to surrender themselves prisoners of war.

The fate of Bayeux struck terror into the inhabitants of the neighbouring cities. Henry, however, had still no justifiable pretext for declaring against his brother; he therefore employed other means, that his proceeding might carry with it an appearance to be the effect of a voluntary submission on the part of the people. Some of the principal inhabitants of Caen had been secretly brought over to his interest by money. That important place was held by Engeran Fitz-ilbert: him the inhabitants expelled, and admitted Henry's garrison into the town. Four of the chief citizens were afterwards rewarded by the king with the manor of Dallington in England, then worth about fourscore pounds a year. This great success, together with the submission of places of less importance, encouraged Henry to attempt

the reduction of Falais. But, by this time, his proceeding began to alarm his allies: for the count of Maine, being now convinced that his intention was to make himself master of all Normandy, refused to suffer his subjects to continue any longer in Henry's pay; and withdrew them so critically, that the siege of Falais being formed, the besiegers were beaten by a sally from the garrison, and obliged to retire, leaving a great many dead on the spot. Some were of considerable note, particularly a knight (one Robert of Gloucester) in great favour with Henry for his courage and activity. This repulse, which happened in the year 1105, together with the defection of the earl of Maine, and the want of money, through the excessive sums which Henry had bestowed in corrupting the chief Normans, obliged him to put an end to the campaign this year, and to return to England, which he did about the end of autumn. But, before he left Normandy, it appears that he entered into a secret negotiation with the earl of Shrewsbury, whom he amused with the hopes of re-admitting to his family possessions. For we find, that the same year in which Henry left Normandy, that nobleman came over to England; but the particulars of his business are doubtful. We know, however, in the main, that he would not have ventured himself into the power of his most provoked and inveterate enemy, had it not been for the assurances and encouragement he received; and that he left England without coming to any agreement with Henry. Our historians generally remark, that this year was very calamitous to England, both on account of the inclemency of the seasons, and of the excessive oppression of the subject, by the taxes which Henry raised for carrying on his ambitious measures. Among other taxes mentioned on this occasion, we read of one imposed upon priests, by way of fine, in his courts, for keeping wives or concubines. These prosecutions were founded upon the fifth, sixth, and seventh articles of a synod held at Westminster, in the second year of this king's reign, which we shall have occasion to treat of in the ecclesiastical history. It is true, that the clergy thought those articles obliged them to a purity inconsistent with the frailties of human nature, and had indulged themselves in many liberties against their ties of celibacy and chastity. But Henry's officers, who were employed to carry on the prosecutions, found that all they could raise in this manner would arise to a very inconsiderable sum, in comparison of their master's exigences; they had therefore recourse to the most unheard of violences. There is reason for believing, that some of the heaviest taxes were carried through meerly by the strength of prerogative, without the least regard to the privilege of the subject: and

A. D. 1105. He is left by the count of Maine.

He is forced to raise the siege of Falais with loss.

He returns to England.

His treaty with the earl of Shrewsbury.

He imposes a tax upon priests,

which is collected with great severity.

hair, and used much art in preserving and making it (as was then thought) ornamental, when this eloquent prelate, say our historians, continuing his oration, inveighed mightily against that (then supposed) vice, admonishing and exhorting the king to shew a good example to others, and suffer his own hair to be first cut off; to which he presently submitting, the bishop as presently drew a pair of scissars out of his sleeve, and first polled the king, and then the earl of Mellent, and several noblemen, with his own hands: upon which the rest of the people, fearing the king's edict, came from all parts, and strove who should be thus polled or clipped.

A. D. 1106. we are told, that they who were unable to pay, had their estates and houses plundered by those harpies of the state; and where the effects were not sufficient to satisfy, their persons were hauled to goal. Of all those taxes, none was more oppressive than one laid upon all parish churches, the incumbent of each church being answerable for his payment of the rate imposed upon his parish; but that rate was raised upon the people. Henry, during this rage of oppression, unmindful of every thing but how to gratify his ambition, happening to come to London, was met by almost two hundred parish priests in their surplices, who, on their bare knees, petitioned for some relaxation of their miseries. But this prince was not of a disposition to let his pity get the better of his interest; the priests were dismissed with an absolute denial, and the exactions continued till the whole of the exorbitant sum was made up.

A tax upon parish churches. Henry's designs were now no longer secret, and his brother found himself but poorly provided to resist him. He resolved, however, to have a clear and explicit declaration of his intentions; and for that purpose he came over to England in person, in the spring 1106, and went to Henry, who then kept his court at Northampton. As no declaration of war had lately passed between the two brothers, Robert made a demand from Henry of all the places the latter had taken in Normandy since the last accommodation. Henry could find no pretext for evading this peremptory demand, and therefore gave his brother an absolute refusal; and hinted to him at the same time, that he might be well satisfied with having free liberty to return. Robert was so much incensed by this treatment, that he could not dissemble his indignation, but vented it in several loud menaces against Henry; and then returning to Normandy, he entered into a close alliance with the earls of Shrewsbury and Mortaign.

Robert comes to England. Henry, who did not know what secret friends Robert might still retain in England, thought proper to remove all scruples with regard to his own conduct, by calling, immediately after Robert's departure, an assembly of his states at London. An English author informs us, that he had already brought over many of the nobility, by the magnificent promises he had made them; and that, as to the injustice he was meditating, he thought the founding or endowing an abbey, or so, would sufficiently atone for that. The assembly, therefore, being met, the king, in an eloquent speech, laid before them Robert's demerits in provoking heaven, by refusing to accept of the crown of Jerusalem; and the constant aversion and contempt he had always expressed for the English nation.

Henry calls together an assembly of the states. "As for myself, continued he, I am your humble and mild king; I desire no more than to fulfil my repeated oath, to maintain your ancient liberties, and the laws granted by the good king Edward, which, if you require, I am willing to confirm by charter; and, if my brave English stand

A. D. 1107. "by me, I shall ever despise the threats of my brother and his Normans."

The same author remarks, that this speech was so artful as to persuade the assembly, that the king intended to be as good as his word; but that he afterwards, most impiously and barefacedly, broke all his promises. However, on this occasion, he behaved with a great shew of respect to the English nation: he declared, that no concerns of his own should prevail with him to keep any of the high festivals, at which times his great courts were held, out of England. Accordingly, this year, he kept his Easter at Bath, and his Whitsuntide at Salisbury; and it was the end of July before he passed over into Normandy, with the chief nobility.

Partly the terror of his arms, and partly the allurements of his money, had now brought over to his interest almost all the Norman nobility, excepting the earls of Shrewsbury and Mortaign, who, with their dependants, and a very few others, still continued with Robert. Henry was now at the head of a great army, composed of mercenaries and auxiliaries, as well as English. The great Norman and English barons (such as William earl of Eureux, the earl of Melent, and the earl of Warren) appeared in their own persons at the head of their followers. Robert, on the other hand, had by this time received several considerable reinforcements from several of the neighbouring princes, and particularly the king of France. Of the Norman nobility who still continued faithful to him, besides the two earls, we have the names of Robert de Stotewille and William de Ferraris. The king's army was strongest in horse, and that of his brother in foot.

Henry having now taken the field, began with the siege of Tinchebray, a town belonging to the earl of Mortaign; but finding it too well provided for a defence, he turned the siege into a blockade, and built a fort near it, in which he left some soldiers, for keeping it in awe. The earl of Mortaign, however, soon after surprized this fort, put its garrison to the sword, and relieved the town. Henry, exasperated that his arms should receive such a check at the opening of the campaign, resolved to make one great effort, and to take the town in defiance of the allies; accordingly he assembled his army, and renewed the siege. The earl of Mortaign, on the other hand, remonstrated to Robert and his confederates, how much it concerned them to support the reputation of their arms, and, rather than suffer the town to be taken, to venture a general battle. This advice was approved of, and a general rendezvous of the allies being ordered, they advanced in a body against the enemy. Henry had taken his measures too well to be surprized, and made so good use of his advantages, that, after a sharp and desperate engagement before the town, the duke and his allies received a total defeat; no less than four hundred knights, and ten thousand foot, being taken prisoners by the

His great success in Normandy.

His strength;

and that of Robert.

He besieges Tinchebray.

He is attacked by Robert,

whom he defeats, and takes prisoner.

His dissimulation,

[Matthew Paris.]

A. D. 1107.
The other
prisoners.

the king. But the most illustrious of those captives were the duke of Normandy himself, the earl of Mortaign, William Crispin, William Ferraris, and Robert Stotville the elder, all of them Norman barons. Among other prisoners mentioned on this occasion, is Edgar Atheling, who it seems had, some time before, left the royal party, and joined with Robert; but Henry, either out of regard to his queen, and the king of Scots, or for some other motive either of contempt or interest, restored him to liberty. He then came over to England. It is now time to close the long scene of action, in which this prince, fortunate in nothing but the natural insensibility of his high claim and blood, had been engaged. For we are informed, by Malmesbury, that, after various adventures upon the continent, and making an expedition to the holy land, he refused all the advantageous offers made him by foreign princes, that he might end his days in England. Upon his release, and return into England, he retired into the country, where he ended his days much more happily than he had spent them, in a retreat from all the hurry and tumult of ambition, and went to the grave in his old age, with the character of a good, inoffensive, weak man, without marriage, or issue.

Conclusion of
the history of
Edgar Athel-
ing.

The duke of
Normandy
sent prisoner
into England.

As to the other prisoners, the duke of Normandy was sent prisoner into England, and committed to safe custody in Cardiff-castle in Wales, as the earl of Mortaign was to the tower of London, the other captives being severally disposed of throughout the prisons in the kingdom. Robert de Bellesme earl of Shrewsbury had the good fortune to escape out of the battle, and preserved an untamed spirit of resentment against Henry; for he sought to persuade the earl of Maine to take up arms for the deliverance of the Norman duke; but failing in this, and having no farther prospect of supporting himself, or of creating farther disturbances, he applied to Henry for a reconciliation, which he obtained, and was restored to most, or all, of his paternal inheritance. As for the earl of Mortaign, he was tried by his peers, and diseised of his estate, upon which he was admitted to his liberty, and went to the holy wars, without making any efforts for recovering his inheritance.

Henry in full
possession of
Normandy.
His establish-
ments there.

The battle of Tinchebray put Henry in full possession of Normandy. His first step was to summon a meeting of the states at Lisieux, where it was agreed upon, that a lasting tranquility should be restored to that harrassed duchy; that from that time all means should be used for suppressing the violences and robberies which had of late so greatly prevailed; and that the affairs both of the church and private property should be restored to the same state they were in during the life-time of the Conqueror. This last resolution occasioned the erecting a kind of court of enquiry and resumption. Many grants made by Robert were rendered void, and many of his bargains reversed. In short, Henry affected to behave with great

justice and moderation, and, upon his departure, left the states entirely satisfied with his conduct.

In Lent, 1107, Henry returned into England. The necessities of his state, his frequent journies and expeditions, and the general poverty of the common people, had by this time introduced many abuses all over the nation. As Henry was a man of too good sense not to know that his own power was best established by consulting the prosperity of his subjects, when no immediate exigency of ambition pushed him upon oppressive measures, soon after his arrival he called together an assembly of his states at Windsor, where many points of ecclesiastical discipline were settled. In the beginning of August the same year, another assembly was held at Westminster, where farther regulations were made; all which, as they relate to church affairs, shall be taken notice of in the ecclesiastical history. It may be proper here only to observe, that the state of Henry's affairs, both in Normandy and England, had by this time led him into a reconciliation with Anselm archbishop of Canterbury, the general state of which we shall, as briefly as is consistent with history, now lay before our readers; reserving the account of those steps which immediately and solely relate to the church, for the ecclesiastical history.

He calls an
assembly of
the states at
Windsor.

The deputies which had been sent to Rome, both by Henry and the archbishop, immediately after the meeting of the assembly at Windsor, returned to England, in the summer of the year 1102. Their success with the pope had been very indifferent. His holiness had behaved with great decency and smoothness, but with great firmness. He had wrote two letters, one to Henry and another to Anselm, both of them directly condemning all lay-investitures. That directed to Henry was delivered into his own hands, and the contents of it were known only to himself, or perhaps to the deputies, who being prelates, possessed of temporal estates and honours, were entirely in Henry's interest, and directed by him. Anselm made no secret to impart to every one the contents of the pope's letter to him, and applauded himself for acting so very agreeably to the sentiments of his holiness. Henry, at once vexed, and disdaining to be thwarted in a matter so intimately connected with the dignity of his crown, upon this occasion put in practice a piece of king-craft, which to later ages will, perhaps, seem pretty extraordinary. He again summoned the archbishop to his court, requiring him, peremptorily, either to comply with his will in the matter of the investitures, or to depart the kingdom. Anselm was startled at this message, so directly contrary to what he had reason to expect. He represented to the king, that the letter he had received from the pope left him no room for compliance, and entreated his highness to impart to him the contents of the letter he had received, since he was ready and willing to obey his will.

The differ-
ences between
Henry and
Anselm con-
tinued.

Henry's king-
craft.

A. D. 1107.

Henry's reply
to Anselm.The report of
Henry's com-
missioners
from the pope.They are con-
fronted and
contradicted.Anselm is ill
supported.The terms
upon which he
lived in Eng-
land.He sends fresh
agents to
Rome.Henry's ma-
nagement.

will, as far as his own conscience, and the commands of his holiness, would give him leave. Though this was a fair request, if we consider the footing upon which the king and the archbishop then stood; yet Henry refused it. He at last flatly told Anselm, that the determination of the pope had very little influence with him; that he did not think himself obliged to produce his letter; and that, if he did produce it, the contents, perhaps, would be found to be very far from answering Anselm's expectations: in short, that the question now solely regarded his submission, and that he expected his positive compliance. This answer favoured too much of absolute power. Anselm appealed to the contents of his own letter, for a vindication of his conduct; and Henry was forced upon another expedient, to make good the part he had undertaken. For his deputies now declared, that, with regard to the letters, they were ignorant of what they contained; but that they knew the pope's sentiments perfectly well; and that they had verbal instructions to inform both the king and his court, that, provided the king behaved with proper submission to the holy see in other respects, he would dispense with the matter of investitures. As to the letters, they said that it would have been extremely improper for the pope to have given any such indulgence under his hand, since it might have encouraged other princes to have insisted upon the like. But, in all this, the king's deputies were confronted by the agents of the archbishop. Nothing can give us a better idea of the zeal with which the English nobility then sought to shake off the yoke of the Romish see in temporal matters, than by observing, that, notwithstanding the express words of the pope's letter to Anselm, the evidence of the two monks, and the refusal of Henry to produce the letter addressed to himself, the assembly was inclined to give credit to the royal deputies; and Anselm, at last, was so ill supported, that he was at a stand how to behave. At last he was brought to admit of living in terms of communion with those who had received lay-investitures; but could be by no means brought to consecrate any of them. Upon this footing the controversy remained for some time. The necessity, however, of filling up the vacant bishoprics, soon revived the dispute; and the king, instead of abating, rose in his demands. Anselm had, by this time, sent fresh agents to Rome, for instructions how to behave; and, in an interview he soon after had with Henry, he referred himself to the answer they had brought from his holiness. Henry answered, That all that was trifling with him, and insisted upon a peremptory answer, without suffering the dispatches brought by the last agents to be so much as opened in his presence.

It is hard to say where this obstinacy on both parts might have ended, had not Henry, for some political views, thought proper to let the matter rest for some time: but, to keep up his dignity, he managed it so, that

the assembly of the states, which met at Easter, interposed; and desired Anselm to go to Rome himself, attended by an ambassador from the king, that an end might be at last put to so important and intricate an affair.

I shall not trouble the reader with the particular detail of every circumstance of this transaction, which I now consider in a civil light only, and as affecting the temporal concerns of the crown and nation: it is sufficient to relate here, that the archbishop and William Warelwaft (the same who had been employed by Rufus upon a like occasion) set out for Rome; and that, when they arrived there, they found the pope incensed against Henry to the highest degree.

The envoy and the archbishop had an audience at the same time. Warelwaft, presuming upon the experienced compliance of the Romish see when it was treated with any degree of firmness, opened his master's case with great spirit, and at last broke into the following expression: "That whatever opinions may be entertained abroad, he knew his master would as soon part with his kingdom as with his right of investitures."

The pope, who was then in full consistory, could not brook this freedom. He had hitherto appeared very attentive to Warelwaft's harangue, but broke out now with great vehemence: "Your master, said he, will part with his kingdom as soon as with the right of investitures! Then know, that, while Paschal is pope, were it to save your master's life, he shall never quietly enjoy them."

All the cardinals present seemed a good deal to applaud this resolute answer of the pope's, which did not a little disconcert Warelwaft, as he greatly relied on their friendship. As to Anselm, though he was there at Henry's request, yet he was too well pleased with the proceeding to put in the least word for mitigating the pope's indignation. At last, both the ambassador and he had their leaves to return, after the pope had given sentence in the most express terms against lay-investitures, and charged Anselm with letters to Henry for that purpose. Warelwaft saw it was in vain to make any more applications, and travelled with seeming acquiescence in the pope's judgment in company with Anselm, till they came to Lyons in France. Warelwaft took an opportunity to hint there, in a seeming friendly manner, that unless the archbishop would absolutely give up his claim, he could not return with honour and safety into England. Upon which Anselm sent Henry an account of the success of his commission, and the pope's determination, with the message which had been imparted to him by Warelwaft; intimating at the same time, that he could not return to England but upon the terms he himself had proposed, since the pope had passed a more strict sentence than ever.

Henry perceiving this firmness of the two prelates, of Rome and Canterbury, proceeded with equal resolution on his part; for he immediately seized the revenues of the archbishopric, which he ordered to be col-

A. D. 1107.
Anselm and
an ambassador
propose to re-
pair to Rome.

The pope's
sharp reply to
Henry's em-
bassador.

Henry seizes
the revenues
of the arch-
bishopric of
Canterbury.

A. D. 1107. lected by two of Anselm's tenants. This resolute behaviour daunted his holiness, notwithstanding all his late shew of resolution. The archbishop still continued in exile, till Henry's interest made him lend an ear to the intercession of his sister the countess of Blois, when matters were so far made up, that all farther talk of excommunication was laid aside, and the archbishop, about the time of the battle of Tinchebray, returned into England, where he received a letter from Henry himself, with an account of that great success; and, soon after, matters were made up in the manner as shall be seen in the ecclesiastical history.

Death of Edgar king of Scotland.

In the year 1107 died Edgar king of Scotland, brother-in-law to Henry, after a peaceful reign of nine years and six months, in which his gratitude to the Norman race appeared by his never giving, as was the manner of his country, any diversion to the English arms, when embroiled either in foreign or domestic wars. In the next year Henry held a great meeting of his states, in which he was importuned by his nobility, both spiritual and temporal, to give way to the redress of many grievances which had crept in, to the great oppression of the common people. His court and attendants had, for some time, claimed and practised a barbarous privilege of living upon free quarter in all places through which their master passed. This occasioned the land to be abandoned by the inhabitants, when they suspected a royal progress; for the insolent attendants spoiled and plundered all that came in their way, while the people retired, with all the provisions they could carry off, into woods and recesses. An effectual stop was now put to this abuse by the king's proclamation, which inflicted severe corporal penalties, such as the loss of eyes, hands, and limbs, upon all who were guilty, for the time to come, of the like excesses.

Henry regulates many abuses.

That of the current coin.

The abuse of the current coin of the kingdom was another grievance, which called aloud for redress. The loss of eyes and genitals was inflicted on all counterfeiters. Small money, such as pence and half-pence, were often broken by the country people, for the convenience of smaller pieces; by this means, when they were not broken into equal pieces, the smaller ones remained on the hands of the proprietor, to his great prejudice. This abuse, which was grown to a great height, was remedied by coining pence in one round piece, with two creases intersecting it into four equal parts; so that, by breaking it according to those creases, it might fall into two halfpence, or four farthings.

Of shipwrecks.

Several other very useful regulations seem to have been made at this time, which I shall take notice of, the rather as they have been past over by our other historians. The barbarous custom, which is a reproach even to later ages, then prevailed, of the proprietors of those shores where a ship happened to be wrecked, seizing on the wreck as their own property, while the poor sailors were turned ashore to hunger and misery, and often met on land the fate they had escaped at sea.

This custom was abolished by Henry, who issued out a proclamation, that, in such cases, if one single soul in the ship remained alive, the whole, including both the bottom and cargo, that should be saved, should belong to him. But this excellent edict was repealed under his successor, to the reproach of his reign. The reader is here to observe, that Henry's making those regulations by proclamation is far from being an argument that the royal proclamations in those days had the force of an act of the states. The regulations themselves were no other than putting in force, reviving and recommending the laws which were already in being, but their execution neglected or perverted by inferior magistrates, and therefore a proclamation was sufficient for all the purposes of the subject.

The regulation of measures was the subject of another proclamation. A law had passed in the first year of Henry's reign, that every yard should be the length of the king's arm. This regulation had been greatly neglected and abused, but was now revived and enforced by royal proclamation.

These regulations could not fail of being very agreeable to the English nation; but Henry was not quite disinterested as to the motives of his patriotism. The heavy tax of Dane-geld was now revived, at the rate of two shillings upon every hide of land; and many oppressive forest prerogatives, brought in by his father and brother, were continued. As to the ecclesiastical regulations, I refer them to the history of the church.

While Henry was making himself powerful at home, a storm threatened to break upon his dominions abroad. Philip king of France being dead, he was succeeded by his son Lewis. This prince, jealous of Henry's greatness, since he had re-annexed the dukedom of Normandy to the crown of England, took occasion, upon some disputes about the fortresses on both frontiers, to make great preparations for invading Normandy. Robert had left in France a young prince, his son, whose name was William, of promising capacity, and beautiful in his person. Henry, perceiving the hostile dispositions of the king of France, grew apprehensive lest he should tamper with this young prince, and prompt him to attempt the recovery of his father's dominions. About the beginning of August, therefore, in the year 1108, without discovering his real intentions, Henry, having nothing to fear of England, passed over to Normandy. At first he seemed to mind nothing but the putting his frontiers in a posture of defence; but all of a sudden he gave orders to Robert Beauchamp, viscount of Arches, to seize the person of the young prince of Normandy, who was then in a castle belonging to his tutor, Elias count of St. Sidon. This order was not kept so secret, but that the prince had timely notice of it, and made his escape into France; while Elias's castle was seized upon by Henry, and the custody of it committed to William de Warren. As to William, his tutor carried him first to the court of France, and afterwards to those of the neighbouring princes, whom the gracefulness

A. D. 1108.

Of measures.

His heavy taxes.

He is disturbed by Lewis king of France.

He endeavours to seize his nephew William, who escapes.

A.D. 1109. ness of his person, and the sweetness of his manners, disposed to attempt somewhat in his favour. But the activity of Henry, at this juncture, prevented all endeavours of that kind. The party of Robert, however, were indefatigable in their solicitations. Robert earl of Shrewsbury still retained an implacable enmity to Henry and his government, and, in conjunction with the young prince's tutor, applied not only to Lewis king of France, but to William duke of Poictou, Henry duke of Burgundy, and Alan duke of Brittany. Those princes, all of them, discovered the best dispositions towards the disinherited prince; but all he could now obtain, were assurances of supporting him at a proper juncture. Henry, not ignorant of the dispositions of his neighbours, redoubled his attention to the state of his Norman territories and frontiers, and at the same time negotiated an alliance which might counterbalance all the interest of his rival on the continent.

and gets a party.

Pol. Virgil.

Henry's alliance with the emperor of Germany.

This was with Henry, the fourth emperor of Germany. The territories of the two princes were too discontiguous for them to enter into any alliance, on account of mutual support, against a third power; an alliance of blood was therefore necessary to cement their interests, so distant in point of territory. Henry had a daughter at this time, her name Maud, but of too tender years for a connubial state; but this was no objection to a match of interest. A marriage between the young lady and the emperor was negotiated, and agreed upon; and the imperial ambassadors were to demand her in form for their master, as soon as Henry should return to England.

Henry put his affairs in Normandy upon so good a footing, that, notwithstanding all the interest of his brother's family, he was able to hold a great council of his states, on Whitsuntide, 1109, at Westminster. Here the emperor's ambassadors made their demand of his daughter, and the terms were finally agreed upon. It had been a custom, in all countries where the feudal system was established, for the subjects to furnish an extraordinary subsidy upon the marriage of their king's eldest daughter. Henry laid hold of this custom for imposing an extraordinary tax this year, of three shillings upon every hide of land throughout the kingdom; by which he raised a noble portion for the young lady, who continued in England till next year. This practice gathered strength with time, and its vestiges are still discernible upon like occasion. But it must be owned, that the nation is not now near so liberal that way as it was formerly, since, by a moderate computation, the money raised by Henry for his daughter's portion, amounted to equal the value of eight hundred thousand pounds at this time.

An extraordinary tax laid on for her portion.

This year is memorable for the death of the famous Anselm archbishop of Canterbury, of whose character it were superfluous to say any thing in this place. It is likewise a celebrated æra of learning, by the revival of letters in the university of Cambridge.

See p. 230.

Learning revived at Cambridge.

The reader may, in the former part of this history, find some account of this celebrated society. It had lost for many years all its lustre, and at this time could afford no more commodious reception for its professors than a barn. The merits of the new masters, however, restored it to more than its pristine lustre; nor were the studies of the scholars confined to the dry, useless systems of school divinity, but extended to other branches of polite learning. The encouragement and example of Henry, no doubt, had great weight in this improvement of the erudition of his subjects.

A.D. 1111.

In Lent, 1110, the betrothed empress left England, with a noble retinue; and Henry's affairs were in such tranquility, that he was now at leisure to prosecute several of his great barons, who had either openly or secretly favoured the cause of his enemies. Of those, we have the names of Philip de Brause, William Mallet, and William Bainart; but Huntingdon, who delivers the fact, neglects to inform us of the particulars of their impeachment; for he only tells us, that they lost their estates for their treasons. At the same time we learn, that Elias, the famous earl of Maine, was put to death by order of Henry, whose feodatory he was. The history of this prince's succession is of importance to our history, and comes naturally in here. Henry wanted to seize into his own hands the earldom of Maine; but was prevented by Fulk earl of Anjou, who had married the daughter of Elias, and who strengthened his interest with the Normans, by openly espousing the part of William, the prince of Normandy. Fulk, by the acquisition of Maine, became now a considerable power upon the continent, and entered into engagements with the king of France, Almeric earl of Montfort, nephew and heir to William earl of Evereux, and Robert the restless earl of Shrewsbury, for invading Normandy. To give the better colour to their cause, a treaty of marriage was opened between William the Norman prince, and the daughter of Fulk, and great preparations were made for supporting his interest; while Henry, on the other hand, accused Fulk of usurping the duchy of Anjou, and declared his intentions of conquering it by force, though then too late in the year to open the campaign. In this state we leave the affairs on the continent, and return to England.

See p. 333, in the notes. Henry renews several prosecutions.

His differences with Fulk earl of Anjou.

In the year 1111, Henry gave a proof of his consummate knowledge in the affairs of government. He had observed the ill success which his brother ever had in his wars with the Welsh, and found, by experience, the keeping of that unquiet race in subjection to be attended with a great expence to his crown. Great part of the sea-coasts of Flanders having been, for some years past, ruined by the inundations of the sea, vast numbers of the Flemings had repaired to England in the two last reigns. At first, they were sent to the worst cultivated places of the northern provinces; but their numbers now greatly increasing, Henry contrived how to erect them into a kind of a colony, and plant them upon

He transplants the Flemings to Wales.

A. D. 1112. upon the frontiers of Wales, to serve as a barrier for his own dominions. This project was attended with as much success, as it was contrived with policy. The Flemings, who, in language and manners, differed from the English, but more from the Welsh, were collected wherever they were dispersed over England, and marched into Ross, a province of Pembrokehire, where they settled a new colony, and continued long an excellent fence against the Welsh. As to their manners and character, the reader may take the following account from an ancient author: "This nation, says he, is stout and resolute, and very troublesome to the Welsh by their frequent skirmishes; a people excellently skilled in the business of cloathing and merchandize, and always ready to increase their stock, at any pains or hazard, by sea and land. A most puissant nation, and equally prepared, as time and place shall require, either for the sword or the plough. And to add one thing more, a nation most devoted to the kings of England, and faithful to the English."

Giraldus.

The earl of Anjou invades Normandy with fire and sword.

Henry this year did not leave England till the month of August; nor did he, as usual, appear in state, no great council being this year summoned. In the mean time, Fulk earl of Anjou, and his confederates, had invaded Normandy with fire and sword. Henry arrived time enough to prevent them making any considerable progress, and formed a new alliance with his nephew, Theobald earl of Blois. This proved an advantageous measure to his affairs; for the earl gave the king of France so vigorous a diversion, that his allies were unable to make head against Henry. The year, however, passed without any remarkable advantage on either side, it being wholly taken up with the burning and betraying of towns, the particulars of which are foreign to this history. Fulk, indeed, had found means to corrupt the garrison of Constance, which he held against Henry, while the latter seized upon the earldom of Evereux, which he kept from Almeric earl of Montfort. As to Robert earl of Shrewsbury, the king impeached him before his great court, where not appearing, he was proclaimed a traitor, and his estate confiscated.

Peace between him and Henry.

Towards the end of the year 1112, Henry having still remained in Normandy since August 1111, some propositions for a peace were set on foot between him and the earl of Anjou. After a little canvassing, it was agreed on both sides, that Almeric earl of Montfort should resign his pretensions to the earldom of Evereux, in consideration of which, he was to be taken into favour by Henry; that Philip de Brause should be restored to his estate; that William, Henry's son, should marry the earl of Anjou's daughter; and that the earl himself should do homage to Henry for the earldom of Maine. As to the earl of Shrewsbury, no consideration appears to have been had for his interest, other than perhaps a stipulation for sparing his life; for, either at this time,

or soon after, he fell into Henry's hands, who sent him over prisoner to the castle of Warham in England for life. **A. D. 1113.**

Such were the principal heads of a treaty which delivered Henry from much uneasiness and danger. But the Norman prince was still alive, and found a powerful support at the court of France. Encouraged by this, Almeric de Valerie, and some other noblemen, who held of the earl of Shrewsbury, refused to submit to the sentence of confiscation against that nobleman; and fortifying Belleme, one of the strongest places in Normandy, they kept possession of it against Henry. It was, however, soon invested on all sides, not only by the king's forces, but by those of the earl of Blois, and of his new confederate the earl of Maine. A vi-

The town of Belleme taken.

gorous assault being given, the town was carried sword in hand. Upon this, all its dependencies submitted, and Henry at last remained in entire possession of Normandy. The court of France, thus abandoned of its friends, found itself too weak alone to support the Norman prince in his pretensions; and as conveniency generally cancels engagements arising from other motives, it was resolved there to sacrifice the interest of Robert's family for peace. Accordingly the preliminaries were settled with great secrecy between the two princes; and, soon after, to the amazement of the public, they had an interview at Gisors. There it was finally agreed, that Henry should keep all his late acquisitions, together with Gisors, for some time; and that he should do homage for the duchy of Normandy. That Lewis should for ever renounce his pretensions both to the dukedom of Maine, and the sovereignty of Bretagne; upon which Henry received the immediate homage of that duke.

Peace with the king of France.

Henry, having now established himself in glorious and perfect peace, returned to England in July, 1113, after an absence of almost two years. As our old historians generally direct the thread of the facts they deliver, by the king's person, we are much in the dark as to the transactions of England during this absence. All we learn is, that the nation was very much afflicted with the murrain among cattle, and other natural calamities; and that, about this time, the city of Worcester, its monastery and castle, were burnt to the ground. During this long respite, it appears that the Welsh had been very turbulent on that side where they had the easiest access to the English territories. The colony of Flemings was yet in its infancy, and therefore weak; but Henry resolved at once to change the method of making war upon that people, and to do his utmost towards disabling them from giving him farther disturbance. He was strongly solicited to this by the earl of Chester and Gilbert Strongbow, to whom Henry had made a gift of all Cardiganshire. These noblemen's lands and estates had suffered greatly by the Welsh incursions; and Alexander the Fierce, king of the Scots, happening at this time to visit Henry, he was engaged to furnish his quota of forces, to be headed by himself,

A. D. 1114. himself, for the expedition. The Welsh, who were most active against the English, were Owen ap Cadogan, a nobleman of South Wales, Griffith, the prince of North Wales, who refused all subjection to Henry, Meredith ap Blethyn, and Owen ap Edwin, two noblemen of South Wales, together with Griffith ap Conan, in North Wales. Henry, taking warning by the miscarriages of his brother in his wars against the Welsh, wisely depended on the king of the Scots, whose soldiers, accustomed to rude fatigues, could best deal with a people like themselves, inhabiting a rough and hardly accessible country. As the chief stress of the war, therefore, was likely to lie in North Wales, Alexander and the earl of Chester, at the head of the Scots and Northern-men, undertook to penetrate into that country with one division of the army. Gilbert Strongbow led another division, consisting of the Western English, into South Wales; while Henry himself led up the main body, composed of the midland inhabitants of England, proposing with them to finish the conquest, and to support the other divisions.

The king of Scots serves against the Welsh.

Meredith submits to Henry.

who is much distressed in Wales.

He creates divisions among the Welsh.

The campaign ended, with no advantage to his arms.

Gilbert Strongbow no sooner entered South Wales, than Meredith ap Blethyn came and threw himself on Henry's mercy; but Owen ap Edwin retired, and joined his forces to Griffith ap Conan, the prince of North Wales. The king of the Scots, upon this, pursued him as far as Pennant Bachwy; but, though he reduced the enemy to great straits, yet he could not complete his conquest, nor persuade ap Edwin to detach himself from his alliance with Griffith. But Henry was not so successful as Alexander; for, having advanced as far as Murcastle, he found his troops so embarrassed by the fatigues of their march, the unevenness of the country, and the difficulty of the passes, that they were in great distress; for the inhabitants, who had carried off all their effects and provisions, not only left them without the means of subsistence, but often attacked them with so much fury, that Henry lost a great many men by the sword as well as famine. He was then obliged to have recourse to cunning, and to divide those whom he could not subdue. For this purpose, the earl of Chester, and Meredith ap Blethyn, had directions to tamper with Owen ap Edwin and prince Griffith, and to make each separately believe that the other was making his peace either with Henry or the king of the Scots. This they did with so much address, that Owen, upon receiving a civil letter from Henry, came and threw himself at his feet, and not only had pardon, but was put in possession of all his lands, without being subject to tribute. Henry had some more difficulty to bring over Griffith. As the latter had taken such precautions that he could not be forced, he insisted on pretty high terms, and the payment of a large sum of money. Henry was, in some measure, forced to accept of his proposals; and thus the expedition ended, with no great honour or advantage to the English arms.

NUMB. XXXVIII.

The authors of the times are here very severe upon Henry, for his ingratitude to the English nation, and with great justice: they remark, that in all the promotions, both in church and state, he even affected a caution, in avoiding to prefer any Englishman. This led him to advance the most worthless of foreigners, to the prejudice of natives, who had great merits and abilities. From this circumstance we may well imagine, that Henry observed the dispositions of the English by no means to agree with the arbitrary maxims so peculiar to his family, and therefore chose to counter-balance this spirit, by introducing a foreign interest. Eadmerus justly remarks, that this conduct of the king's may be looked upon as a public calamity, and a judgment of heaven upon the nation.

A. D. 1115. Henry's prejudices to the English.

About the beginning of autumn, 1114, Henry again passed over into Normandy, the attempts of the neighbouring princes there, against his dominions, requiring his presence. His arrival, however, re-established tranquility; though the interest of his brother Robert, and his family, was rather depressed than extinguished. Henry knew that so powerful a pretender to the duchy of Normandy as his nephew was, must render his own possession turbulent and precarious; he therefore sought to establish a right in his own line, by all the precautions which human foresight could devise. For this purpose, he founded his great barons in Normandy about their swearing an eventual fealty to his son William, a prince then not full twelve years of age. His scheme succeeded; the fealty was sworn; and Henry, promising himself a long continuance of the scepter in his own line, returned to England.

He goes again into Normandy.

The Normans swear fealty to prince William of England.

The reader may remember the late tax, laid upon every hide of land, for the marriage of Henry's daughter. The young lady had been now for some years wedded, though no marriage had been consummated between the emperor and her. This year, she being now arrived at woman's estate, the marriage was consummated at Mans, where she was crowned with great ceremony. This was a new handle to Henry for taxing his people, as we find in an old chronicle quoted by Mr. Maddox.

His daughter crowned empress.

[Hist. of the exchequer.]

Henry, at this time, appears to have been very unquiet. The ill success of his late expedition into Wales, made him jealous lest that people should join with the enemies of his crown and family. Understanding that his late ally, Griffith ap Conan, entertained Rees ap Tudor, the son of his inveterate enemy, the late prince of South Wales, Henry wrote to Griffith, that he should come to his court, having something to impart to him of importance, fit only for his own ear. Griffith obeyed; and the detestable proposal of Henry was, That he should, as soon as he returned home, send him the head of his guest. This proposal was backed by several valuable presents, too powerful for Griffith's virtue to withstand. He promised to execute the black purpose; and, as soon as he returned to his palace at Aberfraw,

He endeavours to get Rees prince of South Wales into his hands,

A. D. 1116.
who escapes.

berfraw, he ſent a party of horſe to guard the young prince to his court. Rees, however, ſuſpecting the design of the interview between his hoſt and Henry, eſcaped, and took ſanctuary in the church of Aberdaron. Griffith, underſtanding this, ordered him to be pulled out of it by force; but this barbarous order alarmed the clergy, who raiſed the whole country to oppoſe it. The prince then eſcaped to Stratywy in South Wales, where he found means to get together a party, with which he harraſſed the Flemiſh colony and the Normans for ſome time, as ſhall be ſeen in the courſe of the hiſtory. Theſe tranſactions fill up all we have of the year 1115, excepting that the king, in September that year, called a great council of his peers, both ſpiritual and temporal, at his palace of Weſtmiſter. The buſineſs tranſacted in this council has not come to our hands; but, if a conjecture might be allowed, it might be the renewing their oath of fealty to Henry, in order to prepare matters for the great event of the next year.

Henry's differences with France renewed.

For the court of France, ſtill jealous of Henry's greatneſs, had at this time renewed its engagements with William the Norman prince, ſon to Robert. Several of the French princes were brought into the alliance, and Henry was again threatened to be diſpoſſeſſed of his duchy. His preſence there being now abſolutely neceſſary, he reſolved to carry through the ſame meaſure in England that he had in Normandy, by having his ſon declared heir to his crown, as he had been to his duchy. For this purpoſe, a royal proclamation was iſſued, for a general meeting of all his nobility, both ſpiritual and temporal, to be aſſembled at Salisbury, on the 13th of March, 1116. We may eaſily ſuppoſe this meeting to have been very full, as the occaſion was ſo important. Henry, who was himſelf one of the beſt ſpeakers of that age, laid before them his intentions, and the ſtate of his affairs both at home and abroad. He then mentioned the neceſſity of having the ſucceſſion ſecured in his own line, and of their unanimouſly ſwearing an eventual fealty to his ſon William. Our hiſtorians, all of them, obſerve, that this was done with great alacrity, the biſhops in their zeal outdoing the laity: for all the clergy there preſent ſwore, That in caſe of Henry's deceaſe, laying aſide all manner of conſiderations, they would raiſe the young prince to his father's throne, and be faithful ſubjects to him ever after. This was a great point gained to Henry; and many of our later authors, from the mention made of leading-men being preſent at this aſſembly, have been inclined here to fix the firſt reſort of commons to parliament; but of this elſewhere.

In a great aſſembly at Salisbury he declares his ſon his heir.

His nobility take an oath of fealty to the young prince.

Henry goes to Normandy.

Rees harraſſes the Engliſh.

Henry paſſing over to Normandy, Rees, the prince of South Wales, redoubled his hoſtilities againſt the Engliſh, and the other ſubjects of Henry, lying upon the borders of Wales. In the firſt run of his ſucceſs, he took ſeveral of Henry's caſtles, which he burned and levelled with the ground. Encouraged by this, he entered Roſſe and Dy-

vent with great fury. The Normans and Flemings, inhabiting thoſe countries, upon this, met, and reſolved to call unto their aſſiſtance ſuch of the Welch noblemen as remained ſtill firm to the Engliſh intereſt. The caſtle of Caermarthen was at that time of much importance, and in great danger of falling into the hands of the enemies. It was therefore propoſed, by Henry's ſubjects, that the Welch in his friendship ſhould, by turns, garrifon this caſtle, to prevent its falling into the enemy's hands. The Welch, among whom we have the names of Owen ap Rytherech, and Rytherech ap Tudor, undertook this ſervice; but Rees, being informed of their reſolution, reſolved to prevent them. Underſtanding the caſtle to be but meanly garrifoned, he ſuddenly aſſaulted it. Owen ap Caradoc, who then commanded the place, hearing the ſhouts of the aſſailants, immediately attacked them; but found himſelf, all at once, abandoned by his men. Unwilling, however, or unable to retreat, he fell with his ſword in his hand; and Rees forced his way into the town, which he took, and laid in aſhes; the caſtle itſelf, which was likewiſe taken, ſuffering great damage. This ſucceſs gave ſuch encouragement to the other Welch, that, in a few days after, a body of brave young men entered themſelves under the command of Rees. With them he was enabled to carry on his conqueſts; and having made a great booty, he returned to his own reſidence.

He takes and burns Caermarthen.

Thoſe ſucceſſes of Rees raiſed him to the general command of the Welch. They who had been diſpoſſeſſed of their habitations by the Normans and Flemings repaired to his ſtandard; the caſtles belonging to Strongbow were taken, and their garrifons put to the ſword; at laſt, laying ſiege to a caſtle, named Aberſtyth, a party of his men were intercepted by the Engliſh, and drawn into an ambuſcade, in which moſt of them were cut to pieces. Henry, after this, ſent Robert, his natural ſon, to command againſt the Welch. This nobleman was joined by another Owen ap Caradoc, Owen ap Rytherech, and Lhywarch ap Trahearn. Gerard, ſteward of Pembroke, advanced likewiſe, at the head of the Flemings, to join the royaliſts; but an ancient animoſity ſubſiſting between him and Owen ap Rytherech, who did not dream of being attacked by thoſe of his own party, the ſteward took advantage of Owen's ſecurity, and killed him, with many of his men. This diſguſted the Welch in the king's intereſt to a great degree: however, they being at variance among themſelves, the government of England found means to ſecure the peace of the kingdom on that ſide.

Rees gets the command of the Welch.

Henry, at this time, was in Normandy, where the war again broke out between him and the king of France. The latter pretended a promiſe which Henry had made him, of demolishing, within a prefixed time, the important caſtle of Giſors, which was as it were a key for a paſſage either into Normandy or France. Henry being in poſſeſſion

The war breaks out afreſh with the king of France.

A. D. 1117.

The occasion
of it.Lewis gives
Henry a
challenge,which Henry
wily de-
clines.Battle between
the French
and Normans.The French
retire.The earl of
Britanny in
alliance with
Henry,of whom the
French are
very jealous.

tion of it, was too sensible of its consequence, to comply with the repeated demands of the French for its demolition. This exasperated Lewis to the highest degree, and a strong confederacy was formed for reducing Henry's exorbitant power in France. The contracting parties were the earl of Flanders, the duke of Burgundy, the earl of Blois, and the earl of Nevers. The confederates, in the year 1116, attacked Normandy, and marched as far as the river Epte. Here they found Henry's forces drawn up on the opposite bank; but neither party was able to force its passage in the face of the other. Lewis, however, who was a prince of great spirit, and little command of temper, as the agreement between him and Henry, about demolishing Gisors, had been personal, and as they differed in facts, thought his honour obliged him personally to maintain his own reputation. He, therefore, sent a solemn deputation to Henry, upbraiding him with breach of promise, and appealing him to single combat. Henry, though personally very brave, not chusing to forego an advantage for an idle point of honour, sent his antagonist word, "That true valour was best seen by the conduct in the field, at the head of their armies; and, in that character, he never would decline to meet him, when time, and proper place, and opportunity permitted." Though this reply greatly exasperated Lewis, yet he found himself in no condition to pass the river. Thus both armies, for some days, lay facing one another, till the want of provisions obliged the Normans to extend their line towards Gisors; and leaving the river unguarded a little above that fort, the French, early in the morning, took the opportunity of passing it without loss. They were opposed by the Normans, and a bloody dispute ensued. At last, the latter receiving constant supplies from Gisors, the French were repelled, though they were in great hopes of opening a passage into the castle by their swords. This defeat disabled the French from making any farther progress this campaign, and they were obliged to retire into their winter-quarters. The winter was spent in each party's endeavouring to fortify itself by new alliances. Great subsidies and great armies were paid, which were severely felt by England. The earl of Britanny, however, was a powerful support to Henry; and the French, in all their attempts, still found him so well provided, that they were always disappointed in their expectations: for Henry was contented to keep himself on the defensive. He found the princes and noblemen of France growing every day more jealous of his power, and his brother's interest daily increasing, not so much through an affection to his cause, as from their own aversion to Henry, whom they considered as aiming to give laws to the kingdom. In short, fresh claims were made every day against Henry, and the confederacy against him became almost general. Almeric de Montfort reviving his claim to the earldom of Evereux, had that city de-

livered into his hands by Pointel, its governor. This success encouraged other princes and great men, who had not yet ventured to declare themselves, openly to espouse the part of William, son to the then imprisoned duke. Stephen earl of Albemarle, and Robert de Gournay, were of this number; and Henry, on a sudden, found himself attacked from all quarters. Had he been safe to depend upon the fidelity of the Normans, he might have made head against all his enemies; but he found the spirit of disaffection to his government so strong among them, that he was obliged to garrison some of his most important towns with English. The earl of Flanders had attacked Normandy, upon the side of Tellau, with so much vigour, that he over-ran great part of the country, and burnt a great number of towns, even in sight of the king, who durst not trust to the loyalty of his Normans to give him battle. Encouraged by this success he laid siege to Bures, a strong town, garrisoned with English. The garrison made a brave defence; and, in a sally, not only cut off great part of the besiegers, but mortally wounded the earl himself, and the siege was raised. In the mean time, the king of France and the earl of Anjou were carrying fire and sword into other parts of Normandy, where duke Robert's party, or rather that of his son, became so strong, that every day brought Henry accounts of some great nobleman's revolting from his interest.

In this distress of his affairs, he summoned a council of his states at Roan, to consult about restoring the peace of that country. It was now the beginning of October; and, among the Normans, we meet with many English noblemen, particularly the archbishop of Canterbury, who sat in this assembly. From this circumstance there is reason to believe, that the state of England, as well as of Normandy, took up part of their time; and that the necessity of Henry's presence in his ducal dominions prevented his holding any assembly of his states in England. The deliberations of this assembly at Roan seem to have produced but little effect, as we find the general discontent became rather greater than ever. Among others, Eustace de Bretueil, who had married one of Henry's natural daughters, threw off his allegiance to his father-in-law, of whose situation he had taken the advantage, to persist in some unreasonable demands. His vassals, however, returned to their duty, and made their peace with the king. But it must be owned, that Henry, at this time, was obliged to pursue measures very mortifying to a high spirit. Almeric earl of Evereux was one of his most dangerous enemies; him Henry courted into his friendship, by offering to put him in possession of the earldom of Evereux: but that nobleman, who had been highly exasperated by Henry, continued faithful to his engagements with the other party. Henry, it is true, was somewhat more successful with the earl of Anjou. The reader

A. D. 1117.

Henry is
greatly dis-
tressed,and garrisons
his towns with
English.Normandy in-
vaded on all
hands.He calls an
assembly at
Roan.

the

A. D. 1118. the young prince of England should marry this earl's daughter. As the parties were then too young for a connubial state, the marriage had been delayed; and views of interest intervening, very little regard was paid, by either party, to the agreement. Henry, however, at this time, secretly renewed this negociation; but the earl having experience of the king's interested politics, was very cautious of his proceedings.

The death and character of queen Matilda,

The year 1118 is distinguished by the death of the excellent Matilda. This princess had lived in great harmony with her husband; and the peace of England, during the long absence of Henry, was, in a great measure, owing to her virtues and moderation. The respect which the old English still retained for the blood of Cerdic, was, doubtless, of great advantage to Henry's government; and the issue of the royal pair was looked upon as so many shoots, springing from that illustrious stem, which the fate of arms and invading ambition had cut down to the root. She was buried in Westminster abbey. One circumstance relating to her burial must not be omitted here, as it concerns the antiquities of England. For it appears, by a famous roll (which formerly was mistaken for a roll of the fifth of king Stephen; but has been, by a great antiquary, restored to the year and reign we now treat of) that the sheriffs of London had the care of her funeral; since, in their accounts passed in the said roll, they charge the crown with fifteen shillings and two-pence half-penny, for oil expended in burning upon her tomb; and with three shillings, for cloth for covering the same. Her death happened upon the thirtieth of April, and her memory was celebrated in an epitaph, some lines of which would do honour to the politest of later ages. But, with all the virtues of this lady, the historian of the times charges her with her excessive liberalities towards musical foreigners, which put her upon oppressive courses towards her tenants; the queens consort of those days having, during their husband's life-time, a separate estate.

[Malmesbury.]

and of the earl of Mellent.

Within the course of the same year falls the death of Robert earl of Mellent. This nobleman, who was a foreigner by birth, inclination, and interest, was Henry's first minister; and considering England only as a conquered province, he was the author of many pernicious schemes, for the supplying his master with the means of preserving and acquiring his foreign territories. But providence, ever watchful over the independency of this nation, made all operate, in the event, to her glory, by uniting the whole in the person of a prince, who was a common father to all his subjects.

Henry II.

Henry was too far engaged in foreign affairs, to leave his business incomplete. It was now more dangerous for him to retreat, than to advance. The war between him and Lewis continued to rage. The Normans began now to see, that, instead of England becoming an accession to Normandy, Normandy, in fact, had become so to England. For though the English themselves bled,

The Normans dissatisfied.

yet Normandy had thereby no relief, her miseries being encreased in proportion as Henry was supported by his regal dominions. As we have seen before, their greatness had introduced luxury, and luxury corruption; the sources of corruption having been dried up, they became needy, and then factious. The court of France knew how to improve those dispositions; and nothing but the excessive sums, with which Henry was supplied from England, could have prevented all Normandy, at this juncture, from falling into the hands of Lewis. For though the interest of duke Robert and his family was made the pretence of the war; yet it was plain, that, had the French arms succeeded, the duchy must have either fallen into the hands of Lewis, or the dispossessed princes must have held a precarious and dependent command.

Both parties, in the year 1119, exerted all their strength. The Normans who continued still faithful to Henry, were such as had great estates in England, or were under ties of personal obligations. The names of the chief were Richard earl of Chester, Ralph de Conchis, William de Warren, William de Rolmara, William de Tancardi Villa, Ralph de Sancto Victore, Walter Giffart, Nigel de Albiney, with his brother William, with Waleran and William, the two sons of the deceased earl of Mellent. Those noblemen, though few, were firm and powerful. As they had but one point in view, which was the supporting their interest, their strength was undissipated, and therefore considerable. On the other hand, the Norman party, though numerous, was divided. The French interest then grew to be visibly superior in the councils of the deposed princes; and the duke of Anjou, dreading more the power of France than that of Henry, began now to lend a willing ear to the advances of the latter; but fearing lest his giving any open encouragement to the English party should alarm the French court, he still continued to act with his allies. For Engeram de Chaumont having surprized the castle of Andely Sur Seine, which put the French in possession of all the country, from the river Epte to the town of Pont St. Pierre; the French, at the same time, besieged the castle of Alanfon, in Maine. As the loss of this castle must have been attended with that of all Henry's interest in that county, he advanced in person to relieve it; but he was met by the earl of Anjou, who, after some action, obliged him to retreat, and then he himself forced the castle to surrender. This bad success was, in some measure, repaired, by the earl of Flanders being at this time taken off from the confederacy. The late earl Baldwin had been mortally wounded at the siege of the castle of Ou, which he took from Henry, whose implacable enemy he was. He was succeeded by Charles, his nephew, and son to the king of Denmark, who being a prince of a more placable disposition, studied to preserve his dominions in peace, and therefore left the allies.

He was followed by Fulk earl of Anjou, whose late successes in the county of Maine had

A. D. 1119.

The causes of their dissatisfied faction.

The names of those who continue faithful to Henry.

Henry is defeated, and loses Maine.

Death of the earl of Flanders.

A. D. 1119.

The earl of Anjou makes peace with Henry.

had rendered him more independent than he had hitherto been on the French court. He, therefore, gave Henry to understand, that he was ready to conclude on the terms that had been offered; and it was mutually agreed, that William, the prince royal of England, should come over into France immediately, to espouse the earl's daughter. No sooner was the prince arrived, which he did in May, than the earl sent to acquaint Henry, that he was prepared to give him the last proof of his friendship; and all matters being made up, the marriage was celebrated, in presence of the king and earl, in the June following. At the same time we learn, that William Talvace, the son of the earl of Shrewsbury, was, through the mediation of the earl of Anjou, put in possession of his father's Norman estate. The defection of the earls of Flanders and Anjou from the allies, changed the face of affairs greatly in Henry's favour. He had, for some time past, been contented with acting on the defensive, being still apprehensive of a general defection of the places he still held in Normandy; but he now took the field, and carried fire and sword into the castles and possessions of his rivals. His first fury spent itself upon the more inconsiderable barons, who had been busy against him during the late war. Those he either severely chastised, or effectually overawed. He next laid siege to the castle of Evereux, then in the hands of Almeric, the most implacable of all his foes, which he took, and reduced to ashes, even the sacred edifices not escaping the flames.

who takes the castle of Evereux.

Henry's caution,

and conduct.

This progress alarmed the court of France. Lewis, who seems to have known but little of Henry's character, imputed his late caution to cowardice, or to weakness; he had, therefore, dropped several insolent expressions, as if he would have been glad to have met his brother of England in the open field. But Henry, of all mankind, was the most insensible of that glory which cannot be purchased but by an unequal venture. In contempt, therefore, of the romantic humour of the age, he even bore with the reproaches of his friends, and coldly answered, That he had learned a maxim from his father, which was to suffer the French to spend their first fire, and then they could be easily dealt with. So unvariable have that people ever been in their character, as drawn of them by Julius Cæsar, that it must be owned it was Henry's inflexible adherence to this maxim that brought him, at last, to master difficulties, otherwise insuperable. The proofs he had given of courage and conduct, made him despise the imputation of cowardice and folly; and the sweetness with which he always treated his friends, strengthened the motives of political with those of personal attachments. For, upon their discovering impatience to revenge themselves of the French insults upon Henry's dignity, he used to tell them, It was no wonder if he was loth to expose the persons of men, who had given him such glorious proofs of their fidelity to his person and family: that he should think empire itself too

dear, if purchased at the expence of their lives; but that, as he was a friend to their persons, so he was to their glory; and he hoped soon to give them an opportunity of fighting, both with honour and advantage, without putting either himself or them upon a desperate scheme.

A. D. 1119.

It was not long before he made his words good. He knew that Lewis had lost his main support, and that he attacked him chiefly in confidence of his meeting with little resistance; he therefore resolved to give him battle. For this purpose he had divided his army into three bodies; the van consisted of his chief nobility, who served on horseback, with their military tenants; the main battle was led by himself, at the head of his guards and household troops; and the rear, on which his chief dependence lay, was composed of English foot, led by two brave Englishmen, his own natural sons. I cannot help informing the reader here, that a prodigious alteration had happened by this time, in the manner of making war, from what it was forty or fifty years before. The expeditions into the Holy Land had drained Europe of its best and bravest youths; those who returned, brought back with them a spirit of adventuring, which soon degenerated into knight-errantry, and gave rise to all the romantic incidents of that and the following age. As every man looked upon himself as a hero, their courage was too independent of military discipline, for their effecting great conquests, or winning bloody victories. In short, they aimed rather to shew their address in arms, than their contempt of danger. This led them to cloath themselves with impenetrable armour, which disabled them from using with vigour those deadly weapons, which did so much execution at the time of the Norman invasion. The ponderous mace, the stubborn bow, and yard-long arrow, were now exchanged for pikes and lances, which falling upon close armour, or directed without the force of any engine, gave but fortuitous wounds. Bows and arrows, indeed, were retained among the infantry; but not of the same deadly kind as formerly, their force being but slight, and their execution ineffectual. From those causes it happened, that we meet with so many bloodless battles, and so many maiden fields; not but that many brave men still lived, who fought in the old way, and many bloody encounters happened. But what I have said above is only general. I now return to the thread of the history.

He advances against the king of France.

The manner of making war in those days.

Lewis, that he might keep the Normans to his interest, affected to shew great regard for the young prince of Normandy. He gave him the command of his army under himself, and ordered him to advance towards Andely, upon the river Seine; he himself proposing to support him by the main body, and to come up time enough to join him, in case of a battle. William accordingly marched forward, at the head of a great detachment, when he heard that his uncle had marched as far with his army as the plain of Brenville, with a design to

The conduct of Lewis.

A. D. 1119.

A battle, in which Henry at last remains master of the field.

fight him. He immediately sent an account of this to the king of France, who marched up, and disposed every thing for a general battle. The French army was divided into two lines; the first was commanded by the prince of Normandy, and consisted of the flower of the Norman and French nobility, who all of them served on horseback; the second line was led up by Lewis himself, and contained the French infantry, and that of his allies. The prince of Normandy began the charge, at the head of the French squadrons, with so much fury, that he broke through the first line of Henry's army. As it consisted of cavalry, it disordered the second line, where Henry himself commanded in person; and the French, still pursuing, he was obliged to make head equally against friends and foes. Henry, however, with great intrepidity maintained his ground, and rallied his men; but was in the utmost danger of his own life: for, when the engagement became close, the French prevailed, and William de Crispin, a Norman nobleman in the interest of Robert, cut his way even to the place where Henry was in person. Thinking that the king's death would finish the dispute, he attacked him with so much resolution, that Henry owed his life to the temper of his helmet; for Crispin struck him twice on the head with so much strength, that though he could not pierce the helmet, yet he battered it so into the king's head, that the blood poured down apace. Henry preserved his usual coolness, and taking advantage of an unguarded stroke, he aimed a blow at Crispin so luckily, that it laid him, with his horse, at the royal feet, and Crispin was taken prisoner before the king's eyes. Henry's oversight, on that day, seems to have been, that the English, of which his third line consisted, were drawn up at too great a distance, to come in time enough for preventing all this imminent danger of the royal person. As Henry was superior in numbers to his enemy, I am apt to believe, that this was done with a view that the Normans might reap the whole glory of the day; but he was deceived. His household troops, notwithstanding his personal bravery, met with the fate of his Norman nobility; for Lewis, marching up by this time with his second line, so well supported the success of the Norman prince, that the Normans of Henry's party were upon the point of either yielding, or being cut to pieces. In this desperate state of the battle, the English, through incredible efforts, flew to the relief of their sovereign. The French, till then sure of victory, had a new battle to fight, with inferior numbers indeed, but with men who did not know how to be vanquished. The fortune of the day was changed, and the French fell into a total rout, without so much as daring to stand the English charge. A great many prisoners were taken in the pursuit, among whom were many noblemen; and Henry returned to Roan in great triumph. Among other spoils of the day was the standard of king Lewis, which

He is in great danger of being killed.

Henry redeemed from one of his own knights, who had taken it, at no smaller a ransom than twenty merks. The Norman prince had behaved with great gallantry, and with courage suitable to the noble prize he fought for. On the first appearance of the rout, he had dismounted, to fight on foot; and his horse, with his fine furniture, being taken, was, when the battle was over, sent back by his cousin-german, the prince royal of England, with high compliments, and expressions of regard, attended by a noble present..

The politeness of the prince royal of England.

Thus ended a battle, which, had it gone against Henry, must have stripped him of Normandy. As to the numbers engaged, they can scarcely be calculated; five hundred knights are mentioned on the side of Henry, and four hundred on the side of Lewis: but as it is impossible to know the numbers of followers, or tenants, attending each knight, so it is impossible to know the numbers in each army. Supposing each knight, on an average, to have had but thirty attendants, then Henry must have had fifteen thousand men, and Lewis twelve thousand, in his army. But so bloodless was this battle, that no more than three knights were killed; The number of private men, or knights followers killed, is not mentioned; I am apt to believe they were too inconsiderable to be put down, as, in those days, the loss fell chiefly among the men of quality.

The numbers on both sides.

The loss of this battle, however, was attended with great consequences. Lewis retired, much mortified, to Paris. Hither Almeric de Montfort earl of Evereux repaired, to confer with him. This nobleman, who had abilities for war, had been absent from the late battle, and opened a scheme to Lewis for renewing the war against Henry with greater vigour than ever; for he proposed, that the king should send orders for all the parish priests within his dominions, to threaten excommunication against all those who were fit to bear arms, and did not attend the king in the next expedition against the Normans. The dread of ecclesiastical anathemas soon raised a great army.

Scheme for renewing the war against Henry.

Lewis lost no time in repairing his late disgrace. He poured his forces into Normandy, where they committed great ravages upon those who favoured Henry. He then laid siege to Breteuil, an important town, which was held by Ralph Guader, in Henry's name. This brave commander, trusting to the strength of the place, and the courage of his troops, made several successful sallies with so much confidence, that he did not deign even to shut the gates of the city. But as the French were greatly superior in numbers, Henry knew that the place must at last fall into their hands; he therefore ordered his natural son Richard to advance, with a detachment of about three thousand men, to its relief, he himself preparing to support him with the main body of the army. Guader, in the mean time, was briskly pressed. As the inhabitants of the place were far from being hearty in the interest of Henry,

Lewis again invades Normandy.

A.D. 1120. he went from post to post, often changing his armour for fear of being singled out; and animated his men so effectually, that they held out till Richard found means to throw his detachment into the town.

This quite disconcerted the schemes of the French, and damped their courage; but, upon Henry's advancing with the main body of his army, they precipitately raised the siege, and ingloriously returned to their own country. But, before they went into winter quarters, William de Chaumont, a French nobleman, son-in-law to Lewis, sought to retrieve the reputation of their arms, by laying siege to Tilyers, a frontier garrison. But bad fortune every where followed the French arms; for Gilbert, the commander of the place, made a sally, in which he took prisoner Chaumont, and routed his troops. This success struck great dread into many of the Normans who had revolted from Henry, and every day brought about some fresh return to duty among those noblemen.

He is defeated before Tilyers.

Lewis, alarmed and exasperated to the last degree at his bad success, had now recourse to other arms. Pope Gelasius, at this time, had come to Rheims, where he summoned an assembly of all the western bishops, to consult upon restoring the peace of the church, and the quiet of Christendom. Lewis appeared in this assembly, at the head of his most considerable barons, and laid before his holiness a long and bitter charge against Henry. He first complained, that, though he was his vassal, he had taken up arms against him; that, against his will, Henry had seized Normandy, though it held of the crown of France; and that he had, injuriously and unnaturally, dispossessed and imprisoned his elder brother, Robert, the undoubted heir not only of that duchy, but, so far as primogeniture could avail, of the crown of England. He then heightened his representations, by producing to their view the son of the imprisoned duke; and concluded, by informing them, that Henry, not contenting himself with usurpation and rebellion, had prevailed with the earl of Blois, in like manner, to take up arms against the crown of France, to which he owed his allegiance. This speech had such an effect upon the assembly, that when the Norman bishops offered to vindicate their master's conduct, they could not be heard.

The pope's politic behaviour.

The assembly, at last, broke up, without any definitive resolution. But Henry, by this time, had found out the weak side of the pope, who, however, wanted the colour of a personal interview for determining in his favour. Under pretence, therefore, of endeavouring to reclaim Henry, he met him at Gisors. There a formal conference was opened, in which the pope affected to lay out, in moving terms, the right which Robert had to the duchy of Normandy; and to persuade Henry, at the request of the whole assembly, to grant his brother liberty, and to put him and his son again in possession of their hereditary duchy. Henry was well provided for an application of this kind; he received it with great shew of respect, and

told his holiness, That he could not be said so properly to deprive his brother of his possession, as to secure the inheritance of his father: That this inheritance had been daily in danger of being squandered away upon loose companions and worthless wretches: That he had seized it at the request of the bishops and the most considerable Normans, who were upon the point of ruin when he stepped in to their relief. These reasons seemed to the pope satisfactory: but Henry had convinced him beforehand, by the more powerful eloquence of bribes and presents, properly laid out upon himself and his followers. His holiness, therefore, appeared entirely satisfied with Henry's conduct, and broke up the assembly, by declaring, That he had heard enough of Robert and his son. He then digested the plan of a peace between Henry and the king of France, by which, through his mediation, the interest of the deprived princes was sacrificed.

A.D. 1120. Henry's defence of his conduct,

and his money brings the pope over to his party.

In the spring of the year 1120, the pope's unwearied labours had brought both kings to consent to a meeting at Gisors, in order to agree upon the terms of accommodation. Both of them were weary of the war, and each had great dependents, whose interests being incompatible, neither party chose to discuss them particularly, for fear of being embroiled anew; they therefore agreed, as the ground-work of their negotiation, that each party should restore what it had taken from the other during the course of the war, and that all prisoners in general should be set free without ransom. The case of the homage for the duchy of Normandy came next to be discussed. Henry was now tired out, not so much through years, as the cares of government. The reader may remember that, five years before, the Norman nobility had sworn fealty to his son William. Though this was a great step towards his possessing that duchy, yet it must be owned to have been both premature and disrespectful to the crown of France, which never had granted the investiture of that duchy to the prince, nor had ever received his homage. Lewis, therefore, was in the right to put a stop towards this practice, which threatened to overthrow all the claim of feudal investitures. Henry, on the other hand, passionately fond of seeing his son secured in this succession, was equally obstinate not to retract. An expedient was found out to satisfy the claim of both parties. The prince royal of England did homage to the king of France, as his superior, for the duchy of Normandy, and received the proper investitures. Upon this, the Norman nobility were regular in the fealty they performed to William, as duke of Normandy.

The prince royal of England does homage for Normandy.

This young prince is represented by our historians in a very indifferent light. Among other vices attending the late destructive crusades, one was introduced too shocking for human ears. William and his loose companions were fatally addicted to this vice, for which they were punished by a signal judgment. But, besides those personal crimes, he was ungrateful enough, possibly because of

Character of the prince royal of England.

A. D. 1120. of the more sober manners of the old English, to entertain a high contempt and hatred for the whole race. This led him to threaten, that, should he ever succeed to his father's crown, he would make the English labour in their ploughs like oxen. Heaven was pleased to disappoint his impious purpose.

Henry returns to England,

For Henry, by the late peace, having restored tranquility to Normandy, and security to his own government, ordered a numerous fleet to rendezvous at Barfleur, from whence he set sail, in a kind of triumph, for England. He was accompanied by many Norman soldiers and adventurers, whom, for painful services, he proposed to remunerate with English lands. His first intention was, to have carried his son, the now duke of Normandy, along with him; but that prince was unhappy enough to be persuaded by his companions to embark on board a new vessel, which was to sail in a day or two after the main fleet. Henry, with all his attendants, having landed safely on the 26th of November, the day after his embarkation, was now in full expectation of his son's arrival. But the manners of the prince's companions, in riot, had infected the crew of their ship. Intemperance rendered them ignorant, and ignorance had made them secure. They madly set sail in the night-time, in that doubtful season; and had not been gone far from shore, when they struck upon a rock. The prince, with some of the principal noblemen, jumped into a boat; but, either through debauch or hurry, he forgot that he had left his natural sister, the countess of Perche, whom he passionately loved, on board the ship. The lady's imploring tears awakened his remembrance, and, notwithstanding their most dismal condition, he ordered his attendants to put back the boat, that he might take her along with himself; but the boat no sooner came up to the side of the ship, than the imminence of danger took away all respect of persons with the crew, who had been abandoned: for the latter, jumping into the boat, it was overfet, and all in it drowned, they who remained in the ship soon after meeting with the same fate. One man, a butcher, was the only one saved (by climbing to the main-mast) out of above one hundred and fifty persons, most of whom were of rank and quality.

Henry receives the account of his son's death. His behaviour.

In the mean time, Henry, hourly, for three days, expected the arrival of his son. For some time he comforted himself with the thoughts that he had landed at some other port in England, than that where he was expected. At last he learned the melancholy news, which so overcame his spirits, that he fainted away: however, when he came to himself, he dissembled his grief with great magnanimity and patience; which was the more wonderful, as he had ever been passionately fond of all his children, but, above all, of this son. Some advantage, however, happened to his affairs from this accident, melancholy as it was: for the honours, titles, employments, estates, widows, sisters, and daughters of the deceased noble-

men, served to gratify many of the Normans he had brought along with him, and saved him the unpopularity of any exactions upon his people for that purpose. This was a farther strengthening to his interest in England.

Henry, after the loss of his son, reflecting that he was now without any male issue, began to think of a second marriage, foreseeing what disputes might arise about the succession, should he die without a son. Adeliza, the fair daughter of the duke of Louvain, was the lady the most likely to answer his purposes. Accordingly, in the year 1121, a great council of the chief noblemen, both spiritual and temporal, was assembled at London, where the match was proposed and approved of. Deputies were accordingly named; to demand and bring over the young lady; and the whole was transacted with such expedition, that the marriage was celebrated at Windsor, in February, that same year. The next day was fixed for the coronation of the new queen, by Ralph archbishop of Canterbury.

A. D. 1121.

Henry calls a great council about a second marriage.

When the day of coronation came, the king, having repaired to the church, put on his crown, and sat down upon his throne, till the ceremony of the queen's inauguration should be over. But as the archbishop was approaching, to place upon her head the crown of England, he observed the king sitting in this manner. Upon which, withholding his hand from the solemn function, he stepped up to Henry, and asked who had dared to place the crown upon his head? The king answered with some emotion, That he imagined it was a matter of indifference, which he had not thought worth the minding. But the prelate soon convinced him to the contrary; for he peremptorily refused to proceed in the coronation of the queen, while the crown continued upon Henry's head, it being his office to have placed it there. The king was vexed and ashamed at the prelate's presumption; but, at that time, could neither mend nor chastise it. He told the archbishop, That if it was amiss to have placed the crown where it was, by any other hands than his, he might remedy it as he pleased. In short, he had the mortification to suffer the prelate to take his crown again from his head, he himself untying the stays which bound it under his chin. Some who were present, detesting this strain of ecclesiastical pride, so inconsistent with evangelical humility, threatened to punish the insolent sacrilege; but this served only to swell the prelate's presumption; nor could he be persuaded, till his own time came, to replace the crown upon his sovereign's head, and to proceed in the queen's coronation.

An instance of the great insolence of the archbishop of Canterbury.

Richard earl of Chester had perished along with the young prince in the late unhappy shipwreck. That great earldom being now without a possessor, Griffith prince of North Wales was encouraged to invade the English lands. Accordingly he sent his son, with a body of forces, into Cheshire. There he surprized several forts, and put some of the inhabitants to the sword, and then carried off

The Welsh again invade England.

A. D. 1121. off a large booty. Henry, who knew the restless spirit of that people, and that, if they did not receive a speedy check, they would be encouraged to farther disorders, resolved to chastise them in person. Notwithstanding, therefore, his own and his family's miscarriages in Wales, he set out at the head of an army for that country, and advanced as far as the passes of Snowdon-hill. As he was one day on his march towards a certain place, he found it might be approached by two roads; one, plain and broad, but a good way about; the other, narrow and uneven, but more direct. Sending his army round by the plain road, he took the other in person, with his attendants. Being advanced pretty far, he found that the pass was guarded by the Welsh, and that he was shut up between two mountains, without the least possibility of his army coming to his relief. By this time the Welsh had attacked his attendants with great fury; some of them were killed, and Henry himself was in the most imminent danger of losing either his life or his liberty. The goodness of his breast-plate, repelling an arrow which hit him full on the breast, saved the former; and, to prevent being taken prisoner, he sent to demand a parley with the enemy. This was readily granted by the Welsh, who, perhaps, thinking the whole royal army was advancing, were glad of making any terms, by which they might escape chastisement for their late outrages. Peace at last was agreed upon; and the prince of Wales, making his submissions, furnished the king with a thousand head of cattle, and gave him hostages for his future good behaviour. Thus Henry had the good fortune to extricate himself with honour, from an adventure in which he was like to suffer with disgrace.

Henry in great danger of being cut off by the Welsh.

The Welsh come into a treaty,

and make peace.

A legate sent from the pope into England,

whom Henry refuses to admit.

The legate therefore departs the kingdom.

A legate this year came into England from pope Calixtus; his legantine power extending over France, Britain, Ireland, and the isles adjacent. Though Henry had given many eminent proofs of his regard for the church, yet he knew the pragmatistical spirit of those deputies too well to admit of his power in England. No sooner, therefore, was this legate arrived, than he sent the bishop of St. David's to acquaint him, that his legantine authority could not be exercised, but by approbation from an assembly of the states of his kingdom. He added, that, notwithstanding his deference to the see of Rome, he never could betray the privileges of his kingdom, one of the principal of which was, that England was not subject to a legantine authority. Henry accompanied this declaration with several mollifying presents; which the legate, finding him resolute in his purpose, thought fit to accept of, and to depart the kingdom. Soon after this, the earl of Anjou sent to re-demand his daughter, the consort of the late prince royal. It appears that she had come along with her father-in-law into England, and thereby escaped the fate of her husband. Henry complied with the demand, and sent her back to her father, who had just returned from an expedition to the Holy Land.

Towards the close of the year, Henry set out on a progress to the north, that he might examine the state of the kingdom in those parts. Alexander the Fierce was still king of Scotland, and had observed his family engagements so religiously with England, that Henry found those parts in profound tranquility. He advanced, however, as far as Carlisle, which he ordered to be surrounded with strong walls, fortified with towers and a castle. He then returned to York, where he held his courts, in which he sat in person, and decided many differences among his subjects in that and the adjacent countries. He then returned, about the beginning of the year 1122, to the southern parts, where little remarkable happened during the rest of that year, excepting the death of Ralph archbishop of Canterbury.

A. D. 1123. Henry makes a progress to the north.

The archbishop of Canterbury dies.

About the beginning of the year 1123, Henry's troubles in Normandy began to revive. The earl of Anjou, being disappointed in his ambitious expectations by the death of his son-in-law, sent over an embassy to England, to demand back his daughter's portion, on account of the marriage not being consummated between her and prince William. Perhaps Henry would have readily agreed to this demand, had he not been sensible that it was thrown in only to furnish a pretext for farther commotions. He found out that the natural inconstancy of the Normans had led them again to join with his enemies, and that a powerful confederacy was again formed by the intrigues of the court of France. This confederacy consisted of some of the greatest Norman noblemen, who, finding Henry to be without any male issue, revived the claim of William the prince of Normandy. At the head of those noblemen were Walleran earl of Mellent, and his brother Robert earl of Leicester, sons to the late earl of Mellent. Those earls had received their education in Henry's court, and had been ever treated by him with all the fondness of a parent. With them joined Almeric earl of Evereux, the king's ancient and inveterate enemy, Hugh de Montfort, Hugo de Novo-Castello, William Lupell, Baldric de Braye, and Pagan de Gisors; and, in September 1122, a general meeting of all the conspirators had been held, in which the confederacy was solemnly formed and sworn to. But, though those noblemen were very powerful in Normandy, yet Henry would not have been so much alarmed at their defection, had they not been so strongly supported by other powers. For Fulk earl of Anjou, about this time, seeming to take amiss the late refusal of the court of England, gave his eldest daughter in marriage to the prince of Normandy, and with her the duchy of Maine, together with the strongest assurances of his assisting him by force of arms to recover his paternal inheritance. When Henry received an account of all those designs, he was then amusing himself at his palace of Woodstock, which he had newly rebuilt, and adorned with a park, the first that ever was in England. Not being yet prepared to pass over in person to Normandy, he dispatched

Demand of the earl of Anjou.

The reasons why it was refused by Henry; against whom a powerful confederacy is formed in France.

The heads of it.

The earl of Anjou gives his daughter in marriage to the prince of Normandy.

A. D. 1124.
Henry sends
troops over
into Norman-
dy.

patched thither his natural son Robert, and Ranulph the new earl of Chester, with all the forces they could raise, to check the progress of his enemies. Those noblemen, passing over into Normandy, were joined by Henry's troops there. As no hostilities had yet been committed, they were content with visiting the places of strength, and putting them in the best posture against surprise.

For which he
embarks him-
self.

Where he at-
tacks the con-
spirators.

He takes the
castle of Ponto-
domer;

but declines to
fight the
prince of Nor-
mandy.

Intrigues of
the French
court against
Henry.

Henry de-
clares war a-
gainst France.

Henry, all this time, was providing both money and troops in England; and, about Whit Sunday, he went down to Portsmouth, where he waited for some time for a fair wind to carry him over to Normandy. At last he arrived at Roan, where he ordered a general rendezvous of his forces. It appears that no acts of hostility had been yet committed: but Henry thought himself so authentically apprised of facts, that he resolved to be beforehand with the conspirators, and to attack them before their designs were ripe for execution. The day, therefore, after the review of his forces, without imparting his design to any one, he marched into the earl of Mellent's estate, where he attacked a town called Bryon, which was fortified with a strong castle. The town was taken and burnt; but Henry found himself too weak to take the castle with the expedition which his affairs required. He therefore marched quickly to Pontodomer, another town belonging to the same earl, which he likewise took and burnt. The castle of this place, too, being very strong, and of importance to his affairs, he was obliged to besiege it in form. At last, after lying before it for seven weeks, he took it, by means of a high wooden tower he had erected, and which commanded the walls of the castle. All this time his troops were destroying the country for twenty miles round. But the prince of Normandy was now in the field with an army; yet not early enough to prevent Henry's ravages, and his taking other forts and towns belonging to the conspirators. However, he greatly distressed the royal army, as Henry did not chuse to venture a battle, through the suspicion he had of his Norman troops. This year, therefore, was spent in skirmishes on both sides. In the mean while, both parties were very busy in securing and strengthening their several interests with the people and nobles. Henry, who certainly never possessed the hearts of the Normans, was obliged to repair that disadvantage by large sums of money, which the English were forced to raise, notwithstanding the universal scarcity then prevailing through the kingdom.

The king of France had not yet declared himself in favour of the conspirators; but was equally busy in supplying them with whatever they wanted, as if he had. Henry, therefore, thinking it more for his interest to have an open than a secret enemy, declared war against France about the end of the year 1123, or rather the beginning of the year 1124; for early that year both parties took the field. The particulars of the several skirmishes that happened, are neither related, nor are they very material. We know,

however, that on the 25th of March the army of the conspirators, advancing from Belmont to Watteville, from whence they proposed to penetrate into Henry's Norman possessions, were met by Henry's army, which had been increased by draughts from all the neighbouring garrisons, to oppose the enemy's progress. It does not appear that Henry was then with his army in person; but it is certain he was well served by his generals: for William de Tankerville, his chamberlain, who seems to have commanded this day, concealed great part of his troops in a ground where the French could not descry them. He then charged them, at the head of a more inconsiderable body, near the village of Teroud, not above seven or eight miles distant from Roan, which the conspirators expected was to fall into their hands the next day. The French vivacity, at first, bore down all opposition; and Tankerville retreated, with inconsiderable loss, to the place where the ambush was planted. Here the conspirators found themselves surrounded, without being able to make resistance. The rout was general; and the number of prisoners, as was usual in those days, doubled that of the slain. The most illustrious of the captives were, Almeric the king of France's steward, Hugh Fitz-gervoise, and Hugh de Montfort; together with the earl of Mellent and his brother, and many other Norman barons, besides no less than eighty knights. As to the earl of Evereux, he was likewise taken; but escaped, by favour of the person who took him, into France, where he lived for some time in exile.

Of those prisoners, Henry had a right to proceed capitally against some, while others claimed the privileges of war. The earl of Mellent was committed, in the mean time, to the castle of Roan, from whence he was afterwards sent into England. Then he was obliged to surrender all his estate into Henry's hands, notwithstanding the powerful intercession of the earl of Flanders, who was then at Henry's court. Hugh earl of Montfort was likewise carried over into England, and committed to the castle of Windsor, as Walleran was to that of Wallingford. The other conspirators, subjects to Henry, were punished or pardoned according to their deserts. Geoffrey de Tarville, and Ordard de Pine, had their eyes put out for their perjuries; and Luke de Bar, a man of satyric wit, suffered the same punishment for composing and singing scurrilous songs against Henry. But others of the conspirators purchased their peace by submission and money, and, though with reluctance, abandoned the party of the Norman prince.

Henry lost no time in improving his late victory. He marched against all the castles and forts belonging to the conspirators, which generally surrendered to his arms upon summons, or after a very feeble resistance. He then perfected the fortifications of his own towns. Additional works were raised round Roan; and he repaired the important castles of Caen, Arches, Gisors, Falaise, Argenton, Damfort, Vernon, Ambres, and several

A. D. 1124.
An engage-
ment happens.

in which the
conspirators
are routed.

The names of
the prisoners.

The earl of
Mellent sur-
renders his
estate to Hen-
ry.

Punishments
of the other
prisoners.

Henry's suc-
cesses
against the
conspirators.

A. D. 1126. several others. But, notwithstanding all those successes and precautions, he found it impracticable for him to conquer the aversion which the Normans ever retained to his title; nor did he think it safe for him to leave that country this year.

The great miseries of England at this time.

A council held,

in which forty-four persons are capitally convicted.

Death of the Scotch king.

Henry gives orders for prosecuting all coiners and debasers of money.

They are severely punished.

Death of the emperor, Henry's son-in-law.

Henry brings his daughter, the empress, over into England.

The miseries which England all this time suffered, had driven the common people into a kind of despair; robberies, thefts, and murders were now become so frequent, that it required the keenest edge of justice to repress them. For this purpose a council was held, under the king's commission, at Hundehoge in Leicestershire, by Ralph Basset, the justiciary of the kingdom. Here no fewer than forty-four criminals were tried, and executed, and six others were punished with the loss of limbs and members. The author of the Saxon chronicle gives us reason to believe, that many of those criminals became so only by their possessing estates which the ministers of public rapine coveted. They were, says he, first stripped of their fortunes, and then of their lives. In short, this year, death was a kind of relief to the miseries of the common people; for provisions not only were excessively dear, but the coin was now become so debased, that a pound of it would not buy twelve-pennyworth of commodities. In this year died Alexander the Fierce, king of Scotland; and to him succeeded his brother, David earl of Huntingdon, who, with the crown of Scotland, had great possessions in England. Henry, who was still in Normandy, receiving daily accounts of the abuses committed by the common people in England, sent now over a commission, constituting Roger bishop of Salisbury, his high justiciary, with strict orders to prosecute and punish all who should be found guilty of altering, counterfeiting, or debasing the current coin of the kingdom. The justiciary, in obedience to these orders, held a court at Winchester, where he commanded all who were accused of this crime, or had been found guilty of it, to be brought before him. The numbers of prisoners of both kinds were very numerous, and the law was strictly put in execution on all who were convicted; which seasonable severity, for some time, put a stop to those pernicious practices.

In summer, 1126, Henry returned to England. The greatest part of that and the last year had been spent in intriguing for securing the peace of Normandy, during his absence in England. This was the more difficult, as there was now but little probability of his having any male heir by his queen; but the emperor, his son-in-law, dying at this time, left his daughter Maud a fair young widow, and the greatest fortune in Europe. Henry no sooner received the news of his son-in-law's death, than he resolved to employ that incident for strengthening his interest upon the continent, by marrying her to some prince, from whom he had the most either to hope or fear; he therefore brought her along with him into England this year. His intention, in this, was both wise and political, and, when it came to be exe-

cuted, it had great effects in his favour. A. D. 1127. The court of England was now very splendid; David king of the Scots had repaired to it, to pay his homage in person to Henry. The friendship which his brothers had ever expressed to the crown of England, his alliance with Henry, his English education, and his personal merits, gave him great weight at this court. As he had no remote prospect of the crown in the Saxon line, his interest, as well as that of the empress, led him to be jealous of the deposed duke of Normandy. It was therefore by their advice, that that prince was taken out of the hands of Roger bishop of Salisbury, and committed, for more close confinement, to Robert, the king's natural son. His first prison was the castle of Bristol, and from thence he was removed to Cardiff, where he continued till he died.

The king of the Scots at the English court.

It was time for Henry now to think of a new settlement of the crown in his family. To prevent all disputes, therefore, about the succession, a great assembly of the states was this year held, about Christmas, at Windsor. Here it was proposed, that an oath should be taken, by all present, to receive the empress Maud as queen of England, in case the king should die without male issue. This oath was readily taken, first by the spiritual estates, and then by the temporal nobility, David king of the Scots first swearing. But we learn, that a pretty sharp debate happened, between Stephen earl of Mortaign, and Robert, natural son to the king, both of them noblemen of great interest in England, about precedence in swearing: the point, however, seems to have been determined in favour of the first, because of the other's illegitimacy.

A great assembly of the states held,

in which the right of the empress to succeed Henry is sworn to.

Though Henry thought he had now secured himself at home, yet he was soon called to a scene of fresh action abroad. And indeed, if we reflect seriously, it was no wonder that he had little quiet in his reign. His treatment of his brother Robert was unjust and inhuman; he could scarcely plead the merit of having been provoked to it; but, if he even had been so, the tedious, ignominious confinement, which a prince so nearly related to himself had met with, looked like cool, deliberate cruelty, and was repugnant both to piety and justice. His conduct with regard to France had given that court many disgusts; and, if we are to believe the French historians, in which they are not contradicted by the English, it favoured more of the king's jealousy, than of his justice. A thorough reconciliation between Henry and that court, therefore, was scarcely to be expected; and the French lying more contiguous to the princes who were capable to give Henry disturbance, it was much easier for them to raise, than for him to quell, commotions against his dominions. A favourable opportunity at this time presented for Lewis to distress Henry. Charles earl of Flanders, who had ever been a firm and a useful friend to the latter, fell in a conspiracy of his nobles, while he was at his devotions, within the church

Reflection upon Henry's treatment of Robert.

State of affairs between Henry and the king of France.

A. D. 1127. church of Bruges. The right of investing his earldom belonged to France, and the investiture was claimed by William prince of Normandy, in right of his grandmother, Maud queen of England. Though the French court would have paid no great regard to this right, yet they did to their own convenience; for, upon William's resigning into the hands of Lewis all the other territories he had possessed in France, and all that he got in marriage with his wife, he received from him the investiture of the earldom of Flanders. This alarmed Henry so much, that he summoned, about the end of May, a great council at Westminster, to deliberate on the state of his affairs abroad. I am very apt to believe, that Henry's English subjects, of Saxon as well as of Norman extraction, were heartily disgusted at this time with the king's repeated exactions, and would have been well pleased to have seen his Norman dominions again revert to Robert's family. We find no positive resolution of the council, which appears to have broken up in some discontent; for it was now publicly known, that Henry had concluded an alliance which would keep the English always involved in quarrels upon the continent. It was between the son of his old enemy the earl of Anjou, and his daughter the empress Maud. Robert earl of Gloucester, Bryan, son to the earl of Richmond, and a foreign prelate, were Henry's sole counsellors in this match. As the kingdom had many young noblemen, whose quality and estates gave them room to aspire to this alliance, and as a match of this importance was concluded without the advice or knowledge of the English states, the discontents upon this occasion became so loud and general, that it was no difficult matter to foresee they would pay very little regard to their late oath, in case of Henry's demise. The lady, however, was sent over, soon after Whitsuntide, 1127, under the care of Robert earl of Gloucester, her natural brother, and was betrothed to the earl of Anjou's son by the archbishop of Roan; the king publicly declaring his intention of being present at the marriage, which was to be celebrated the August following.

The Norman prince invested in the earldom of Flanders.

A marriage between Maud the empress, and the earl of Anjou's son,

which gives great discontent in England.

State of the succession to Flanders, and the candidates.

Henry accordingly went over to France; but resolved now to alter the scheme of his former conduct, and, instead of acting on the defensive, to carry the war into the heart of France itself. What determined him to this, was the state of affairs in Flanders. Three pretenders had already started up to that earldom, and all of them were secretly encouraged by Henry. These were William earl of Ypres, Theodoric earl of Ou, or Alsace, and Baldwin of Hainault; but neither the pretensions nor interest of those noblemen did Henry so much service as the behaviour of the Norman prince himself. He inherited little of his family qualities besides their courage. Being a stranger to their generosity, he fell into the other extreme, that of parsimony, and his new subjects found him equally harsh and haughty. Theo-

doric earl of Alsace was the most favoured by the Flemings, of all the other pretenders; by Henry's assistance he found means to debauch the town of Alost, and many other places, from their allegiance to the Norman.

In the mean time, Henry in person invaded France with a strong army, and cut off all communication between Lewis and William. This, together with the revolt in Flanders, entirely disconcerted the measures of those two princes. As the army of Lewis was much inferior to that of Henry, he was in no condition of forcing his way; and the state of William's affairs in Flanders kept him from giving Henry any diversion on the side of Normandy. Henry, therefore, advanced as far as Esparne, where he offered Lewis battle for eight days; but that prince was contented with putting himself in a condition not to be forced to fight upon disadvantageous terms. While the two kings were thus facing one another, the earl of Flanders was making prodigious efforts to recover the town of Alost, which had revolted to his rival, and had reduced it to great extremities. Theodoric, however, being favoured by the Flemings, got together an army much superior to that of William, and marched to the relief of the place. William, who knew that, if he could beat his rival, all Flanders must soon be reduced, drew out his army to meet him. Henry of Huntingdon gives us a prodigious character of the Norman's behaviour on this occasion; for, notwithstanding his being much inferior in numbers to his rival, he drew out his army, gave him battle, and defeated him. He then returned to the siege; and, as the town was upon the point of surrendering, he was, rather by accident than design, wounded with a lance through the ball of his thumb, near the wrist, which turning into a gangrene, carried him off in five days. He died on the 27th of July.

Nothing could have happened so fortunate for Henry's affairs as the death of this young prince, who, for some years past, had given him so much uneasiness. Had he lived for some time, it is more than probable that he would have recovered the dominions of his father, since the defeat of Theodoric, and the retaking of Alost, would have put him in quiet possession of Flanders. But his death left Henry the undisputed possessor, in point of blood, of the duchy of Normandy; Robert, his brother, having now no legitimate issue. Henry, however, did not think fit immediately to leave Normandy, in which he continued till autumn, 1129. But he began now to live with less disquietudes than he had hitherto felt. As a proof of this, he sent over for earl Walleran, and earl Hugh Montfort, who had been kept prisoners in England ever since the battle of Teroud. To Montfort he gave leave to return to France, where his estates lay, after giving him hostages for his good behaviour, and his performance of the terms agreed on. Walleran was the son of his favourite the earl of Mellent; and soon after, upon that nobleman's

A. D. 1129.

The earl of Alsace takes Alost, and other places in Flanders. Henry invades France,

and offers Lewis battle.

Battle between the prince of Normandy and the earl of Alsace, who is defeated. The death of the prince of Normandy.

Henry in quiet possession of Normandy.

He pardons some of the late conspirators.

A. D. 1129. nobleman's giving him the like security, Henry restored him to all his father's possessions, one castle excepted.

The English disabled with the marriage of their king's daughter.

Henry in great reputation at home and abroad.

His situation with his neighbours.

The king being now returned to England, he came at last to taste the tranquility of government. It is true, as we have already observed, the English had been deeply obliged at the marriage of his daughter. William of Malmesbury informs us, that he himself heard Roger bishop of Salisbury declare, that he thought the oath of succession which he had sworn to in favour of Maud, was of itself void, through the king's conduct; because the express terms of that oath were, that the lady should not be married out of the kingdom, without the consent of the English states. Though Malmesbury expresses some diffidence with regard to this prelate's veracity, yet it is very unlikely that the bishop would have made a lying declaration of this kind, when such numbers were alive to convict him of falsehood. If we therefore admit it to be true, it is a notable proof of the concern which the states of England had ever taken, in the disposal of their royal issue in marriage. But those discontents, though not extinguished, were now asleep, and Henry remained in great reputation abroad as well as at home. Lewis the Gros was now become corpulent and too unweildy for taking the field. This led him to an old age of indolence, after a life of great activity. He therefore associated with himself in his government his son Philip, into whose hands he proposed, by degrees, to resign all his authority. This revolution was another very favourable incident for Henry. The Welsh, ever since the conclusion of the last peace, had continued within the bounds of respect to the English government. The Scots had observed an unusual pacific, nay friendly, conduct, with regard to every thing that concerned England. Even Paul, earl of the Orkneys, courted the friendship of Henry, and sent him some rare birds for furnishing his new park at Woodstock. The king of Norway himself passed the winter in England, in admiration of Henry's great power and qualities. Murchad king of Ireland had ever carried himself with the greatest regard to the English government, till, upon some disgust, he threatened to break with Henry; but the latter, without putting himself to the expence of armaments or armies, was contented to prohibit all commerce with Ireland; well knowing, that a people too proud to addict themselves to the arts of commerce, could subsist only by their intercourse with England. This prohibition had the intended effect; the Irish soon found their mistake, and were brought to terms. Thus Henry's clouded life promised a serene close.

Henry outwits the clergy.

Little of moment has come to our hands, with regard to the transactions of 1129. It probably was passed by Henry in making new regulations for this settled state of his government. This year he kept his Christmas at Worcester. I cannot, however, end its transactions without mentioning a piece of state-

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craft put in practice by Henry, in which he fairly outwitted the ecclesiastics, and put a considerable sum into his own pocket. For he gave orders, that Robert archbishop of Canterbury should this year summon an ecclesiastical council at London. Many efforts had been made, by the violent churchmen, to suppress and punish the marriage of priests; but all had been ineffectual, through the obstinacy of the inferior clergy, and the want of power in their superiors to enforce obedience. It must be fairly owned, from the authority of Matthew Paris, that the churchmen in those days, who did not marry, generally burned in more lascivious amours. The king undertook to suppress both wives and concubines, and the bishops were weak enough to trust him. The assembly being over, the king, instead of executing what he had undertaken, compromised the matter, and took fines from priests for the use of women; and, by this means, raised a large sum in a popular manner.

In the year 1130, the king held his Easter at Woodstock, where Geoffrey de Clinton was accused and condemned of treason; though the particulars of the charge against him have not come to our hands. Soon after, Henry went over to Normandy, leaving England in the most perfect tranquility. Being arrived there, he had an interview with pope Innocent, as we are to understand the words of Malmesbury, to whom he made very high presents, which he levied from the Jews within his dominions. In consequence of this interview, both Henry and the king of France declared in favour of this pope. About this time some differences were said to have fallen out between the empress and her husband, Geoffrey Plantagenet earl of Anjou. The high quality of empress had, indeed, made her always look upon the quality of countess of Anjou with contempt; it was, therefore, no wonder if their married state was now and then embittered by mutual reproaches; especially if we consider the animosities subsisting between their two fathers. At last a separation ensued, and Henry, in the year 1131, brought her back into England. He began, by this time, to be sensible of the disgust the English had taken at his daughter's marriage. He knew how many would be ready to evade their oath, by pretending that they had sworn fidelity to a dowager empress, and the daughter of their king, and not to the wife of the earl of Anjou, who became thereby, without their consent, their master. Henry, therefore, this year summoned a great council of his states at Northampton, where they renewed their oath of fealty. But it is highly probable, that this separation was no other than a political contrivance of Henry, the more easily to prevail with the states to renew their oath. For we find that this was no sooner done, than her husband, pretending to forget all that was past, invited her again to his bed; and she accordingly went over that same year, where she was joyfully received. Henry this year, or the

A. D. 1131.

Henry goes to Normandy.

He has an interview with pope Innocent.

Difference between the empress and her husband.

Henry holds a council at Northampton.

A. D. 1134.

London
burnt.Henry makes
a progress to
the north.The empress
brought to-
bed of a son.Their right of
succession
sworn to by
the English.Henry goes to
Normandy.Robert duke
of Normandy
dies.Reflections
upon his treat-
ment and cha-
racter.

beginning of the next, held a high council at London; but the result of it is of no importance, as no matters of moment came under its deliberation.

In the year 1132, great part of the city of London, which was then wholly built of wood, was burnt to the ground. It appears that this year Henry applied himself to the affairs of the north. The counties there, though very populous and powerful, had been of little service to his family. The people, through their remoteness from the court and its manners, had never been thoroughly reconciled to the feudal system; and though their earls held it by that tenure, yet the commonalty in general looked upon themselves as no farther dependent upon them, than as they were influenced by their inclinations or dislike for their reigning sovereign. Henry, who, when matters of interest did not intervene, understood true maxims of policy, studied how to reclaim them, and this year erected a fee at Carlisle, which had already been distinguished by his royal munificence. Nothing farther remarkable happened this year; only that, towards its close, Henry found himself very much indisposed, of which he soon recovered. Next year, which was 1133, was distinguished by the birth of a son to the empress, who was christened Henry, after his grandfather. So desirable an event was the occasion of another great council, in which Henry another time demanded an oath of fealty to the empress, with an addition of the same to her successor. The additional clause might be the reason of this repetition of the oath; and we find, that Stephen earl of Bulloign was the first who swore, without having his right disputed. About the end of summer, he embarked, for the last time, for Normandy, which seems to have been his favourite residence. It is true, England had been, for some years, in perfect tranquility; and many unnatural disputes happening between him and Geoffrey Plantagenet, his son-in-law, his presence was the more necessary upon the continent.

In the year 1134 died the unfortunate Robert duke of Normandy. This prince, during the latter part of his life, had been treated with great inhumanity. Henry is charged, by some old historians, from whom Matthew Paris transcribed the fact, with ordering a red-hot basin to be drawn before his eyes, which drying up the visual humours, rendered him blind. Some doubt of this fact, because of the silence of other historians, particularly Odericus Vitalis, and Henry of Huntingdon. I shall determine nothing; but only observe in general, that one, who could have the bowels to keep an elder brother, who had never given him just provocation, and who was distinguished by many amiable qualities, twenty-seven years in prison, was not incapable of that barbarous action. That he treated him little better than a beggar subsisting upon his alms, appears from the well-known story of his sending him a scarlet robe, which he himself

had worn, and which Robert perceiving, laid so much to heart, that it threw him into a melancholy, which occasioned his death. To excuse this cruelty, we have been told, that Robert had attempted to make his escape; that is, that he had done a thing which nature and self-preservation dictated. Equally weak are the reasons alleged in Henry's vindication from the failings, vices and crimes of Robert. That he had failings, is certain; perhaps he had vices; but we know nothing of his crimes. Prodigality, and a wrong discernment of mankind, are the worst charges that can be brought against him; but that he was generous, humane, and compassionate, Henry's own preservation witnessed. Those virtues had, fatally for him, procured him friends in England; and the barbarity of his usage was owing perhaps more to them, than any other cause. In short, his treatment was a prologue to what may be termed little less than murder itself: it was detestable to nature, inconsistent with sound politics, and prompted by mean jealousy. We now return to our history.

Henry's long stay in Normandy was, as we have before hinted, owing to the intrigues of Geoffrey Plantagenet, earl of Anjou, and husband of the empress Maud. This prince, upon various pretexts, was still starting claims to some part or other of Henry's Norman dominions; and, upon the death of Robert, made a demand to be put in possession of all that duchy, under pretext of the marriage-contract between him and the empress. We are strangers to the exact state of the controversy between them; but, possibly, Plantagenet was not so much to blame as has been represented. It is well known, that Henry had, on many occasions, appeared to be no slave to his word. There was no good correspondence between the empress and her husband; and I am inclined to believe, that, as the claim was in her right, and she taking part with her father, Henry took advantage of that circumstance to refuse to do Plantagenet justice. This widened the breach between the empress and her husband to such a degree, that Henry had once thoughts of carrying her over into England; but was prevented from this resolution by the dread he was under, of some revolution in Normandy, through the great power of Plantagenet. For, though that prince had not actually taken up arms against his father-in-law, yet he had so far disregarded him, that he had driven Roscelin viscount of Beaumont, who had married one of Henry's natural daughters, into Mans, where he kept him shut up, notwithstanding all Henry's menaces and intercession.

But that which is a stronger evidence than all the rest, of Plantagenet's great interest on the continent, is the stay which Henry made in Normandy, even while his throne of England was shaken by intestine commotions. For Cadwallader and Owen Guyneth, sons to Griffith ap Conan, the prince of North Wales, made this year a ge-

nerous

A. D. 1134.

Differences
between Hen-
ry and his
son-in-law.Conjecture
thereupon.Plantagenet's
great interests
in Normandy.The Welsh
rise in arms.

A. D. 1135.

A. D. 1135.

and defeat the
English.They take
Aberkevny,and beat the
English forces
in a pitched
battle.Henry pre-
vented from
coming to
England.

nerous effort towards restoring the greatness of the British name. As they were princes of great courage and high spirit, it was with great indignation they beheld the Flemings and the Normans invade the inheritance of their fathers, and seated in their possessions. Getting together, therefore, a chosen band of friends, they, in the year 1135, invaded Cardiganhire, and carried fire and sword through all that country. The Norman nobility were every where defeated; their castles in some places were razed, and in others burnt to the ground; while others of them were garrisoned by the enemy, who, towards autumn, returned home loaded with plunder, and exulting with conquest. This auspicious beginning encouraged the Welsh in general to serve under the young princes. An army soon assembled, consisting of no less than six thousand foot and two thousand horse; at the head of which, besides the princes I have already named, were Griffith ap Rees, prince of South Wales, and Howel ap Meredyth, lord of Brecknock. Their number soon increased as their spirit spread, and towards the end of the year they found themselves too numerous to subsist where they were. Dividing their forces, therefore, the prince of South Wales and the lord of Brecknock marched towards Aberkevny, which they took, and planted all the country they passed through with its old inhabitants, every where expelling the Normans and Flemings. Stephen, who was constable of Aberkevny, Robert Fitz-martin, William Fitz-john, with the sons of Gerard a Flemish nobleman, put themselves at the head of the dispersed Flemings, Normans, and Englishmen. A battle was fought near the castle of Aberkevny, but with such ill success on the part of Henry's generals, that, after a cruel and obstinate dispute, his subjects were routed, and no less than three thousand men were left dead on the spot, or killed in the pursuit (besides those who were drowned in the river Tewy) or taken prisoners. It is more than probable, that the home divisions among the Welsh hindered them from making a proper advantage of this important victory; for we find that, soon after, Owen and Cadwallader returned home with their plunder. I shall only observe farther, that the Welsh appear, from the execution they had done in the late battle, to have retained their old way of fighting, without going into that then so common on the continent. Three times did Henry endeavour to pass over into England, to the relief of his English subjects, now harassed by the Welsh; but was often prevented by his son-

in-law, Geoffrey Plantagenet, whose ambition would not admit of Henry's drawing his forces out of Normandy. It likewise appears, that there was not then in England a sufficient number of troops, whom Henry could trust to, for the suppression of the Welsh excursions. Thus nothing but the civil divisions among that people could have prevented them, at this time, from carrying their conquests much farther, perhaps to the utter extinction of the Norman name and interest.

Henry, in all the course of his reign, seems to have looked upon England but as the nursery of men and money, for supporting his French dominions: for, while the disturbances continued in England, even to the endangering of that crown, he still remained in Normandy, composing differences, and carrying on intrigues against his son-in-law. At last, coming to the castle of Lyons, near Roan, one of his favourite seats, he spent some days in hunting. Coming home one evening from that exercise, he indulged his appetite so much in eating lampreys, a beloved dish, that he fell ill of a surfeit.

Henry's disease being attended with mortal symptoms, he grew sensible of his approaching dissolution: he therefore sent for Hugh archbishop of Roan, his natural son Robert earl of Gloucester, William de Warren, and several other noblemen then in Normandy, to receive his last commands. To those noblemen he declared his daughter, and the heirs of her body, by lawful succession, to be the heirs of all his dominions, both in England and upon the continent. As to her husband, Geoffrey Plantagenet, he never once mentioned him, being either exasperated at his late conduct, or consulting the good of his people, whose advantage it was to have a succession of princes, whose right should be as clear and simple as possible. He then gave orders, that all his debts and servants wages should be punctually paid; that all forfeitures and mulcts, which had fallen to the crown should be remitted; that all exiles should be restored to their country; and that all who had been unjustly disseised of their estates, should be restored to them in peace and safety. He next ordered his son Robert, who kept his great treasure at Falaise, to lay out sixty thousand pounds upon his servants, officers, and soldiers. Having thus made proper dispositions, he expired on the seventh day after his sickness, the thirty-sixth year of his reign, and the sixty-eighth of his age, on Sunday the first of December (1).

After the several observations I have made in

(1) Remarkable occurrences in the reign of Henry I.

In his second year, 1102, Gloucester and Winchester were burnt. In his fourth, a comet appeared, and four circles were seen about the sun. In his seventh, another comet was seen; and, on Thursday night before, two full-moons appeared, one in the east, and another in the west. In his tenth, a third comet was seen, and an earthquake happened in Shropshire. Sir John Hayward's Hist. Hen. I.

In his eleventh year, the river Trent, near Nottingham, ceased to run its course for four and twenty hours, and so long the channel was dried up. Hol. There was this year a great mortality of men; a murrain among cattle, both domestic and of the field; the fowls also perished in abundance. In his thirteenth year, Worcester city, the church, castle, and many citizens were burnt; a pig was farrowed with a face like a child; and the water of the river Medway failed so much, for many miles, in the midst of the channel, that the smallest boats could not float; and the Thames was so low, between the tower and the bridge, that many men, women, and children waded it over afoot; which was occasioned, says our author, (Sir John Hayward) by reason of a great cbb in the ocean, that laid the sands bare several miles from the shore, which continued

A. D. 1135. in the course of this prince's history, the reader cannot expect here any encomiums and character, upon his virtues. That he had abilities, is certain; but his politics were timid, and therefore cruel. His mercy was the result of interested considerations, rather than of generous humanity. He stood at no assurances to obtain, nor at any infidelity to preserve, whatever was the object of his ambition. His genius was more regular, and therefore his conduct was more equal, than that of his father and brother. But if he was without their violences, he was likewise without their excellencies. He did not, like them, sometimes start into goodness and generosity; and, by his learning, he seems only to have acquired a contempt for letters. So ill judged were his promotions in the church, and so rivetted was he to his own interest, that no merit in learning procured his regard, and no demerit in virtue his displeasure, but in proportion as the one or the other affected his views of ambition. His having been born an Englishman, and the son of a king, as we have elsewhere hinted, gave him infinite advantages. He had the art of being decent even in his debaucheries and amours. For this reason we are told, by Malmesbury, that, before his accession to the crown, the people had a high opinion of his chastity. Of such consequence are outside appearances towards gaining the love of the people. His reign has been celebrated for its tranquility; and indeed it must be owned, that, considering the provocations he gave the English, it is very extraordinary that he did not meet with more disturbance. But the good impressions he had taken care to give the old English of his person and principles at the beginning of his reign, remained long upon their minds; nor were they defaced by a long course of harsh usage. But that which seems to have contributed most to his tranquility, was an adherence to the forms of the English constitution, which amused the people with the pleasing remembrance of what they had been, though all its strength and spirit were lost. This maxim, however, gave him opportunities of exercising many personal acts of tyranny, without endangering the peace of his government; and the softness of his behaviour to all about him, effaced, with the common people, all resentment at the severity of his measures. Though the exactions of his reign were many and great, yet they were not so deeply felt by the

and that of his government.

public, as those of his father and brother, because he was a better oeconomist than either; and the proscriptions which he carried on, under the colour of law, against private persons, often supplied his exigences, when farther exactions upon his people might have been dangerous to his government. He had in him all the high spirit of the Norman race; but it was modelled by study and reflection, so as to be tamely subservient to the meanest purposes. In short, the secret of his reign was, that his acts of oppression were rather personal than constitutional; and that, under him, the nerves of government, though often stretched, were never cracked. He likewise found great advantage from the veneration which those times entertained for learning, especially in a prince. Add to all this, the gracefulness of his person, and the sweetness of his address, which charmed every one who came near him. That he had some good qualities is indisputable: not to mention again his learning, his courage, and his military qualifications, he was a tender husband, an affectionate parent, and a generous master. He knew the true interests of his people better than any prince in his time; and though England, under him, suffered many oppressions, yet, at the same time, it enjoyed several advantages. The uninterrupted course of tranquility, excepting from the Welsh invasions, invited over many foreigners, manufacturers especially, who disseminated their arts through the kingdom, and laid the foundations of more extended commerce than she had ever yet known. Had Henry been possessed of less power, or could he have prevailed upon himself to resign part of what he had, he might have enjoyed the remainder in peace, and with comfort; in which case, there is reason for believing, he would have proved an excellent prince. But his injustice to his brother Robert and his son, exasperated and armed the princes of the continent against him. The perpetual divisions in which he was engaged with them, put him upon maintaining his authority by oppressive measures, and to balance his want of interest in Normandy, by continual drains of men and money from England.

His virtues.

England's great improvements under Henry.

His chief minister, as I have observed before, was at first the earl of Mellent, who, as I have also observed, was the author of many pernicious designs against the English; but, after his death, Roger bishop of Salis-

Character of his ministers.

tinued so a whole day. The city and chief monastery of Chichester were burnt, and there were much rage and violence of weather with a comet. Holingshed adds, that the comet appeared in a strange manner; it rose in the east, and when it was advanced near the mid-heavens, it kept not its course forward, but seemed to go backward, as if it had been retrograde. In December, the air appeared red, as though it had burned. Most of these accidents he places under the next year, during which, almost all the bridges in England, being then built with timber, were broken down by the ice when it thawed, after a severe frost. In his sixteenth year, on the 1st of November, there fell a prodigious storm of hail, accompanied with unusual claps of thunder and blasts of lightning. In December, a great earthquake happened, and the colour of the moon was changed into that of blood. Holingshed.

In his seventeenth, the cities of Bath and Peterborough were burnt. In his twentieth year, there was an earthquake in September. In his twenty-second, the city of Gloucester was burnt, and Lincoln the year following. In his thirtieth year, Rochester was almost destroyed by fire, and London in his thirty-second. In the year before he died, being the thirty-fourth of his reign, on the 2d of August, just as he was about to take ship, and sail to Normandy, an eclipse of the sun and moon appeared; at which time, William of Malmesbury, who was then living, writes, that he saw the stars plainly about the sun. This eclipse was followed by a most terrible earthquake, in which, the same author relates, the house wherein he sat was lifted up with a double remove, and at the third time settled again in the proper place. Sir John Hayward. Holingshed tells us, it was the house in which the king sat; he adds, that flames of fire burst out of certain rifts of the earth, with such violence, that they could not be quenched by water or otherwise.

A. D. 1135. bury seems to have been the minister. This prelate, from the low original of being a curate, or a parish-priest, came to be chancellor of England, bishop of Salisbury, and Henry's chief justice all over his kingdom, in his presence as well as absence. He seems to have been a vigilant and active minister, and, by proceeding severely against offenders, he was highly instrumental in preserving the peace of the kingdom.

Description of Henry's person. Henry, when disengaged from business, had a pleasant, facetious turn of wit, and behaved with great affability to all about him. He had the advantage of comeliness of person over his father and brothers. He was of middle stature; his hair black, and towards his forehead bushy; his eyes clear and sweet; his chest broad and full. His amours were numerous, and with ladies of the highest quality within his dominions; his indulgence for his natural children was extraordinary, and, by the greatness of their fortunes, he put them above all reproach of their birth. He was sparing of capital punishment; but, in all others, rigorous. He might be said rather to have feared, than to have hated, the English; and the privileges he granted them, proceeded rather from force than favour. One must not be forgot; for we are told, by the authors of his life, that he restored to the English the use of candle and fire, of which they had been deprived by his father and brother, every night after eight o'clock. His natural son, Robert earl of Gloucester, seems to have been one of the honestest men about the court, and had great trust from his father; but his interest was always counter-balanced by that of foreigners. This nobleman was patron to William of Malmesbury, and put him upon writing his English history.

His body conveyed to Roan. After Henry was dead, his body was removed to Roan, on the shoulders of his nobility. Notwithstanding the season of the year, the smell of it was so offensive, that when a surgeon, for the promise of a large reward, opened his head with no better an instrument than a common hatchet, he was struck dead by the intolerable stench that issued from it. The other attendants then cut large slashes in his flesh, into which they threw a great deal of salt; and, after taking out his entrails, which were buried in the church of St. Mary de Pres at Roan, his body was wrapped up in ox-hides, and conveyed to Caen, where, according to his own orders, it lay till they had an opportunity of conveying it over to England. There it was buried, at Reading, within a monastery of his own founding. The monks of this

His burial.

monastery, in gratitude to his memory, erected to him a noble monument, which was defaced upon the suppression of abbeys, and his bones thrown out, to make room for a common stable for horses. We shall now give an account of this prince's children, both legitimate and natural, as the issue of both will be often mentioned in the course of this history.

A. D. 1135. An account of Henry's issue.

His legitimate children were,

1. One son, named William, who was drowned as aforesaid, and died without issue.
2. One daughter, commonly called Maud the Empress, because married to Henry the emperor. Her second husband was Geoffrey Plantagenet, earl of Anjou, by whom she had Henry II, king of England, and two other sons, Geoffrey and William, that died without issue.

His natural children were,

1. Robert, created earl of Gloucester in the ninth of Henry I, by Nesta, daughter of Rhces ap Tudor, prince of South Wales.
2. Richard, begotten of the widow of one Anskill, a nobleman in Oxfordshire: he was drowned with prince William, his half brother.
3. Reynauld, created earl of Cornwall in the fifth of king Stephen, was begotten of Sibill, daughter of Sir Robert Corbet of Alcester in Gloucestershire.
4. Robert, by Editha, daughter of a northern nobleman in England.
5. Gilbert.
6. William de Tracy, so named from a town in Normandy, who died soon after his father.
7. Henry, by Nesta aforesaid.
8. Maud, espoused to Rotro earl of Perch, who was son to Arnulph de Hesding, that had great possessions in England.
9. Another Maud, married to Conan earl of Britain.
10. Julian, married to Eustace de Paice, bastard son of William de Bretueil, eldest son and heir of William, and elder brother of Roger earl of Hereford in England.
11. Constance, wife of Roscelin viscount of Beaumont, so called from a town in the county of Maine.
12. Another daughter, married to Matthew, son of Barchard of Montmorency, from whom descended the ancient family of that name.
13. Elizabeth, by Elizabeth, sister of Walleran earl of Mellent, married to Alexander king of the Scots (1).

His natural children.

(1) The laws of this prince are very numerous, and, for the most part, founded upon those of former English kings, which we have already seen; I shall therefore only take notice of the most remarkable, and such as may cast new lights upon the constitution in his time.

By the seventh law of his collections it is enacted, That the general pleas of counties ought to be held in stated places, and at stated terms, or (according to some copies) before certain judges; and not to be delayed, unless the king's urgent occasions, or the common profit of the kingdom should demand it: where ought to be present, the bishops, earls, vice domini, that is, judges, vicarii, sheriffs, centenarii, hundreders, aldermen, præfecti, magistrates, præpositi, headborough, barons, vavafors, tungreves (i. e. officers of towns), and all other land-holders ought to be present, to prevent the evil men's escaping punishment, and justice being perverted: but the sciremotes and burghmotes ought to be assembled in the hundred, or wapentake, twelve times a year.

The eighth ordains, That all freemen, as well householders as their followers or dependents, shall meet twice a year at the hundred court, to see if their tythings be full or not, or in what manner they increase or decrease; and that there should be over every nine men a tenth, and over the whole hundred one of the better sort, called the alderman, who ought

to study to promote the common good. Because nothing ought to be taken or exacted from any one, unless by right, and by the law of the land, and by the justice and judgment of the court, without deceit, as it is ordained by the prudent consideration of our good predecessors and the nobles of the whole kingdom, and approved of by the general assembly of the servants of God, and of the holy elders, and wise men of the whole monarchy.

The tenth discusses the king's prerogative in the following manner: The following are the rights which the king of England alone hath, above all men in his own kingdom, while the good institution of peace and security is retained, viz. The breach of the king's peace, given either by his hand or writ; Dane-geld; the plea or process concerning the contempt of his writs or precepts; as also concerning his servants, killed or injured; also treachery and treason, with all sorts of contempts or disrespectful expressions of him; also the pleas of outlawry and theft (then not punishable by death), murder, falsifying of money, burning houses, ham sacna (i. e. an assault made upon a man in his own house), forestal (i. e. lying in wait on the highway), fyredering (finding of goods), fleminform (perhaps the aiding of outlawed persons), premeditate assault, robbery, strethreck (that is, trespass upon the king's highway), seizing on the king's land, on money, treasure, trove, shipwrecks, maris algarum (that is, of sea weeds or plants), rapes, trespasses in forests; also the relief of his barons. Whoever shall fight in the king's house; or whoever hostia (that is, in the king's host or army) breaks the peace; whoever shall omit to maintain burgbote, brigbote, and firdfard (i. e. the repairing of castles and bridges, and appearing at a muster); whoever keeps or maintains an excommunicated or outlawed person. Also burgbreche (i. e. he who violates the king's pledge or surety). Whoever shall run away in a land or sea-fight, unjust judgment, defect of justice, and wresting of the king's laws. All herestrets (perhaps the king's highways are here meant), and all gwallstows (i. e. places of public execution), are wholly the king's. Moreover, the king, in his soca or court, ought to be to all men that are summoned to appear, as well towards all strangers as poor and abject persons, instead of a kinsman and advocate, if they have no other.

The twelfth declares what crimes are capital, and what may be redeemed by payment of a wite (that is, a bare fine or mulct). Some cannot be satisfied at all by money; such as are house-breach and bernet, or the burning of houses, notorious theft. Eberemorth (that is, downright murder), and Illafordswica (i. e. betraying of the lord) and breach of the peace or of the church, or that given by the king's hands. But these that follow may be satisfied by a hundred shillings, viz. grithbreach (that is, simple breach of the peace), stretbreach, forestale, burgbreach, hamsokne, flemen-farm; all these may be satisfied by money.

The thirteenth declares what pleas put men in the king's mercy (that is, are subject to amerciaments) and are as follow: Breach of his peace given by his hand, contempt of his rights, and whatsoever tends to the contumely or contempt of his person or commands; as also concerning his servants, slain in any city or castle, or any where else; and also treachery and treason, making of castles without licence, outlawry, &c. Those that do thus, are in the king's mercy, and forfeit their free lands, if they have any. Then follow thefts and murders, if the party come not in within seven days; also counterfeiters of money shall lose their hand, without any redemption. Whoever shall give unjust judgment, shall pay one hundred and twenty shillings, and shall lose the office of a judge, unless he redeem it of the king. Also the concealment of goods or chattels belonging to the king, was to be counted as theft; also violence offered to a virgin or widow, fighting in the king's house. He that breaks the peace in the king's host, shall lose his life, or compound for it; also, he that fails to perform burgbote, or brigbote, or firdfare, shall forfeit one hundred shillings, which he incurred, unless eleven out of twelve found for him. The rest of the forfeitures are against those who keep or maintain outlawed or excommunicated persons; or whoever shall forsake his lord or fellow-soldier in a land or sea-fight, all of whom shall lose their lives, and the lord shall seize upon their money, and the land which he gave them; but if they have boc-land (that is, free-land) it shall fall to the king.

As to the other laws of this prince, I shall not trouble the reader with them at present; first, because I am not quite satisfied with the proofs of their authenticity, in the form they have been transmitted to us; secondly, what is truly valuable or curious in them, may be already seen in the Saxon laws, and those collected under the Conqueror; and lastly, because they come more properly under the province of a lawyer than an historian.



KING STEPHEN.

4. KING STEPHEN.

A. D. 1135.
General reflection upon the reign of king Stephen.

THE fates of empires and states may be called the records of providence, wherein her decrees are written in the fairest and most legible characters. Every private life has a history emulous of this great system; but here it is we chiefly see the best-laid schemes of human capacity vanish into air, the deepest designs arraigned and convicted of folly, and the strongest precautions operating in favour of what they were intended to prevent. No prince of his age possessed more worldly wisdom than Henry I. did; no prince ever took wiser measures, or exacted more binding obligations, for securing the succession to his daughter and family, than he did. Heaven was pleased to disappoint his foresight; and the crimes of ambition, usurpation, oppression, and breach of promise, too common to his family, were soon repaid upon his posterity by a like instrument of divine justice. We now enter into a scene of more than civil rage; we are to describe power vested in wickedness; revenge and perfidy stalking over the land with giant strides, levelling the pride of England to the dust, and making her bosom the theatre of blood and murder.

Reflection upon the reigns of the three last kings.

Almost seventy years had now elapsed, since the Norman conquest. The three princes of that family were, in different ways, great men; but, with all their abilities, they had not been able to consolidate the Saxon and the feudal system of government. The people, however oppressed, still found a happy juncture for making their voice of importance, and that still called out aloud, "We will be governed by the laws of king Edward!" The attentive reader, from the preceding part of this history, will easily perceive, that those laws were much more favourable than the feudal system, to private persons, and to the church's property. The Norman princes found it in vain to think of concealing this, either from the people or the clergy. All they could do, was to reconcile the one to the other; but never could they effect an entire coalition. They were averse one to another, even as iron is not mixed with clay. But the great revenues then possessed by the crown, the prodigious power devolved upon it by the feudal system, were more than a counterbalance to all its inconveniences. The great barons, on whom the crown immediately depended, had no other security for their possessions, than the preservation of that system under a Norman prince. Thus the king was always sure of a majority in his own court; and thus, in all proceedings against rebels, however overgrown, or noblemen, however provoked, he had always the law upon his side; and the forfeiture of the offending party was still an allurements which brought the crown support in its deepest distresses. From this it is plain, that the maintenance of the feudal system was

always a favourite point, both with the crown and the barons. By it, the barons immediately depended on the crown, and the people on the barons. Henry I, by his policy and profound dissimulation, had found means to preserve this subordination in its due course during the most part of his reign. The states of the kingdom, whatever private disaffections subsisted, could never be brought to break with him; and, when that is the case, the crown of England, in all events, and under all disadvantages, will ever be safe from popular commotion. But Henry, during most of his reign, had found the prodigious inconvenience of dealing with his own clergy. Possessed as they were of a double power, spiritual as prelates, and temporal as barons, where the one was subdued, the other made head. His long disputes with Anselm and the see of Rome, taught him, at last, how to obviate all inconveniences of this kind; for, instead of intriguing among his own prelates at home, and securing, as he did at first, a strong party among them, he found out a much readier way to work his purposes, that of applying at first hand to the Roman see, ever accessible to corruption, and ever pleased to see kings become its suitors. Thus, with the pope and the majority of his barons on his side, he found means to pass the most part of his reign without disturbance from the church; but neither the clergy, nor the people, all this time were easy. The more understanding among them saw, that while such a coalition subsisted between the crown, the pope, and the barons, their influence would be but small. But now a time approaches, when their voice and interest became of importance.

A. D. 1135.

Henry's wisdom in keeping well with his barons.

His policy with regard to the clergy.

The empress Matilda had a spirit surpassing the highness even of her birth and condition. She had been bred up in the arbitrary maxims of her family; she possessed the Norman dominions of her father; she was married to a foreign prince, a stranger to the customs and constitution of England; she had an uncle, the king of the Scots, who was ready to back her in all her ambitious designs; in short, the clergy and the people of England had no prospect, from her government, but a continuance of the misery and disrespect they had experienced under that of Henry.

The character of the empress.

The prospect which the English had of her government.

Stephen earl of Bulloign, was the third son of the earl of Blois, by Adela, daughter to William the Conqueror. His graceful personage, his courage, which was worthy his high birth, his affable demeanor, his liberality, and many other great qualities, rendered him dear to Henry, who seemed to take pleasure in making him rich and powerful, having bestowed upon him, besides other possessions, the great forfeited estate of the earl of Mortaign. Stephen was in France at the time of Henry's death; but his

Character of Stephen.

A. D. 1135. his residence in England had made him quite master of the true state of affairs here.

That the reader may proceed with some degree of regularity and pleasure, in that vast turbulence and confusion of events I am now to open, it is necessary to lay before him some other characters concerned in bringing about the several catastrophes of this active reign.

Character of Stephen's elder brother.

Stephen, as I observed, was the third son of the earl of Blois; and he had a brother still younger than himself. His eldest brother was under natural defects, which disabled him from the management of affairs. His second, therefore, succeeded to his father, as earl of Blois; and claimed, in right of his mother, the investiture of the duchy of Normandy. Though this claim, I think, was neither grounded upon justice, nor policy; yet he soon found a strong party in his favour, and made himself master of several important places, before the earl of Anjou, Matilda's husband, could gain a footing there firm enough to prevent him. But of that hereafter. This prince appears to have been without the vivacity or ambition of his brother; but possessed of more honour than seems to have been common with the princes of that age.

Of his younger brother the bishop of Winchester.

Very different was the character of Henry, the younger brother of Stephen. He had been bred in the monastery of Augny, and was made, by the late Henry, first, abbot of Glaffenbury, and then bishop of Winchester. His disposition was turbulent, his spirit bold, his tongue voluble, and his morals faithless; without true wisdom to lay a consistent plan, or of even connecting the end with the means. He was inconstant or resolute, haughty or submissive, a priest or a prince, just as objects appeared to his own confined views and narrow understanding. But, with all those faults, his learning and high quality, joined to an address peculiar to his nature, had gained him a prodigious interest with the clergy; and he was, at this juncture, one of the most considerable subjects in the kingdom; it was, therefore, no wonder if Stephen greatly relied upon his interest.

Of William archbishop of Canterbury.

William, the then archbishop of Canterbury, was more acquainted with books than men. He was zealously devoted to the see of Rome, from whom he received favours, which carried with them dishonour and subjection to his archiepiscopal functions; but he was a stranger to the intrigues of state, being easily imposed upon, and brought to act just as the cunning and views of designing men dictated, or his own weak intellects suggested. Roger bishop of Salisbury, was rich and powerful, even to envy. The meanness from which he rose, and the greatness to which he was advanced, has been already noted. His stateliness came up to the most extended measure of pontifical pride; but his judgment was sound, his parts, though unlettered, were quick, and in his heart he was an Englishman.

Of the bishop of Salisbury,

Robert earl of Gloucester was in high re-

putation in England. His steadiness during the late reign, his never appearing to back any of the disagreeable measures then carried on; his great success and abilities in war, and, what was then uncommon, his patronage to men of learning, rendered his friendship of great importance to either party. The confidence reposed in him by his father, and the attachment he had ever expressed for the empress, made it generally believed that he would embrace her interest; and his being in France at the time of the late king's death, was of great detriment to her affairs. But even this nobleman, with all his virtues, had not discernment enough to close at once with that party which was most likely to restore England to its liberties and independency; though there is reason to believe, that he acted, in the main, with honest intentions.

There is no observation more true in politics, than that oaths will never bind against principle and interest. Henry had multiplied oaths, and fondly trusted to them for securing the rights of his family. His long absence in Normandy had occasioned his not being sufficiently acquainted with the characters of his English subjects. His dependence upon the many oaths his people had taken, rendered both him and the empress too sure to trust to other precautions. It is improbable to suppose, that Stephen did not cast his eyes on the crown of England before Henry expired; it is more reasonable to believe, that, ever since the second marriage of the empress, which was so unpopular among the English, he had entertained thoughts of ambition, and had been secretly improving the dissatisfaction of the nobility to his own purposes. No sooner, therefore, was the breath out of Henry's body, than he privately posted to Whitsands, a town in Picardie, where he embarked on board a small vessel, and, without discovery or suspicion, landed at Dover. His first attempt was to seize that important fortress; but in this he was disappointed. He next advanced to Canterbury, hoping to gain admission; but there likewise he met with a repulse. Not discouraged by those disappointments, he posted to London, where his brother the bishop of Winchester, and other noblemen of his party, had been so assiduous in their intrigues, that he was received with open arms; his ambition for royalty being yet concealed. Many favourite concurrences conspired for his interest. The empress and her brother, Robert earl of Gloucester, had prepared, with a magnificent fleet, to pass over into England; but storms disappointed their intention. Stephen improved the precious minutes of their absence. His brother, the bishop of Winchester, had great weight with the archbishop of Canterbury; and the bishop of Salisbury was the professed enemy of the empress and her party. Her ambition, her education, her principles, and high spirit, were, on all occasions, represented in the most aggravating terms; and it was every where inculcated, that it was scandalous so

Observation upon the oaths exacted from the English by Henry.

Stephen's secret views upon the crown.

He lands at Dover,

and comes to London.

The advantages of his situation.

many

A. D. 1136. many brave men should be subject to a woman and a child. But something more than this was still wanting to bring off those who had personally sworn allegiance to the empress and her family. Hugh Bigod, therefore, who was an officer of great trust under the late king, and strongly in the interest of Stephen, came before the archbishop of Canterbury, and voluntarily made oath, that Henry, on his death-bed, had expressed his concern for the settlement he had made of the crown; and that he had declared his intentions, if ever he survived his illness, of setting aside the empress Maud and her children. This deposition, together with the persuasions of the bishop of Winchester and others, so effectually prevailed with the credulous archbishop, that he was, on this critical occasion, entirely fixed in the interest of Stephen. A great council of the states was immediately held, in which Stephen's party appearing most numerous, it was resolved to set aside Maud from the succession. As this step is neither to be wholly vindicated, neither is it too likely to be condemned. The empress was married to a foreign prince, in poor circumstances, compared to those of the husband of a queen, or the father of a king of England. The nation was no stranger to his caprices, his intrigues, and the uneasiness he had given his father-in-law. They did not know how far he might have influence with her to resign into his hands the actual exercise of government, in which case they had reason to expect a renewal of all the miseries they had suffered under the Norman line. Plantagenet's father was the nominal needy king of Jerusalem, and the interests of the family were so interwoven with those of foreign princes, that England, under such a government, could expect to be no other than a resource for their wants and ambition. On the other hand, Stephen, though a foreigner by birth, was amiable in their eyes, and an Englishman by habit and profession. The martial spirit of the nation seemed to languish, and to require a manly government; but, above all, the precedent introduced by Henry himself, and his brother William, in setting aside the succession from primogeniture, made the English nobles conceive that they had a right to provide for their own welfare, in electing whom they saw most proper for the crown. This they publicly avowed; and in this sentiment they were strengthened by the professions and promises of Stephen, not only of advancing their particular interests, but of restoring England to her liberties, and of taking from her neck the yoke, under which she had groaned during the reigns of his grandfather and uncles.

Such were the concurring causes which brought about this great revolution; nor does it appear that, at the time when Stephen was elected, there was any opposition in favour of the empress in the council. Some time, however, passed between his election and his coronation. This seems to have been such an error in politics, and so con-

trary to the conduct of Henry in the like circumstances, that it must have been owing either to Stephen's inadvertency, or to some particular incident then happening in the nation; perhaps to both. For we find, that, during the vacancy between the election and coronation, some disaffected persons had taken advantage of the interreign to commit a great many ravages and excesses. Stephen, to give a favourable omen of his future government, undertook to suppress them. This he accordingly effected in a few days. But the English had, by this time, leisure to reflect on what they had done. Positive oaths, and an incontestable right of blood, were now weighed against matters of conveniency and opinion, and were considerations well worthy their attention. When the day fixed for the coronation approached, the archbishop of Canterbury was applied to, to perform the ceremony; but this prelate now discovered scruples, to which, hitherto, he appeared to be a stranger. It was with some difficulty those scruples were removed, upon the pretences I have already mentioned; but when the ceremony came to be performed, the appearance of the nobility was very thin, and, according to Malmesbury, smaller than ever was known upon the like occasion.

It is amazing how the party of the empress, which was certainly then very powerful in England, amused themselves, since we find them making no opposition to Stephen, in the council or in the field. The party of Stephen, therefore, daily gained ground, notwithstanding all the doubts about his title. His readiness to confirm the ancient liberties of the English, did not a little contribute to this; together with the strong professions he made of removing all the causes of grievances in the late reign. There can be no stronger proof than what I have already advanced, that Stephen owed his advancement to the clergy and commons of England, with little or no participation of the lay nobility, than their articles, to which he swore at the time of his coronation. One of the greatest grievances of the clergy, during the late reigns, had been the long vacancies in bishoprics; the first article, therefore, of Stephen's additional coronation oath was,

"That, upon the death of the bishop, the crown should never keep his bishopric vacant, but immediately consent to a canonical election, and give the elected investiture of it."

The many trials in forest, or hunting cases, had, under the Norman race, been an intolerable grievance to English gentlemen. Henry I, notwithstanding his great professions at the beginning of his reign, had been a remarkable oppressor this way; no person's property was safe against the informations of his officers: for, if a gentleman was found hunting even in his own woods, if he cut them down, or scrubbed them up, to supply his own private necessities, he was immediately represented as a waster, and had he been ever so inoffensive, he was obliged